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THE
MODERN PART
OF THE
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS;

BY THE

AUTHORS of the *ANTIEN*T.

Which will perfect the *WORK*, and render it

A Complete Body of *HISTORY*,

FROM THE

EARLIEST ACCOUNT of Time, to the *PRESENT*.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεται μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν
ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

V O L. XII.



L O N D O N :

Printed for T. OSBORNE, C. HITCH and L. HAWES, A. MILLAR,
J. RIVINGTON, S. CROWDER, B. LAW and Co.
T. LONGMAN, C. WARE, and S. BLADON.

M.DCC.LXII.

MODERN HISTORY:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

HISTORY of DENMARK.

SECT. V.

Wherein the History is brought down to the Accession of Canute VI. in the Year 1182.

SWEN IV. and CANUTE V.

ON the death of *Eric V.* the kingdom was divided among three persons, each enjoying a sovereign and equal authority. These are the words of the *Danish* writers, though it appears in fact, that *Valdemar* was still in his minority, and enjoyed no part of the supreme authority. The *Zealanders*, at the persuasion of *Steno*, a person of great influence, espoused the cause of *Swen*, son to *Eric Emund*, and chose him for their king. The *Jutlanders*, however, favoured *Canute*, the son of *Magnus*, and accordingly elected him for their sovereign, until *Valdemar* should arrive at the age of maturity. Whether he was then to share the authority with the young prince, or entirely to resign it to him, is not clearly determined by historians; but certain it is from this, that *Valdemar* had no certain division of the kingdom appropriated to him during his minority; nor did he at all enjoy either the ensigns or authority of a monarch. He was educated indeed as the prince apparent and immediate successor to the crown, had a household and liberal appointments, but bore no sway in the administration^a.

Swen IV. and Canute V.

THE consequence of this partition of power was an immediate rupture between the rivals *Swen* and *Canute*, that again involved the nation in a civil war. The latter taking advantage of *Swen*'s absence in *Schonen*, where he was levying an army, invaded *Zealand*, reduced it, and drew *Eschil*, the archbishop, into his interest; whence it appears, that this prelate was not put to death in the former reign, as some historians alledge. Endeavouring to join *Canute* in *Zealand*, the primate was taken, and, by order of *Swen*, inclosed in a cage, and suspended in the steeple of his own cathedral, exposed to the derision of the populace, afterwards imprisoned, and at length dismissed at the request of the pope, who interceded for his son.

A war breaks out between Swen and Canute.

As soon as *Swen* had completed his levies, he embarked his army for *Zealand*, determined to drive the enemy out of the island. Both armies willingly came to an engagement, fought with the utmost obstinacy, and made terrible slaughter, until victory, long hovering in suspense, at last embraced the cause of *Swen*, and brought him such an advantage, that his rival was compelled to retire to *Jutland*.

^a SUANING. p. 77.

Lib. Bib. Fac. Jur. Edin.

A. D. 1148.

Swen and
Canute recon-
ciled, and
march against
the Vandals.

The civil war
again breaks
out.

Canute de-
feated.

Valdemar de-
clares for
Swen.

Canute again
defeated.

Canute again
invades Den-
mark, and
besieges Swen
in Wiburg.

The Vandals
defeated, and
a law passed
in favour of
privateers.

POPE *Eugenius* this year published an edict, strictly enjoining all Christian princes to combine against the infidels, which brought about a temporary reconciliation between *Swen* and *Canute*, that ended in a confederacy and junction of forces against the *Vandals*, who still adhered to their pagan idolatry. Scarce had the allies arrived on the enemy's coast, when they were joined by the *Saxons*, and now the fleet was divided into three squadrons, who were to make their several attacks. *Swen* was unfortunate; for the inhabitants of the isle of *Rugen*, in alliance with the *Vandals*, destroyed a great part of his fleet by a sudden sally. Terrified with this loss the *Danes* reembarked, and without any farther attempt, returned home; upon which the civil discord was again revived between the rival princes. *Swen*, by his late defeat, was now inferior in strength to his enemy; which deficiency he determined to compensate by all the precautions suggested by the art of war. He set about fortifying *Roschild* in the strongest manner, and *Canute* resolved to impede the work as much as possible, and maintain his superiority. Accordingly he passed into *Zealand*, attacked the city, took the governor, who commanded a sally of the besieged, and, after putting out his eyes, and plundering the city, he reembarked for *Jutland*, to recruit his army and prepare for giving battle to *Swen*^b.

IN a short time he returned, and meeting his rival at *Thorster*, a bloody battle was fought, that terminated to the advantage of *Swen*. Now *Canute* was not only forced to abandon *Zealand*, but before his return to *Jutland*, was deserted by two of the chief nobility, whose weight and valour proved of the utmost importance to his antagonist. To this loss was added the influence of young *Valdemar*, now of age, who out of hatred to the son of his father's murderer, declared in favour of *Swen*, and accepted from him the government of *Sleswick*, that had formerly belonged to his noble father. Young *Valdemar*'s natural vigour, the influence he possessed in consequence of the people's affection for his parent, and the forces he drew together, enabled *Swen* to retaliate upon his rival, and, in his turn, to project the invasion of his dominions. *Valdemar* was accordingly provided with a fleet, and ordered to make a descent on *Jutland*; the first expedition he had ever undertaken. His courage and ardour to signalize himself soon infused a spirit of intrepidity in his troops, that made them as desirous of battle as their young leader. The opportunity offered, and *Valdemar* embraced it with a cheerfulness that prognosticated a happy event. *Canute* was totally defeated: his whole army taken, killed, or dispersed, and himself obliged to fly for shelter to his stepfather, *Suerco* king of *Sweden*.

SWEN, being thus freed from all apprehensions about his rival, resumed the war against the *Vandals*, who had become more insolent by the late repulse they had given the *Danes*, and by the civil discord that rent this miserable people. Impetuosity and fire, mixed with a certain dissipation of mind and inconstancy, distinguished the character of *Swen*. This rendered the war in general unsuccessful, though he succeeded in all his attacks upon the barbarians. As he never followed his stroke, they always again made head, and were as insolent at the end of *Swen*'s hostile operations as before.

DURING these transactions, *Canute*, leaving the court of *Swen*, went to *Poland* to solicit assistance, and from thence to *Saxony*; at both which places he met with fair promises, the usual consolation of the unfortunate; and at length went to the archbishop of *Bremen*, who received him into his protection. This prelate, having been deprived of some privileges which he claimed in *Denmark*, vowed revenge, and assisted *Canute* with all his power. He likewise sent trusty persons to sound the inclinations of the *Jutlanders*, who all declared they would take arms in favour of their prince, the moment he appeared with a proper force to protect them, while they were forming their levies. They did not deceive him with false hopes; for the moment he arrived, incredible numbers flocked to his standard; and *Swen*, finding himself inferior in the field, took all necessary precautions for standing a siege in *Wiburg*. *Canute* pitched his camp before the city, laid close siege to it, and in time reduced the garrison to great straits for want of provisions. *Swen* resolved, in this emergency, to risque every thing, rather than fall into the hands of his rival. Accordingly, attended by young *Valdemar*, he sallied out in the night upon the enemy's camp, when a brisk action ensued. The besieged fought with the despair of persons who had all at stake, and the besiegers determined not to be disgraced by a handful of men. Both *Swen* and *Valdemar* performed miracles of valour; but especially the young prince, who was present wherever danger and glory called. Fortune seconded their brave efforts; *Canute*'s army was intirely defeated, his camp pillaged, the siege raised, and himself forced to fly with a few attendants into *Saxony*^c.

IN the mean time, the *Vandals* had invaded *Funen*, burning and destroying the country with all the fury of incensed barbarians; but *Swen*, marching against them, drove them out of the island, after defeating them in a pitched battle. To prevent their future depredations, he granted, with the consent of the nobility, the power of making reprisals to all

^b SAXO GRAM. l. xiv. MEURS, l. iv.^c PONTAN. l. v.^d MEURS. l. iv.^e SAXO GRAM. l. xiv.

- a his subjects, who had sustained losses by their descents and piracies. These privateers at first composed but a small squadron; but their success so encouraged others, that in a short time they became a formidable armament, under the conduct of one *Vithemar*. Their power rendered them no less a grievance to *Denmark* than the *Vandals* themselves; for wherever they met with a ship fit for their purpose, they thought themselves sufficiently justified in seizing upon her, if they first paid down her value to the owner. Other abuses had likewise crept in, which rendered it necessary for *Swen* to compile a certain set of laws to regulate their conduct. What these were, history does not inform us: we are only told, that they proved extremely beneficial and salutary; notwithstanding which it was long before the sea-port towns resumed their ancient splendor, and trade recovered its wonted vigour^a.

- b *CANUTE* in the mean time was not idle: after using every art to induce the Saxons to support him, he went to *Embsay*, where he met with some encouragement, from the eager desire with which he found the people possessed of recovering their usual liberty, as they imagined they should, in reward of the services they proposed doing *Canute*, should he be so happy as to be reinstated in the throne. A small army was soon raised; but there wanted a fleet to transport it into *Sleswick*. A few ships were therefore obtained from that duchy, and every thing threatened the nation with a new civil war. Nor was *Swen* less diligent in taking the proper measures to suppress this insurrection. He levied troops with such expedition, and marched them, with *Valdemar* at their head, with so much celerity, that *Canute* was attacked, and the rebellion suppressed, before it was believed that *Swen* could have intelligence of the rising; and thus the unhappy prince was once more driven into exile. After *Swen* had punished with death the ringleaders, imposed a fine upon the rest, and settled the good order of the country, he returned to *Denmark*.

A third attempt by Canute.

Canute once more driven into exile.

- c *CANUTE* resolved upon one more effort; and accordingly went to the court of the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*, craving his assistance, and promising, if he succeeded, to hold *Denmark* as a fief of the empire: an argument which weighed so powerfully with *Barbarossa*, that he cited *Swen* to appear before him. *Meursius* says, that he sent a polite compliment, desiring that the king of *Denmark* would favour him with a meeting at *Stadtberg*, then called *Marberg*, in order to renew the ancient amity between their predecessors; assuring him, at the same time, that only affairs of importance prevented him from going more than half way. This embassy was extremely agreeable to *Swen*, as it flattered his pride, and raised his self-importance. Without hesitation, he embraced the proposal, and set out on the journey, attended by *Valdemar*, contrary to the advice of the senate and most prudent personages of the nation. On his arrival at *Stadtberg*, he was magnificently received at the first congress; but, in the second meeting, *Frederic* began to accuse him of having driven the lawful heir to the crown of *Denmark* out of the kingdom, and usurped his throne. Then the emperor proposed, that he should hold his crown upon the same terms offered by *Canute*, or run the hazard of his vengeance. He told him, that, if he accepted the first, it should be his endeavour to prevail on *Canute* to lay down his arms, and renounce all pretensions, accepting of *Zealand* as an equivalent, which he should hold for his life: on the contrary, should he prove refractory, he threatened to divest him (*Swen*) immediately of the sovereignty, and confer it on his rival. *Swen* perceiving now, when too late, the snare into which he had fallen, desired that the matter might be debated before the aulic-council, or a diet of the princes of the empire, each of the parties chusing an advocate, upon whom he should rest his cause. This proposition seemed so equitable, that *Barbarossa*, ashamed to refuse it, desired he would fix upon his advocate. Accordingly *Swen* chose *Henry Leo*, duke of *Saxony*; and *Canute* made choice of the archbishop of *Bremen*. The cause was debated with great warmth, and *Leo* was near carrying the point for his client, when *Barbarossa* put an end to the argument, by decreeing, that they should hold an equal share of the sovereignty, as colleagues; a determination with which *Swen* was forced to appear satisfied, though the injustice of it was flagrant and notorious to all the world. In consequence, he was permitted to return to *Denmark*; but had no sooner arrived at the capital, than, assembling his nobles, he wrote a letter to the emperor, by their advice; in which he upbraided him for his perfidy, and violation of the laws of nations and public faith. He told him, that his consent to his unjust verdict being extorted, he was determined not to abide by a sentence so partial and iniquitous; and that as he had not only obtained the crown by the election and free choice of his faithful people, but likewise held it by right of conquest, it was his resolution not to participate his authority with the man he had so frequently vanquished; and either to live a king, or die in maintaining his right and crown^b.

He engages the emperor in his service.

Treachery of the emperor.

The dispute between Swen and Canute referred to a diet of the empire; but Swen refuses to stand by the emperor's verdict.

- g AFTER this he entered upon a treaty of marriage with the house of *Saxony*, in order the more strongly to unite families already linked together by friendship, neighbourhood, and

^a MEURS. *ibid.* PONTAN, l. v. ^b Vid. Auct. *citat. ibid.*

mutual good offices ; but this connexion, says *Grammaticus*, was the bane of his reputation, and the ruin of the kingdom. *Swen* began to emulate the luxurious and expensive manners of the *Saxons*. The simple homely coarse dress of *Denmark*, was changed for the more superb and costly ornaments of the neighbouring country. The minds of the nobility were emasculated with foppery, their estates ruined with pomp and ostentation, and the public treasury exhausted by frivolous shew and mere gaudy external grandeur. With dress and equipage, every other article of living was changed for a more expensive method ; and the manly rusticity of their ancestors laid aside for a refined delicacy, better becoming women than a nation respected only for its valour, hardiness, and rough boldness. *Saxony* was in those days to *Denmark* what another nation, celebrated for the politeness of its manners, is at present to our own. The low condition of the treasury introduced a train of bare-faced corruptions. Honours and preferments were bestowed, for a certain price, on the mean and unworthy. Merit was estimated by wealth, and court-favour bestowed only upon those who could administer for a time to its prodigality. Religion fell into discredit, with this decline of the practice of morality : and it is indeed observable, that they are ever inseparable, whatever stress some enthusiasts may lay upon the merits of an implicit faith, in which, according to them, consists true religion ^c.

In this condition stood the kingdom on the eve of a war with *Sweden*, from which the pope's nuncio did all in his power to divert *Swen*. The motives for it were, a gross affront put on the nation by the brutal conduct of *John* the son of *Suerco* king of *Sweden*. This young prince had violently carried off the wife of the duke of *Holland*, ravished her in the most savage manner, and then dismissed her with all possible marks of ignominy. what the reasons were for so brutal a conduct we are not told ; but certain it is, that the whole kingdom of *Denmark* was fired with the desire of revenging so barefaced an injury ; for however corrupted the minds of the nobility might be, the nation in general was not lost to a sense of public honour.

Swen invades Sweden.

In the beginning of the winter *Swen* led his army into *Finland*, where it was supplied with all necessaries by the voluntary contribution of the inhabitants, who cheerfully offered a part of their substance to avoid being plundered of the whole, and have their country laid in ashes by the fury of the *Danish* soldiers. Crossing the gulph he made a descent on the coasts of *Sweden* ; and the inhabitants flying for shelter into the mountains, were soon reduced by the pinching cold and hunger to hazard a battle, in which they were defeated ; after which they submitted at discretion. Such was the consternation into which his arrival had thrown the whole kingdom, that he would have found it an easy conquest, but that the inclemency of the weather rendered it impossible for him to keep the field, and the badness of the roads, shut up by the hard frosts, prevented his penetrating into the country to any distance from the sea-coast.

Swen almost murdered by an insurrection of the peasants in Denmark.

SWEN was scarce returned to *Denmark* with his army, when an insurrection in *Schonen* required his presence. Not chusing to exert force where gentle measures might prove equally efficacious, he demanded a cessation of hostilities, and a truce until he could hear the grievance. As soon as the proper securities were passed, the king, attended with a few of his officers, went over to the rebels, and harangued to very little effect ; for they grew more insolent by his lenity, attributing to fear what was really the result of his indulgence and clemency. Presently he saw himself surrounded by armed men, and his life in imminent danger ; but finding that all attempts to escape would be vain, he again waved his hand, as a signal that he wanted to be heard : but before he had spoke a syllable, they began pelting him with stones ; upon which *Tocho*, a man of quality in his train, called out to them to forbear ; for he himself would take it upon him to redress their grievances, and, if the king should oppose it, would be the first man to lead them on to his destruction. Perfectly satisfied with this assurance, the tumult ceased, the mob dispersed, and every man returned peaceably to his own home, to the infinite satisfaction of the king, who was brought into very critical circumstances by these headstrong peasants ^d.

Swen's ingratitude.

As soon as the king was set free, he shewed his resentment of this impudent attack upon his life, by destroying the whole country, which he burnt to the ground, reducing the unhappy natives to the most extreme misery. He permitted the soldiers to indulge themselves in every kind of excess, and to commit the most shocking barbarities : a conduct not to be justified, even by the cause of his resentment. But his usage of *Tocho*, who had been the immediate instrument of his safety, admits of no apology or palliation : it was the basest ingratitude, and what alone sufficiently stigmatizes his memory to the latest posterity. This honest courtier, moved with the distresses of the deplorable sufferers, and with seeing innocence involved indiscriminately in the ruin of the guilty, ventured to intercede for them ; a piece of humanity which the king construed into treachery, for which he

The history of Denmark.

- a ordered him to be put to death, as a person who had connived at and fomented the rebellion ^b.

THIS last action was so unpopular, that all men began to swerve from their affection, and even *Valdemar* himself publicly espoused the cause of *Canute*, rather than see a wrong-headed tyrant sporting with the lives and felicity of his subjects. *Canute*, the more strongly to attach a prince of such qualities to his interest, prevailed on *Suerco* king of *Sweden* to give him his daughter *Sophia* to wife, who was likewise sister by the same venter to *Canute*. As *Valdemar* did not seem very inclinable to the match, as the lady possessed no dowry in *Denmark*, *Canute* willingly made over to him a third of all he should acquire, if fortune proved favourable. The terms were accepted, and the marriage concluded, by means of which these two princes were connected in the same cause, by treaty, affinity, and interest, the most powerful of all ties ^c.

THIS affair being concluded, they both returned to *Zealand*; and *Canute*, leaving *Valdemar* to make preparation there, went himself to *Jutland*. *Swen*, having intelligence of these proceedings, tried every measure to recal to his interest young *Valdemar*, to whose courage, prudence, and popularity, he was no stranger. For this purpose he went to him at *Ringstadt*, and expostulated with him on his breach of trust, and the perfidy of uniting himself with *Suerco*, the avowed enemy of *Denmark*. He then produced a forged anonymous letter wrote to him, with a view of dissuading *Valdemar* from engagements replete with dissimulation and villainy, contrived for his ruin. *Valdemar*'s apprehension was quick,

- c and immediately penetrated into the artifice of the king. Upon which he gently upbraided him for contriving so mean a piece of cunning, vindicated his own conduct, and lamented the measures which had forced him for the public good to relinquish his engagements to his majesty, concluding with a short recapitulation of his own services and the return they met with. *Swen*, full of resentment at the young prince's freedom of speech, ordered him to be surrounded by the soldiers, and carried off prisoner; but this they refused out of respect to *Valdemar*; upon which the king returned in a fury to *Roschild*, and the prince joined his associate in *Jutland*.

HIS relation of this transaction to *Canute*, had such an effect on the *Jutlanders*, that they all called out for arms to revenge the indignity; but *Valdemar*, whose courage was equalled by his prudence and patriotism, endeavoured to assuage their passions, by representing the horrors of a civil war, in terms so pathetic, that they left the conduct of their affairs wholly to him. It was his intention to compromise their differences, and procure a partition of the sovereignty without shedding the blood of the subject. Accordingly he met *Swen* a second time, each being attended with a number of troops, and the issue was, that *Denmark* should be divided between *Swen*, *Canute*, and *Valdemar*; but we are not acquainted with the provinces assigned to each, only that the *Jutlanders* and *Sleswickers* insisted upon being governed by *Valdemar* ^d.

- d PUBLIC tranquility being established upon this footing, *Swen* attacked the *Vandals*, who during the late troubles had made a descent on *Zealand*, and penetrated to the gates of *Roschild*. They had also invaded *Funen*, *Falstria*, *Laaland*, and the smaller islands, which they entirely reduced, carrying off a prodigious booty. There was no security of property on any of the coasts of *Denmark*, while these freebooters roved about the sea at pleasure, and carried terror and desolation wherever they came. *Swen* checked them for a time, by a slight defeat they met with; but finding every part of his dominions insulted, he called in *Henry Leo*, duke of *Saxony*, to his assistance, promising him a subsidy of fifteen hundred pounds of pure gold, if he would co-operate in suppressing the barbarians. *Henry* first demanded the money, which being paid with great difficulty, he intirely neglected his engagements, and applied himself wholly to promote pomp, luxury, and pleasure at his court, at that time the most brilliant in *Europe*. The people were so enraged at *Swen*, that they wished for the opportunity of deposing him. They exclaimed that he had dishonoured the nation, by purchasing with immense sums of gold that tranquility their ancestors used to demand by arms ^e.

- f *SWEN*, imagining that the disaffection of his subjects was fomented by *Valdemar* and *Canute*, neglected the *Vandal* war, in order to have his revenge on them. He could have but little dependence upon the force of arms, and therefore chose to have recourse to dissimulation and treachery, as the least dangerous method. Intending a visit to *Conrade*, his father-in-law, who resided in *Saxony*, he proposed to *Valdemar* to accompany him as far as *Sleswick*, the government of which he had obtained. *Valdemar*, though he knew the treachery of his disposition, yet generously accepted the proposal, believing that no man would be so dishonourable as to be guilty of so flagrant a breach of hospitality and faith. On their arrival at *Stadt*, *Swen* sent to *Conrade* to give him notice of his purpose, and desiring he would take measures to secure the person of *Valdemar*; but *Conrade* honourably declined the

^b MEURS. *ibid.*

^c PONTAN. l. v.

^d SAXO GRAM. l. xiv.

^e MEURS. l. iv.

business,

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Valdemar escapes the snare.

business, saying, that he had rather himself, his son-in-law, and daughter, should suffer the most ignominious and excruciating death, than commit an action which would render them unworthy to live. *Valdemar*, escaping through the integrity of *Conrade*, went immediately to *Canute* in *Jutland*; and, finding there was no reliance on the promises of *Swen*, began to levy forces. It was now that he first assumed the badges of majesty, and not until he was forced to it in self-defence. *Swen*, hearing of their preparations, began to enter upon measures to subdue them by force: perceiving, however, that the affections of the people were wholly alienated, he retired first with his wife and son to *Falstire*, and then to *Saxony*, contrary to the advice of all his friends.

Swen abdicates the throne.

CANUTE and *Valdemar*, who were yet unacquainted with the king's flight, transported their army into *Zealand*, where, meeting with no resistance, they assumed the same sovereignty they had done in *Jutland*, and received the allegiance of the people. In the same manner they obtained possession of the rest of the kingdom, while *Swen* lived an exile with his father-in-law in *Saxony*; after whose death he went to the court of duke *Henry*, and made him the most liberal offers, if he would assist to re-establish him on his throne.

Endeavours to recover it by means of the Saxons.

In this manner three years elapsed from his first abdication; but now *Henry*, excited either by his large promises, or emulous of the honour of restoring an unhappy exile, gave orders to the *Vandals*, who obeyed his authority, to equip a prodigious fleet, and invade *Denmark*; himself determining to march at the head of a *Saxon* army, and body of auxiliaries, sent by the archbishop of *Bremen*, by land. *Hathwick* likewise, in hopes of recovering a paternal estate which he claimed in *Denmark*, joined him in person, attended by a considerable body of troops. *Swen* was to pay him a sum of money when the army should advance to *Danewark*, the strong wall raised across the neck of land that separates *Sleswick* from *Denmark Proper*. Accordingly *Henry* marched through *Holstein*, without offering any injury to the inhabitants. On his arrival at *Danewark* he found it strongly garrisoned, and the officer determined to dispute his progress; but, imagining that money would effect what force could not, he offered the *Dane* a bribe too considerable to be resisted, and was suffered to pass; yet, his business being done, he refused the traitor his reward, and even had him ignominiously put to death, shewing thereby his contempt of perfidy, and detestation of treason, however convenient a tool the traitor might be. Thence he marched to *Sleswick*, and took it by capitulation, after the city had stood a siege of some weeks, at length surrendering for want of provision. His success here enabled *Swen* to perform his engagements to *Henry*, and pay the soldiers their arrears; for, seizing upon all the merchandize in the harbour, the booty was prodigious. The city, indeed, was ruined by it, and the credit of a port which had been the emporium of the *Baltic* trade, and frequented by ships of all nations, who never again returned after this violence done to commerce.

The Saxons take Sleswick.

In the mean time a rebellion appeared in *Sweden*, which had some influence on the affairs of *Denmark*. *Magnus*, a nobleman of distinction, aspiring at sovereignty, procured the assassination of *Suerco* by one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber; then taking arms against his son *Charles*, was defeated and slain by him in battle. *Canute* was called thither by the queen his mother-in-law; upon which he devolved the whole care of the *Danish* monarchy on *Valdemar*, who prepared with all speed to put a stop to the progress of the *Saxons*. His march was so rapid, that the *Saxon* army was seized with a panic, and even *Henry* himself with certain emotions of terror, which determined him to retreat with more precipitation than he had advanced. His excuse was, that Lent now approaching, the army might be straitened for provisions, since it would not be possible to supply such a number of soldiers with the quantity of fish that would necessarily be consumed, when they were confined to this diet; yet it appeared that fear was the chief motive of his flight, for such it might truly be called, considering the vast quantities of baggage and provisions he left behind. Certain it is, that he marched back the same space in two days that had employed the army for fifteen in their progress to *Denmark*; a circumstance that irritated *Swen* beyond all measure, as he had now advanced the subsidy. However, to satisfy him, *Henry* joined the *Vandal* fleet with a strong squadron, gave the command of the whole to an experienced officer, and directed him to land *Swen* in *Denmark*, and support him by every possible method. This method promised more success; for the fugitive king being landed in *Funen*, all the inhabitants submitted without resistance, and acknowledged him their sovereign. Immediately he went to the city *Otho*, where he was received with the utmost joy, persons of both sexes flocking to him in crowds, and offering their lives and fortunes for his service.

The Saxons retreat.

Swen makes a second attempt.

VALDEMAR sent to *Canute*, then in *Sweden*, and both princes marched with an army to give battle to *Swen*; but *Valdemar*, desirous to avoid the spilling of *Danish* blood, proposed a cessation of arms, and a congress, just as the armies were ready to engage. *Swen* embraced the proposals with an insidious view, and the appointment was made in *Laaland*, where the nobility of the kingdom were to attend. Numberless were the attempts which

- a *Swen* made upon the lives of his rivals, previous to this meeting; but they were all frustrated, the congress sat, and the following terms were assented to by all parties. 1st. That *Swen* should enjoy the title and authority of a king: 2dly, That an act of oblivion should be passed: 3dly, That *Swen* should be sole sovereign of *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking*: 4thly, That *Jutland* should be the property of *Valdemar*: and, 5thly, That *Zealand*, *Funen*, and the neighbouring islands should form the dominions of *Canute*; both the latter princes enjoying the badges and authority of monarchs within their several jurisdictions. This, in fact, appears to be the partition which some writers affirm was made immediately after the death of *Eric*. It was ratified by the diet, and each prince bound himself by an oath solemnly to observe it (A). A new partition of the Danish dominions.
- b It was not long before *Swen* shewed his dislike to this partition; being upbraided it seems by his wife for accepting a third of the sovereignty, which he ought to enjoy alone. In order to recover it he employed the most infamous means, which were no other than assassinating his colleagues by the hands of desperate ruffians, while they were entertaining him with the utmost hospitality. His strength and valour saved *Valdemar*, who made his escape after he had killed two of the ruffians who attacked him; but *Canute* fell by their hands. This event happened, according to *Eric of Pomerania*, in the year 1156, in the month of *August*; but *Albert* abbot of *Stadt* places it on the same month in the year following. He was a prince of a character very opposite to his father's, and would have filled the throne with great reputation, and felicity to his subjects, but for the unhappy civil wars which necessarily attended such a number of claimants. Swen's attempt against Valdemar's life.
- c *VALDEMAR* got in a small boat to *Jutland*, and immediately on his arrival assembled a diet of the states at *Wiburg*, relating before the whole people the late transaction at *Roschild*: he shewed them the wound he received in the thigh, while he was struggling with the villain *Thitleff*, who had descended from the rank of a nobleman to the character of an assassin. At sight of the wound the whole assembly cried out with one voice for revenge, and offered their lives and fortunes to bring to condign punishment *Swen*, the most perfidious of all men: upon which *Valdemar* thanked them for their attachment, and assuring them that he would take up arms, not so much with a desire to avenge his own private injury, as the public insult, dismissed the diet.^b
- d Now *Denmark* was again thrown into the utmost confusion, before the people had well breathed from the hardships of the late civil war. Nothing was to be seen but the tumult of war, or heard but the din of arms. *Valdemar* well knew that *Swen* would not stop with this abortive attempt upon his life; he therefore made all possible preparations to oppose him. On the other hand, *Swen* used all his endeavours to reduce *Zealand*, and the other dominions of the deceased *Canute*, which he suddenly besieged with his fleet, cutting off all intercourse between the islands, in hopes of obliging them to surrender up *Valdemar*, who, he doubted not, lay concealed in some of the remote skirts of the islands. The more effectually to prevent his escape, he ordered all the boats and vessels on the coasts to be perforated at the bottom and sunk. Afterwards he had all the fens, woods, and caves, diligently searched, but without meeting with *Valdemar*, who was now at the head of a powerful army, ready to march and punish his perfidy. *Swen* had even the presumption to order proclamation to be made, that *Canute* and *Valdemar*, in defiance to all the rights of hospitality, had laid a snare for his life; but this palpable and notorious falsity served only to render him more odious to the people, already too well acquainted with his character.^c Another civil war breaks out.
- e FINDING that *Valdemar* had escaped to *Jutland*, he made a descent on that coast, but found it so well defended that he was forced to retreat. Next year he was invaded in his turn; first his fleet was defeated, afterwards *Funen* taken, and then the two armies coming to a general action, he was defeated and slain in the pursuit, endeavouring to conceal himself amidst the rushes which bordered a lake near *Granthed*, the place where this victory was obtained. Among the prisoners was *Thitleff*, who could not escape the soldiers vengeance, and was executed upon the spot; a punishment too slight for the villainy of his attempt basely to murder two princes of sublime merit. Swen defeated and slain.
- f THUS ended all the plots and machinations of *Swen*, in the month of *October* in the year 1157, by means of which *Valdemar* came to the sole possession of the crown of *Denmark*, after the kingdom had been continually involved in civil wars for upwards of ten years. It would be unnecessary to sum up the character of *Swen* after what has been related. Suffi-

^a MEURS. I. iv.

^b PONTAN. I. v.

^c SAXO GRAM. I. xiv.

(A) There are writers who alledge, that *Valdemar* left *Swen* to chuse what province he thought proper, which seems not only improbable, but contrary to the express testimony of *Saxo Grammaticus* and *Meursius*.

These writers say, that the kingdom was thus divided, from the experience the two other princes had of *Swen's* treachery, in order they might always be at hand to lend mutual assistance (1).

(1) *Saxo, ibid. Meurs. I. v.*

cient it is, that he was possessed of talents which might have perpetuated felicity to himself, had he known how to apply them. A fickle disposition, a false heart, and a head bent on contrivances and secret plots, in which he employed the most infamous tools, characterize him from every other prince who had sat on the throne of *Denmark*, and transmit his memory to posterity with such indelible stains of dishonour as time can never efface (B). a

V A L D E M A R I.

Valdemar I.
82d king.

VALDEMAR, now ascending the throne of all *Denmark*, began his reign with several acts of clemency to his enemies, and among them *Magnus*, natural son to the late king *Eric*, one of the strongest adherents to *Swen*. Those only he punished who committed actions worthy of death, had they been his friends. He blamed no man for acting according to principle and inclination, provided he fought like a generous enemy; it was vice, without regard to party, that felt the scourge of his displeasure*. b

Valdemar
grants an
amnesty.

He next turned his attention to the barbarians, who had never ceased, from the first rise of the civil war, to harass the coasts and shipping of *Denmark*. He prepared a fleet to invade the *Vandals*; but the expedition was laid aside by the advice of the senate, and on account of the scarcity of provisions.

In this as in the former reigns sharp disputes arose among the clergy about the see of *Roschild*, now vacant by the death of *Rico*, whom *Meursius* falsely calls *Aper*. These feuds caused an insurrection of the burghers, who despising the king's authority, insolently attacked and beat his procurator. The incensed *Valdemar* entered the city, at the head of a body of troops, and would have severely punished their temerity, had they not made their submission, and voluntarily mulcted themselves in a large sum of money. After this he ordered four of the principal clergy, the most celebrated for learning and piety, to be chosen candidates, among whom was *Absalon*, his old friend and school-fellow. One of these was to be elected by ballot; and upon a scrutiny it appeared, to the great satisfaction of *Valdemar*, that *Absalon* was raised by universal assent to this high dignity. c

The Vandals
invade the
small islands.

HAVING thus, by his prudence, terminated the ecclesiastical disputes which had often, particularly in the former reign, been carried to an open rupture, he resumed his intention of punishing the *Vandals*. Just as he was preparing to invade them, they anticipated him, by making a descent on the smaller *Danish* islands, from whence they were quickly driven. After this they spread themselves over the coast of *Jutland*, and over-run the island *Falster*, before a proper number of troops could be got together to oppose them. At length a fleet of light ships was sent out under the conduct of *Absalon*, bishop of *Roschild*; or, according to *Grammaticus*, under the king in person, who reconnoitred the enemy in the harbour of *Lunden*, and found their armament greatly superior to his own, and consisting of two hundred and sixty stout ships. This made him defer fighting until a reinforcement arrived, before which time his fleet was dispersed by a storm. The same misfortune happened to the second fleet he equipped, *Valdemar* very narrowly escaping the fury of the waves. Towards the end of the year, however, he came to a battle with the enemy, and totally defeated them, being greatly assisted by *Perislove*, son to *Nicotes*, prince of the *Vandals*, who embracing Christianity, sought refuge with *Valdemar*, and was by him made governor of the small isles¹. This victory was obtained off *Rugen*, which island the king plundered and destroyed (C). d

Vandals de-
feated.

A. D. 1161.

RETURNING home laden with spoils, in order to repair his fleet and renew the war, he was followed by the *Vandal* ambassadors, who supplicated peace with such submission, that the good king, laying aside his just resentment, granted their request. Their unbridled insolence, however, drew down upon them that vengeance next year from which their servile obedience saved them at this time. It would appear that only a cessation of arms was granted by *Valdemar*; for *Grammaticus* says, that the *Vandals* sent back *Domboro*, their former ambassador, to conclude the treaty, and demand hostages for its performance; his directions being besides, to accept of no terms but such as were honourable. *Domboro* first applied himself to *Absalon*, who he knew had the king's ear, and told him, that the first article of his instructions was to demand hostages; to which *Absalon* replied, that the *Danes* f

* SAXO GRAM. l. xv. PONTAN. l. vi. ¹ MEURS. l. v.

(B) *Meursius* relates, that his name was held in such detestation, that the diet came to a resolution never to elect a king of his name, and all future kings have, for that reason, been careful to avoid it in baptizing their children (1). By his wife *Adelheida*, daughter of *Conrad*, he left a son, an only child, whose name we are not told (2).

(C) This island is situated in the *Baltic*, on the coast

of *Pomerania*, and at present does not exceed nine leagues in length, though it is confidently asserted, that its dimensions were formerly larger, being joined with the little island of *Ruden*, now separated by an arm of the sea. It formerly had the strong town of *Arcona* for its capital, ruined in the year 1168 by *Valdemar*, as we shall see (3).

(1) *Meurs.* l. v. p. 97.

(2) *Saxo, ibid.*

(3) *Vid. Baudrand. Voc.*

a were not accustomed to grant such terms to their inferiors whom they had vanquished. He then acquainted the king with the purport of the embassy, with which he was so offended, that he ordered *Domboro* to quit his dominions, without giving him any answer.

IMMEDIATELY he prepared for war; but his fleet was so long wind-bound, that, fearing A. D. 1162. the consequences of a long delay, he endeavoured to prevail on *Henry of Saxony*, to chastise the *Vandals*. Induced by a large subsidy, and the hopes of extending his dominions, *Henry* accepted the proposal, and agreed to attack the enemy by land, while the king should distress them by sea.

In consequence the *Vandals* were reduced to great extremities, having lost a battle which they hazarded with the *Saxons*, and their king, who was slain fighting with great intrepidity amidst heaps of his slaughtered enemies, and disdaining to turn his back, though he was deserted by all his army besides a few faithful guards. His head was fixed on a pole by the *Saxon* soldiers, carried triumphantly to their duke, and sent by him to the king just at the time when he was at supper with *Perislove*, the son of the deceased. That prince, after he had paid the tribute due to nature, and shed tears over the head of his parent, said with more than stoical hardness, "that he thanked God for thus punishing impiety;" disclaimed the brave *Niclot* for his father, and distinguished himself a true barbarian by his want of filial affection, a principle so strongly and wisely implanted in the human breast. *Valdemar* himself seemed displeased at this overstrained Christianity, gently rebuked the young prince for his impetuosity and want of natural feeling, and ordered the head to be buried with the honours due to the valour of the deceased ^m.

The king of the Vandals slain.

Unnatural conduct of his son.

b NOTWITHSTANDING the death of their king, the *Vandals* ventured to engage the *Danish* fleet, which they surrounded in a shallow creek, whither they had been driven by a storm. Here the *Danes* fought to great disadvantage, their large ships being intirely useless; but, animated by the presence of their king, and encouraged by his example, they not only repulsed the enemy, but obtained a complete victory. This, with two other defeats they sustained, compelled them to sue for peace in the same abject manner they had done before; to which the king acceded upon the terms he thought fit to impose, in order that his presence in *Denmark* might appease some tumults occasioned by *Eschil*, archbishop of *Lunden*.

Vandals sue for peace.

d DURING the contest between *Alexander* and *Victor*, about the papal dignity, the bishop of *Sleswick* dying, one *Occo* was substituted by *Victor*, with *Valdemar's* approbation, in his room. This promotion was disagreeable to the archbishop *Eschil*, who espoused the cause of *Alexander*, and declared the election void, prohibiting *Occo* from the use of fire and water, after having first excommunicated him. What increased the prelate's fury was the loss of a large sum of money sent to him from *France*, which he imagined had been seized by the king's order at the instigation of *Occo*. This made him send a haughty message to *Abfalon*, desiring him to acquaint *Valdemar*, either to return the treasure or prepare for war. *Abfalon* was shocked with the insolence of this message, and declined informing the king of the express terms used by the proud priest, though he told him enough to raise his indignation, and make him threaten to punish the archbishop. *Eschil*, upon reconsidering the matter, began to apprehend the effects of the royal vengeance, and sought an opportunity of appeasing it, without diminishing his own dignity. With this view he withdrew to a remote part of the country, from whence he proposed to accommodate the breach: but *Valdemar* collecting a body of troops, laid siege to *Lethra*, a strongly fortified city which *Eschil* had built in the midst of a morass. The siege was tedious, but at length the city was forced to surrender for want of provisions, but chiefly by a stratagem which *Valdemar* contrived. *Gerhard*, the governor, had before demanded a parley, and promised to surrender the place within a limited time, if *Eschil* did not come to its relief, and, as a pledge of his faith, he put the archbishop's grandson into the king's hand, and immediately acquainted *Eschil* of what he had done. The prelate's answer was to defend the town to the last extremity, for he valued it far above the life of his grandson. Upon this hostilities recommenced, and the king forged a letter, in which he makes *Eschil* retract his former sentiments, express great concern for his grandchild, and order *Gerhard* to deliver up the city rather than let his life run any hazards. The more strongly to enforce this letter which *Valdemar* pretended to have intercepted, he ordered a gibbet to be erected before the walls, in which he threatened to hang up the hostage if the keys were not sent to him within an hour; and the governor finding him peremptory, and his master's orders express, complied. Here he left a garrison, and passed over to *Schonen*, reducing all the strong holds within the diocese of *Lunden* ⁿ.

Eschil rebels against the king.

f THE king's rapid progress obliged the proud *Eschil* to ask peace in the most submissive terms; but upon this mortifying condition, that the archbishop should restore to his majesty all the donations of former kings to the see of *Lunden*: thus the primate foolishly incurred the displeasure of a prince, who always expressed a high regard for the clergy; lessened his own dignity; lost the basis of his power, his strongholds, and involved his diocese in calamities, which, during his life, it never recovered, and for which he was blamed by

Eschil's submission.

^m SAXO, l. xv. MEURS, l. v. PONTAN. ⁿ MEURS, l. v.

Snare laid for all degrees of men. Still, however, the prelate continued his machinations against pope *a*
Valdemar. *Victor*; nor could he be drawn from his attachment to *Alexander*, though he had like to involve the nation in fresh commotions, and subject his sovereign to the disgrace of being kept a prisoner at the court of the emperor, who had laid a scheme for that purpose.

The Norwe- *VALDEMAR*, having by his vigour and penetration escaped all the snares placed for him, determined more strongly to fortify his dominions on the *German* side, and to build stone bastions at *Danewark*, which before consisted intirely of wood. While he was thus employed, an ambassy came from *Norway*, offering him that crown, provided he would drive out *Erling*, who had invaded the kingdom. *Valdemar*, that he might not rashly embark in a foreign war, took care to sound the sentiments of the people before he made any reply; and finding they were strongly affected to him, promised speedy assistance. *Cros-* *b*
gians offer him sing over with an army, he was joyfully received; and traversing the country to *Tonsberg*, was in that city crowned king of *Norway*, in a full assembly of the states; though it was observable, that not a single bishop or private clergyman was present, notwithstanding their great influence in *Norway*. A scarcity of provisions, however, obliged him to return to *Denmark*, attended with a great number of the *Norwegian* nobility, who chose to live in exile, rather than subject themselves to the indignation of *Erling*. This prince still continued with a small army in *Norway*; and now, taking advantage of the king's retreat, made a descent on *Jutland*, and ruined and destroyed the *Danish* fleet that rode at anchor on the coast, returning laden with spoils to *Denmark*. It was, indeed, a great oversight in *Valdemar*, that he did not make it his business, while he was in *Norway*, to endeavour to *c*
drive out *Erling*, instead of spending his time in calling assemblies of the state, which must ever be subject to the strongest military power.

A. D. 1163. *ERLING* was married to *Christina*, cousin to *Valdemar*, a lady of prudence and valour superior to her sex. She, finding that if the war was protracted, her husband must necessarily sink under the weight of *Valdemar's* power, took the resolution of going in person to the king, and endeavouring to effect a reconciliation. Having provided herself with a passport, she crossed the seas, and was kindly received by *Valdemar*, who was pleased with her good sense and spirit, and honoured her with a great many audiences. When she believed she had softened his resolution, she detached a messenger to *Erling*, who suddenly joined her, and presented himself before the king, telling him, "See, *Valdemar*, the confidence I place in your generosity, thus to put myself into your hands, even without your *d*
word for my security: but I know the greatness of your soul, and though your enemy, have no apprehension of being treated as such while I am your guest." To this *Valdemar* replied, "You may safely confide in me: it is not my custom to abuse the confidence reposed in my hospitality." Upon which *Erling*, approaching respectfully, kissed the king's hand, and obtained peace, upon condition that he should himself remain a hostage in *Denmark*, and *Esbern* be sent to govern the kingdom of *Norway* in quality of viceroy for *Valdemar*; who, in return, conferred upon *Erling* several dignities and lands of considerable value for his support.

A. D. 1164. No sooner was the tranquillity of *Norway* established than new insults from the *Vandals* occasioned a renovation of the war; and that it might be carried on with vigour, *Valdemar* *e*
Alliance between Den- entered into a fresh alliance with the duke of *Saxony*; and the more firmly to cement their friendship, a contract of marriage was executed between *Canute*, prince of *Denmark*, and *Gertrude*, an infant, the daughter of *Henry Leo*, the duke. The plan of operations was settled, and *Henry* sent a body of horse into the enemy's country, while himself followed with slower marches at the head of the infantry; the king blocking up the sea ports, and opposing the *Vandal* navy. An ambush was laid for the *Saxon* horse, by which they were at first defeated, till *Guncelin*, a *Saxon* general, rallied them, and renewed the fight with such intrepidity, that the enemy, intent upon plundering, were driven out of the field, and victory wrested out of their hands. Notwithstanding this, *Henry* was so much incensed at the repulse his troops had met with, that, entering *Pomerania*, he carried terror and desolation wherever *f*
he marched.

Rugen sub- On the other hand, *Valdemar* finding the *Vandals* had drawn their forces from the fleet, the better to oppose the *Saxons*, landed his troops, and marched to the city of *Vologast*, or *Wolgast*, the capital of *Swedish Pomerania*, then the country of the *Vandals*, which he found deserted by the inhabitants. They, however, dreaded that he would set fire to the city, and sent ambassadors to assure him of their allegiance, provided he would restrain his soldiers from plundering and destroying their houses. The proposal was accepted, on condition that *Rugen* should pay a tribute, and give hostages that the inhabitants would shut up the mouth of the river *Pere*, which was a nest for pirates; that, dividing the city into three parts, they would obey *Tolislav*, *Casimir*, and *Prislav*, as governors, answerable for their *g*
mar.

a conduct to the king of *Denmark*; and, lastly, that the duke of *Saxony* should remain in possession of all his conquests in *Pomerania* 9.

THIS treaty of peace did not hold long; for next year the citizens of *Wolgast*, disliking the administration of *Casimir*, entered into a secret alliance with the people of *Rugen*; in which, indeed, *Henry* of *Saxony*, the good ally of *Valdemar*, was a party, and began new depredations upon *Denmark*. *Valdemar* was incensed more at the perfidy of *Henry* than the inconstancy of the *Vandals*. Without delay he invaded *Rugen*; and by the conduct of the faithful *Absalon*, who, though a bishop, shewed the capacity and courage of a soldier, reduced many of the most important places; after which he returned to his own dominions, to refresh his soldiers. After a short stay he again came back, and laid siege to the strong city of *Arcona*, well fortified by nature and art. Such were the difficulties he met with from the situation of the place, and valour of the besieged, that, breaking up his camp, he marched to the interior part of the country, which he laid in ashes. The *Vandals*, terrified at the desolation he made, applied to *Henry Leo* for the promised aid; but being put off under various pretences, they once more received the yoke, purchased a peace at a heavy price, and gave hostages for the security of payment. They likewise agreed to abjure idolatry, and embraced the Christian religion, which *Valdemar* made a preliminary article to the treaty.

ABOUT this time, it was that *Valdemar* laid the foundation of the city of *Dantzic*, so famed *Dantzic built.* for its opulence and freedom. At first it was composed of the huts of poor fishermen; but A. D. 1165: *Valdemar* conferring certain privileges and immunities, it soon became a flourishing place of trade, and not the least ornament of that glorious reign. Some writers indeed affirm, that this city owes its origin to *Sobislaw*, prince of *Pomerania*; but the *Danish* historians, and the accurate *Crantzius*, with one voice attribute the honour to *Valdemar* 1.

ON the king's return from this expedition, the diet taking into consideration the danger to which the kingdom would be exposed, should any misfortune befall him in the wars in which he was constantly engaged, numbly proposed, that his son *Canute*, then but four years of age, should be taken as his associate, and consequently his successor in the throne. The king, who was by no means displeased with their request, willingly complied, and *Canute* was accordingly proclaimed king of *Denmark*, conjointly with his father, by universal consent; without we except *Burisius*, young *Canute's* kinsman, who had himself some designs upon the crown, and therefore refused his vote at the election. *Valdemar* put up with the affront for a time, but did not forget it: he saw through the views of *Burisius*, and resolved not only to frustrate them, but to punish the author, as soon as a fit occasion should offer (A).

NEXT year great preparations were set on foot for giving such a blow to the *Vandal* power, as should for a while incapacitate them to disturb the peace of *Denmark*, if not totally destroy the state. Almost all the inhabitants of *Schonen*, *Zealand*, and *Funen*, fit to bear arms, went forth under the conduct of *Absalon*, *Magnus*, son to *Eric Lamb*, and *Christopher*, natural son to the present king. They entered the enemy's country, and without mercy set the whole in a flame; but did not come to any action with their main army. Next year the expedition was repeated, in which the *Danes* had the good fortune to destroy part of *Arcona*, the capital, and strongest hold in *Rugen*.

WHILE *Valdemar* was gathering laurels against foreign enemies, he received a letter from *Henry* duke of *Saxony*, acquainting him with the impending danger from domestic foes. *Burisius*, his brother *Ormos*, and *Erling* of *Norway*, had secretly conspired against his life, and concerted a plan for making themselves masters of *Jutland*, which was proved by an intercepted letter from *Norway*. They had engaged several of the nobility in the plot, and had taken their measures so well, that nothing but this early intelligence could have saved *Valdemar*. The king immediately seized upon such of the traitors as were within his reach, and sent *Absalon* with a fleet to intercept *Erling* and *Ormos* in their return for *Norway*. *Absalon* obeyed his orders, and defeated their fleet; but had not the good fortune to take *Erling*, who escaped under favour of a dark night. *Burisius* was already a prisoner; and A. D. 1167. authors differ about the nature of his punishment. *Saxo Grammaticus* says, that he was confined for life in prison: *Eric* of *Pomerania*, that his eyes were put out; *Albert*, abbot of *Stadt*, that he was strangled; and others, that he was smothered under a feather-bed 1. Nor are they less divided about his name, the former writers calling him *Burisius*, but the

9 MEURS. l. v.

1 L. ii. Hist. Saxon.

2 Vid. apud PONTAN. Notæ ad Hist.

(A) We must observe, that *Eric* of *Pomerania* is the only writer who denies that *Canute* was this year made an associate in the government. He affirms, on the contrary, that in the year 1177, or twelve years afterwards,

when he was fourteen years of age, he was made king of *Holland* and *Schonen*, in order to ease his father of the load of so extensive a kingdom (1).

(1) Vid. *Eric. Pem.* apud Meurs. l. v. p. 105.

abbot, *Borcius*, placing it among the transactions of the year 1173, though on what authority we are left to conjecture. a

ABOUT this time it was, that *Abfalon* built the castle of *Stegelburg*, afterwards called *Exelhusia*, then *Hafnica*, and now the celebrated port and city of *Copenhagen*. The intention of this castle was to awe the pirates, and afford a safe protection to the *Danish* ships of commerce and fleets.

A. D. 1168.
Henry Leo
breaks his
alliance.

NEXT year was ushered in with preparations for attacking *Erling*; but from this *Valdemar* was restrained by certain advice, that *Henry Leo* duke of *Saxony* had entered into a strict alliance with *Bogislaus* prince of the *Vandals*, who had sought his protection against the *Danes*, and received the strongest assurances of support. There could be nothing more absurdly inconstant than the conduct of *Henry*: sometimes forming alliances with *Valde-* b
mar, cementing them with the ties of blood, and proving his friendship by discovering to him the machinations of his enemies, at other times, and perhaps within the space of a few months, contracting alliances with his inveterate enemies, contriving schemes with them for *Valdemar's* destruction, and shifting diametrically opposite to the sentiments he had lately espoused. The truth is, *Henry's* profusion and magnificence always rendered him necessary, and every tie of honour and affinity yielded to his wants. Money was the actuating spring of all his conduct, and the last and largest subsidy confirmed his friendship. *Valde-*
mar was not ignorant of this disposition; but he disdained purchasing alliances at the ex-
pence of his people, except when emergencies required it. The present occasion might well be reckoned such; for *Denmark* was hardly ever in a more critical situation, or beset c
with more enemies. On the one side were the *Vandals* and *Saxons*; on the other, *Erling* and the *Norwegians*; so that *Valdemar* had reason to dread a descent from one whilst he was acting against the other, unless his strength were sufficient to guard against both at the same time. His first care, therefore, was to fortify the coast of *Zealand*, the superintendence of which he committed to *Esburn Snare*, who built a number of strong castles and towns in the most commodious places. He next employed *Gondescal*, a man of high distinction, that had passed the first years of his life among the *Vandals*, and had acquired a perfect knowledge of their manners and language, to break the league between them and *Henry* of *Saxony*; which business he cheerfully undertook, and effected with such consummate address, that the *Vandals* taking arms, drove all the *Saxons* out of their garrisons and d
country.

Henry Leo
sues for peace.

HENRY was terrified with this very extraordinary and sudden change in their councils, for which he could assign no cause, the *Danish* agent having come over with such privacy, that not a syllable transpired to the public. Dreading lest *Valdemar* should seize this opportunity of punishing his treachery and fickleness, he sent ambassadors to him to apologize for his conduct, and promise measures more steady and consistent for the future. As his eldest daughter, betrothed to young *Canute*, was dead, he offered the younger sister in marriage upon the same terms; requesting, at the same time, an interview at *Bremen* with the *Danish* monarch, in order to put the last hand to the proposed treaty.

A new al-
liance between
Leo and Val-
demar against
the Vandals.

THE princes met, and it was agreed that they should join forces against the *Vandals*, e
Henry marching to *Demin*, and *Valdemar* to *Wolgast*. The devastation they made was terrible, and unbecoming Christian princes, were it not absolutely necessary to repress those barbarians by cruel methods, that ought not to be used against a people more civilized, and who fought by regulated laws of war. This conduct had the effect; for the *Vandals*, perceiving nothing but destruction before their eyes, from so superior a foe, purchased peace with a large sum of money, and gave hostages for the security of the payment.

HAVING finished matters on the side of the *Vandals*, *Valdemar* turned his arms against *Norway*; but after many fruitless attempts to bring *Erling* to a battle, he returned home with his fleet. The soldiers had begun to complain of long confinement on board, in search of a fugitive, who eluded all their endeavours; a scarcity of provisions began to prevail in the fleet; and the winter was now approaching, when he would be in danger of being frozen up. Another circumstance which contributed to his return before he had done any thing decisive, was intelligence that the *Rugians* had again revolted, notwithstanding the low estate to which he had lately reduced them. He now determined fully to extirpate this perfidious and obstinate people, and for that purpose formed an alliance with *Bogislaus*, prince of *Pomerania*. After ravaging different parts of the island, he sat down before *Arcona*, the suburbs of which had been destroyed in the former war. Nature never, perhaps, formed a stronger situation than this place, itself standing on a high promontory, with the east, north, and south sides defended by steep and lofty precipices, inaccessible to men; and the west by a wall fifty feet high, proportionably thick, and secured by a deep and broad ditch. Undismayed by the difficulty, he set about besieging it, and carried on f
his operations with such skill and perseverance, that the garrison was forced to surrender g

Arcona be-
sieged and
taken.

a upon the conditions he thought fit to impose. One in particular was, that the *Rugians* should destroy a temple they had erected to St. *Vitis*, and deliver up the vast treasure of this tutelary god, which he had amassed by a tax on the consciences of his votaries. They likewise agreed to embrace Christianity; to restore the *Danish* prisoners without ransom; to pay forty silver yokes for oxen, by way of yearly tribute; and to enter as soldiers in the service of *Denmark*, when called upon, in the same manner as the other subjects of the crown ^u.

b THE princes of *Pomerania* were of opinion, that *Tetislaw*, prince of *Rugen*, ought to have been divested of his sovereignty, and that authority translated to themselves, in reward of their services. They were disgusted at *Valdemar's* moderation, which they deemed an injury done to them, and therefore resolved to withdraw from his alliance: a measure which gave no disturbance to the *Danish* monarch, who had now accomplished his business.

THE beginning of this year was employed in acts of piety to his father's memory. He sent an ambassador to *Rome*, to have him canonized; and on the day of his return, with the pope's assent, he convoked the people at *Ringstad*; and solemnly proclaimed his son *Canute* an associate in the throne, and his successor: an event which has greatly perplexed historians, with respect to the chronology, as we have already seen. His next care was the firm establishment of Christianity in *Rugen*, to which place a number of the clergy was sent, to instruct those rude barbarians in the truths of the gospel; and the superintendency of the whole was committed to *Abfalon*, his favourite prelate ^x.

c THESE acts of piety were considerably disturbed by the piracies of the *Esthonians* and *Courlanders*, against whom he sent a fleet under the conduct of *Abfalon*, strictly enjoining him to beware of their snares and ambushes. *Abfalon* however was entrapped, and a great part of his army, which he had disembarked, cut off. This loss he soon retaliated upon the enemy, whom he blocked up in port; and at length, bringing them to an action, totally vanquished. ^{The Courlanders subdued.}

SOON after this transaction, the succession was strengthened by the birth of a second prince, whom the king called after his own name; and, to augment the general joy, ambassadors arrived from *Erling* to sue for peace, and obtain leave that he might come to *Denmark*, and have an interview with *Valdemar*. His petition was granted, *Esbern* sent in his room to *Norway*, and *Erling* admitted to a conference with the king. At first he was received so coldly, that he began to despair of obtaining his ends. Next day, however, renewing the conference, his majesty changed his behaviour, and graciously received him again into favour on these conditions, which may seem hard. First, that *Valdemar*, the new-born prince, youngest son to *Valdemar*, should be educated at the expence of *Norway*, and enjoy the title of duke of that country. Secondly, That this young prince should succeed to the throne of *Norway*, provided that he (*Erling*) and his son *Magnus*, died without male issue. Thirdly, That *Erling* should serve in *Valdemar's* wars as a vassal of *Denmark*, and have sixty ships ready to put to sea on the first notice. Fourthly, and lastly, That not only *Erling*, but all the nobility of *Norway*, should ratify and confirm these conditions by oath, and a written instrument, signed with their hands, and sealed with the great seal of the kingdom, as well as the private seals of individuals (A).

f PEACE being concluded in this quarter, the king found it necessary to repel some fresh insults committed by the restless and barbarous *Vandals*, who could neither support war nor peace. While the king and his general *Abfalon* were taking their towns, and ravaging their country, a design was concerted by *Casimir*, *Henry Leo*, and *Bogislaus*, for giving a decisive blow to the *Danish* power, by surrounding the king and obliging him to surrender with his whole army at discretion. Their design was discovered and frustrated by *Valdemar's* resolution, and the prudence of *Abfalon*, who had raised himself a number of enemies, by the share he possessed of the royal confidence. They now accused this brave prelate of having betrayed them to the enemy; but the king knew his merit, and was too discerning not to penetrate through the thin veil of patriotic dissimulation. Committing, therefore, the whole care of extricating the *Danes* out of this difficulty to the bishop, the event answered his hopes. *Abfalon* took such precautions, and made so good a disposition, that *Casimir* found himself reduced to the necessity of retreating or fighting upon unequal terms. He chose the former; the *Danes* were delivered, and the character of *Abfalon* raised above envy. In a word, so glorious was this expedition, that the power of *Casimir* and *Bogislaus* ^{The Vandals defeated.}

A. D. 1170.
Conditions of
the treaty.

Design formed
by the Van-
dals against
Valdemar.

^u SAXO GRAM. l. xvi.

^x PONTAN. l. v.

MEURS. l. v.

(A) It is difficult to ascertain with exactness the date of this transaction. *Pontanus* in one place seems to refer it to the year 1172; but he afterwards acknowledges, that his account is taken from an old chronicle, which places it in the year 1176, or four years after the first attempt (1).

(1) Pont. l. vi. p. 256.

was intirely broke; the designs of the fickle but ambitious *Henry Leo* frustrated; most of the towns in *Pomerania* obliged to give hostages for their future quiet behaviour; and the *Vandal* princes so exhausted and reduced, as to oblige them to seek protection in *Saxony*. a

A. D. 1172. ADVICE of this being received in *Denmark*, *Valdemar* made another descent on *Pomerania*, and laid siege to *Stetin*, then the best fortified city in all that country. With such vigour did he carry on his attack, that *Wratislaus*, the governor and kinsman to *Casimir* and *Bogislaus*, was driven to extremities, and forced to capitulate (A). b

A COTEMPORARY writer, cited by modern historians, says, that *Valdemar* made but little progress in his approaches, and must have raised the siege, had not the garrison been distressed by famine. This produced a conference between the king and *Wratislaus*; they were struck with each other's qualities, and entered into a strict friendship, after which the king had bestowed the city upon the governor as his own property, and he, in return, promised fealty to the crown of *Denmark*. c

A. D. 1177. VALDEMAR was wholly employed in settling the affairs of *Pomerania*, and the *Vandal* country till the year 1177, which produced a conference between him and *Henry Leo*, duke of *Saxony*, for adjusting their mutual rights and claims. Authors however are not agreed about the nature or end of this congress: we are only told, that in consequence of it, another expedition was undertaken against the *Vandals*, in which *Abfalon* gathered fresh laurels, *Valdemar* great addition of glory, and the whole kingdom of *Demark* an increase of wealth, by the prodigious quantity of rich booty brought home. But we know not, whether this expedition was entered upon in consequence of an agreement between *Valdemar* and *Henry*, or whether the latter bore any part in it. Certain it is, that the next year they acted as enemies; the guardians of the young duke of *Holstein* levying soldiers in *Saxony*, in order to make war upon *Denmark*. His usual good fortune attended *Abfalon*; the enemy were defeated, and the *Danes* again permitted to enjoy the fruits of this victory. d

Disturbances
in the Lower
Saxony.

BUT the repose consequent on these advantages were soon again disturbed by fresh commotions in the duchy of *Bremen*, and other parts of the circle of *Lower Saxony*. The *Saxons* highly resented the late disgrace of their countrymen, and, fired with the desire of revenge, assembled in a tumultuous manner in order to march against *Abfalon*; but being met by the fugitives, who escaped from the late defeat, their courage was somewhat repressed by the relation they received of the extraordinary prowess of *Abfalon's* army, and the good conduct of the general. *Olimar*, a *Vandal* prince, on whom the command was bestowed, finding that all his endeavours would only serve to hasten his own ruin, went over to *Valdemar*, and obtained peace from that generous conqueror. e

A. D. 1178.
Conference be-
tween Val-
demar and
Leo of
Saxony.

NEXT year was introduced by a new conference between *Valdemar* and *Henry Leo*, now elated by his conquests in *Bavaria*. *Henry* proposed this meeting, in order to settle the differences between them, and thereby secure his frontiers against the incursions of the *Danes*, during his necessary attendance at the diet, and the emperor's court. The banks of the *Eyder*, a river emptying itself into the *Baltic*, between the duchies of *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, was the place fixed on for the congress; but such was *Henry's* pride that he refused crossing the bridge, or going to the opposite side where the king was. *Valdemar* only smiled at the ridiculous dignity, and went half way over the bridge to meet this haughty sovereign prince. Here matters were adjusted to their mutual satisfaction, *Valdemar* yielding points of no consequence in order to obtain others of real benefit, conducting himself throughout the whole congress with the ability of a statesman, and the moderation of a great king and conqueror. f

SUBSEQUENT to this treaty concluded between *Denmark* and *Saxony*, were a variety of incursions, tumults, and rebellions, among the fickle, unsteady, and predatory *Vandals*, who were neither able to oppose the power of *Valdemar*, or to rest satisfied under his dominion, though he exerted the rights of conquest with all possible mildness and lenity. The recital however of such unimportant and uninteresting events would be tedious to the reader. Suffice it, that they were constantly defeated, constantly suing for peace, and no less constant in taking up arms again upon every opportunity. In a word, nothing seemed capable of securing *Denmark* on this side, but the total extirpation of so perfidious, barbarous, and warlike a people. This scheme had often been resolved upon by *Valdemar*, at the instigation of his faithful counsellor *Abfalon*; he had frequently made large strides towards its final execution; but some fresh difficulties intervened, or the clemency of his disposition was always wrought on by the supplications of the vanquished.

(A) As our only guides thro' the period of the *Danish* history, subsequent to *Valdemar's* reign, are *Pontanus* and *Meursius*, who is here a mere copier, it may be sufficient that we refer the reader to the last book of *Saxo*

Grammaticus, the sixth, seventh, and eighth books of *Pontanus*, and the third book of the second part of *Meursius*, without quoting every particular page.

a DURING the *Vandal* war, a conspiracy set on foot by *Magnus*, son to *Eric the Lamb*, was happily discovered. This young prince had sided with *Swen*; and being made prisoner in the last battle, was set at liberty and kindly pardoned by *Valdemar*, at a time, when he expected the most severe punishment. Unmindful of this instance of goodness, he joined with *Canute* and *Charles*, nephews to *Eschil*, in a plot to destroy the king. Some of the conspirators, who were gone to *Holstein* upon business, chanced to lodge an evening in the hut of an old hermit, by whom they were kindly accommodated. After they were in bed they began to talk upon the important subject in hand, expressing among other things their astonishment, that the king should, for so long a time, escape the machinations of *Canute*, *Charles*, *Magnus*, and other conspirators, who had vowed his destruction. The hermit, separated from the strangers only by a wicker partition, overheard their discourse, and next morning communicated it to the abbot, with his request that it might be instantly transmitted to *Abfalon*. By means of this accident *Valdemar* was informed of his danger, and by such unaccountable and trivial circumstances are the most important discoveries and hazardous designs, frequently laid open through the wisdom of Providence, who pursues her great scheme in a manner inscrutable to men. *Valdemar* immediately consulted with *Abfalon* the means of avoiding the impending storm; and for this purpose it was agreed, that the guard should be doubled with as much expedition and privacy as possible, and every other measure taken that could enforce the king's security; yet, without disturbing the public tranquility, or using violence upon the conspirators, until more ample proofs could be procured. It was not long before some letters wrote by *Magnus* were intercepted. In these a full account of the conspiracy was contained; and *Valdemar* openly producing them in the assembly of the states, confronted him with his own hand and seal. At first he pretended to deny the hand-writing, affirming it to be an impudent forgery; but such circumstantial proofs appeared, that in the utmost confusion he fell upon his knees before the king, confessed the whole, excused himself by saying that he had been led away by the subtle policy and ambition of *Charles* and *Canute*, and concluded with the strongest assurances of loyalty and fidelity, if his majesty would be pleased graciously to pardon this past offence. The good and merciful king, moved with his repentance, granted his request, and imposed no other punishment on his ingratitude and treachery, than forbidding him the court for a certain time. *Christiern*, son to *Swen*, who likewise enlisted himself with the conspirators, was pardoned on condition that he would immediately leave the kingdom.

b WHEN the assembly broke up, *Eschil* and the relations of *Canute* and *Charles*, made all possible interest with the king to pass an act of oblivion in which all the conspirators, without exception, should be included. They had even found means to engage *Abfalon* in this request; but *Valdemar* was inexorable, thinking it necessary to make some examples, and believing very justly, that too much lenity and indulgence would only tempt them to a repetition of their crime, especially as they saw themselves supported by so powerful an interest. *Eschil* was so chagrined with his disappointment, that he resigned his mitre, and retired to a private convent in *France*. The event proved the wisdom and prudence of the king's opinion. *Magnus* was no sooner at liberty than he began a secret correspondence with *Charles* and *Canute*, in order to make a second attempt on *Valdemar's* life. The messenger between them was taken up, the plot discovered, and *Magnus* seized and closely imprisoned: but before his trial a fresh war broke out with the *Vandals*.

c WE are told that the occasion of this war was their seizing upon the portion of a daughter of *Denmark*, which was sent by the ambassadors of *Henry Leo* into *Saxony*. From hence it would appear, that a treaty of marriage had been executed between the families of *Denmark* and *Saxony*, though we are informed expressly of no such marriage. On the contrary, all the *Danish* writers we have seen mention, that a daughter of *Valdemar's* had married towards the close of the year 1178, a prince, whose name is not known, which seems the more extraordinary, as *Grammaticus* wrote his history either in this or the following reign, and might on that account, be supposed perfectly informed of so public transaction. Be that as it will, *Valdemar* entered into an alliance with *Saxony* against the *Vandals*. The inhabitants of *Rugen* were, on this occasion, ordered to take up arms, as their services it was thought would greatly promote the designs of the allies, from their perfect knowledge of the country. As soon as the troops could be assembled, and transports got ready, the *Vandals* were assailed on one side by the king, who destroyed the strong fortrefs in *Wollin*; and by *Henry Leo*, who attacked *Demin*. The siege of this place he carried on with great assiduity, but little progress, and at last was forced totally to abandon it. The king, on his side, was more successful; for after destroying *Wollin* he laid siege to *Coscoa*, and having reduced it to extremities, burnt the town to ashes. Then laying the surrounding country under heavy contributions, he pushed his march to *Wolgast*, which he besieged so vigorously, that the inhabitants were glad to be relieved from the distress to which he reduced

The endeavours of the nobility to get an act of amnesty passed.

Magnus makes fresh attempts.

A. D. 1179.

An alliance between Saxony and Denmark against the Vandals.

reduced them, by paying a large sum of money, and restoring to him prodigious magazines of plunder, that had been deposited there by the pirates. a

Young Canute
takes the com-
mand of the
army.

AFTER these exploits *Valdemar* returned to *Denmark*; but having received some fresh insults, he determined to punish the *Vandals* with still more severity, and accordingly sent a fleet and army against them, under the conduct of his son *Canute*, *Abfalon*, and *Frederic* bishop of *Sleswick*. The young prince, for the first time, appeared in the field to be initiated in the art of war by the prudent and successful *Abfalon*. *Frederic* perished in a storm before he had any opportunity of serving his master, or exercising his prowess: but notwithstanding this loss, *Canute* and *Abfalon* pursued their course with such assiduity and diligence, that they surprised many of the enemy in their houses, who expected not so sudden a visit. They laid waste the country, set fire to a number of towns and villages, besieged *Wolgast*, and forced the brothers *Casimir* and *Bugislaus*, to sue for peace, and purchase it upon terms very advantageous to *Denmark*. Besides repaying the marriage portion of which the ambassadors had been robbed, they agreed to lay down in money, the sum of two thousand talents, together with presents of an hundred pounds of silver, to *Canute* and *Abfalon*. Having thus finished the war in one campaign, the generals returned to *Denmark*, and were graciously received by *Valdemar*, with very extraordinary marks of approbation and favour. b

The rebels de-
feated.

They resided but a few days at court, enjoying their repose, when the affairs of the state again called them into the field. The rebels *Canute* and *Charles*, who had fled to the governor of *Gotbland*, had by his means, and their interest with the people, got together a considerable body of troops, with which they invaded *Halland*. Here they expected to be joined by crowds of the peasants; but finding themselves disappointed, and the whole country firm in its allegiance to the king, they retired to a large wood that forms a frontier to *Gotbland* and *Halland*. Here they hazarded a battle, in which they were defeated, and the rebel army totally ruined, suffering the just punishment inflicted by heaven upon conspirators, so tenacious of treasonable principles, a vicious ambition, and disaffection to one of the best of princes. c

NEXT year *Henry Leo*, who was put under the ban of the empire by *Frederic Barbarossa*, took shelter with *Valdemar*, and was treated with the distinction due to his rank. His pride was now humbled, and he readily crossed the bridge over the *Eyder*, which, but two years before, he had refused to do out of punctilio and a scrupulous regard to his dignity. *Valdemar*, to whose generous disposition misfortune was the surest recommendation, promised him all the assistance in his power, without absolutely breaking with the emperor; but the requests of *Henry* were of so extraordinary a nature, that he found it impossible to comply with them, without being unjust to the people and clergy, whom he governed and was bound to protect. d

A revolt in
Schonen.

WHILE this transaction was on the carpet, a revolt appeared in *Schonen*; to appease which the king immediately dispatched *Abfalon*. The people of *Schonen* were tumultuous and inexorable; they believed themselves oppressed, and would hear of no terms but a positive compliance with their remonstrances, and redress of their grievances; upon which *Abfalon* returned to *Zealand*, and laid their complaints before the king and senate, or rather council of the nobility. Although *Abfalon* was perhaps the most concerned of any other, yet with a noble spirit of disinterestedness, he pleaded strongly, that the first article of their remonstrance should be redressed. Foreigners, and among the rest himself, had long enjoyed the lucrative posts and places belonging to this province, while the natives were excluded, and the principal nobility of *Schonen* forced to live in indolence on their estates, without any share in the administration. This was a grievance insupportable to a free spirited people, and similar to some complaints we have lately heard from a neighbouring country, *Meursius* indeed affirms, contrary to *Grammaticus*, that *Abfalon* stickled hard for the royal prerogative of chusing whatever officers the king thought fit, knowing that thereby he was promoting his own interest. But the first opinion is not only more consistent with the character of this patriot minister, and with the event, but is attested by the best cotemporary writers of *Danish* affairs. *Abfalon*'s sentiments were, however, over-ruled by a majority, and, instead of redressing the grievances of the disaffected, a letter filled with promises, soothing, and cajolings, on the one hand, and dreadful menaces on the other, was sent to the malcontents. This more and more incensed a people already irritated, and inflamed them to such a degree that they broke out into open acts of rebellion. They refused to pay the usual taxes, and particularly the bishop's tythes, and restored to the inferior clergy their antient privilege of marriage. The stroke was levelled at the bishops, and particularly at *Abfalon*, the primate of all *Schonen*. They insisted that the superior clergy were only an unnecessary load upon the people, fattening upon the spoils of the land, while their flocks were left to find heaven in their own way, or by the assistance of the inferior clergy, who were not rewarded in proportion to their services, or, in such a manner as to render their situation easy and independent. e
f
g

P.E.R.

- a PERCEIVING they were not to be wrought on by gentle means, *Valdemar* resolved upon using force. The troops were assembled at *Helsenburgh*, the van led by the king in person, and the rear by *Absalon*. In their march the latter was grossly insulted by a mob of fishermen, who flocked together in a tumultuous manner, and presumptuously flung stones at the good prelate, even while he commanded a strong body of troops. His majesty was enraged at so bold an insult, and determined to punish the offenders with the utmost severity; but was persuaded by the moderate and prudent *Absalon*, to let it pass as an ebullition of that noble spirit which characterized this people. He then again exerted all his influence with the king to listen to their complaints. He insisted, that people so tenacious of their freedom, must be bold and intrepid, and of consequence the best supports of the regal authority duly administered: in a word, he used such prevailing arguments, that *Valdemar* determined to avoid bloodshed. All those persons who were obnoxious to the malcontents were removed from their places; *Absalon* resigned his bishopric, and accepted of one greatly inferior in power and profit, and the province was in a fair way to be settled, when some of the more turbulent, who found their own interest in the public disturbance, spirited up the people still to refuse payment of the bishop's tythes, or, in other words, insisted upon the abolition of this order of ecclesiastics. *Absalon* himself now lost all patience, and, with the king's leave, laid the insurgents under severe interdiction. For a while they persisted in their obstinacy, but were at length tired out by the firm conduct of *Absalon*, and the clergy, whom he had gained over to his interest. The insurrection was not, however, terminated without blood. Two battles were fought, in both of which the malcontents were defeated, and at length reduced to the necessity of obeying, upon the king's terms, which were more reasonable and mild than they could expect. *The tumult suppressed.*

- ABOUT this time *Frederic Barbarossa*, resolving to deprive *Henry* duke of *Saxony* of every friend capable of supporting his cause, endeavoured to draw off *Valdemar* from his attachment to him, by some proposals equally honourable and advantageous to *Denmark*. These were a double alliance by marriage; proposing that the king's two daughters should be matched with his two sons, one of whom was to succeed to the imperial diadem, the other being already duke of *Suabia*. The *Danish* nobility easily perceived, that these overtures were made rather from enmity to the duke of *Saxony*, than friendship for *Valdemar*; and the king, joining with them in opinion, professed no great eagerness for the alliance: but his queen interfered, and used all her influence to prevail on him to accede to proposals which might render her daughter queen of the *Romans* and empress of *Germany*. In compliance with her humour a grand fleet was equipped, and *Valdemar* went to meet *Barbarossa* at *Lubec*. He was met on the banks of the *Trave* by a great body of the *German* nobility, who conducted him with all imaginable pomp to the imperial quarters. Here he was treated by *Barbarossa* with every possible mark of respect: his person and address were the admiration of the *Germans*, who could not avoid making public comparisons between the monarchs, no way to the advantage of *Barbarossa*, whose appearance and aspect were mean. After visits had passed, business at length was brought on the carpet, when *Barbarossa's* demands in point of fortune appeared so extravagant, that *Valdemar* and the *Danes* began to question his sincerity. The king positively refused the portion he asked for his eldest son; but at length consented to what was demanded for the duke of *Suabia*: upon which the treaty was concluded, sworn to, and guaranteed by *Bela III.* king of *Hungary*. *Conference between the emperor and Valdemar.*

- MATTERS being thus finished, the king went on board the fleet that waited for him, with intention to sail the first wind; but next morning he was surprised by a visit from the emperor in person, escorted only by a few of the nobility. Immediately the two princes retired from company, and *Barbarossa* earnestly requested the king, that he would permit him to bestow the dignity of dukes of *Pomerania* on *Casimir* and *Bugislaus*, in order the more easily to reduce *Henry Leo* to his obedience. *Valdemar* did not deny this favour; and accordingly those two princes were installed in the usual manner, the king assisting at the ceremony. Before the king of *Denmark's* departure his eldest daughter was betrothed, with the emperor's approbation, to *Sigefred*, landgrave of *Thuringia*; and soon after the nuptials were celebrated at *Sleswick* (A). On this occasion it was, that *Barbarossa* invested *Valdemar* with the title of duke of *Holstein*, and annexed the country in perpetuity to the crown of *Denmark*. *Valdemar invested with the duchy of Holstein.*

IN the beginning of the following spring *Valdemar* receiving advice, that the *Vandals* began to fortify some places that had been dismantled at the last peace, ordered *Absalon* and his son *Canute* to levy an army, and proceed against them; but the *Jutlanders* refused to enlist

(A) *Thuringia* is a country in the circle of the Upper Saxony, erected in the year 1133 into a landgraviate by the emperor *Lotharius II.* At present it is divided among a great number of different sovereigns and princes, as the houses of *Saxony*, *Barbaria*, *Hesse*, *Saxe-Weymar*, *Mein*, &c. (1).

(1) *Vid. Baudrand sub voce. p. 947.*

Valdemar
falls sick.

themselves under such generals, despising the prince on account of his youth, and hating the minister, for no other reason than that the king loved him, and that his influence was great; though he studied popularity, and was constantly the mediator between the king and the people. *Valdemar* was incensed at their refusal; and determined, notwithstanding his ill state of health, to command the expedition in person. The ill usage of his subjects increased his distemper, and in a few days confined him to his bed; yet would he not relinquish his design. At length, by the tears and intreaties of his nobility, he was prevailed on to commit the war to his generals, and his own person to the care of his physicians at *Wertenburg*. a

WHILE the fleet was detained in port by contrary winds, the *Jutlanders* began to mutiny, to complain of the scarcity of provisions, and insisted upon a release from the service. *Homer*, bishop of *Ripen*, a man greatly esteemed for his character and eloquence, harangued them for a long time to little purpose; and at length ordered one of the ringleaders to be seized and bound. Instead of quieting, this increased the tumult to such a degree, that the officers were constrained to dismiss the soldiers, and permit them to return home. *Valdemar* observed them from his window dispersed over the fields, judged the cause, and was so afflicted, that his distemper increased, and his life was despaired of. The art of all his physicians was foiled; upon which the nobility prevailed on him to call in the assistance of a certain abbot, and empiric, whose impudence and boasting had raised him to a high degree of credit. His fatal nostrum was administered, and the king breathed his last, while he was left alone to take that repose which the quack insisted would restore his health. b

His death and
character.

Thus died *Valdemar*, a prince respected more than any of his predecessors for the qualities of his mind and person, at the age of forty-eight, and in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, from the death of his associate. His piety, justice, prudence, and clemency, rendered him no less the idol, than his bravery, conduct, and success, the admiration of his people and of neighbouring states. His disposition was equally fitted for war and peace; but the latter he chose to cultivate, and never entered upon the former but to support the honour and dignity of his crown. His conquests were less brilliant, but more useful and necessary than those of former kings. He subdued *Rugen*, annexed it to his crown, and confirmed the islanders in the true principles of religion, the Christian faith. He overcame *Wratislaus*, duke of *Stetin*, and made him a vassal of *Denmark*. *Henry Leo*, duke of *Saxony*, a powerful, fierce, and fickle prince, he thrice obliged to sue for peace in the most abject manner. Twice he defeated *Erling* and the *Norwegians*, and often overthrew the *Vandals*: but his behaviour to the conquered added more to his fame than all the great talents by which he became a conqueror. In a word, he is extolled by all cotemporary and subsequent writers as the greatest, the wisest, and the best monarch, who had hitherto filled the *Danish* throne. c

S E C T VI.

Containing all the public Transactions until the Reign of *Eric V.* surnamed *Pløg-Penning*. c

C A N U T E VI.

A. D. 1132.
Canute VI.

AS soon as the remains of *Valdemar* were honourably interred, *Canute*, his son and successor, repaired to *Jutland* to hold an assembly of the states, in order to redress those grievances which occasioned the late tumults. In his father's life-time he had been declared the immediate heir with all the solemnities of a coronation, so that he now entered upon the prerogatives of majesty without form or ceremony. f

A new revolt
in *Schonen*.

The province of *Schonen* still persisted in its disaffection, and was now on the king's death grown more insolent and licentious. The malcontents were spirited up to fresh attempts by some artful persons, who encouraged them to wipe off the disgrace of the late defeats they had sustained. *Abfalon*, the faithful minister of *Valdemar*, applied all the remedies in his power to bring them to a sense of their duty; but in vain. Nothing is more blindly obstinate and provokingly insolent than a mob, and this the bishop found; for his good offices were returned with abuse, and the grossest insults. On pretence of defending their liberties, they moved the assembly to another place, and met all in arms, as if they were marching against an enemy. *Abfalon* retired to *Zealand*; and now the faction, having g

^a SAXO GRAM. l. xv. MEURS. l. v. p. 1118.

a no one to restrain them whose authority they dreaded, or whose character they respected, broke out into the most ungovernable and riotous behaviour. They set fire to the houses of the nobility, seized upon all the place-men and officers of the court, and committed the most daring and open acts of rebellion. Observing that their faction preserved no order, and could have no stability without laws of subordination, they elected one *Harold* The rebels choose a king. their general; a man who, though descended from the royal stem, was deficient in every quality of a king and leader. Elated with his new dignity, *Harold* assumed the title of king, set up the royal standard, and had crowds of peasants daily flocking to him.

b NOTWITHSTANDING this rage of disaffection, which had seized the minds of the common people, the nobility, gentry, and place-men remained steady in their loyalty, and by their vigorous endeavours drew together a body of forces to oppose the malcontents. The ardour expressed by both sides to come to an engagement is inconceivable. Passion and prejudice, void of all reason and principle, actuated both; and the closer their connections of neighbourhood and friendship were before, the more violent was their animosity now. A battle was fought with such blind fury, as deprived them of the power of destroying each other; and after half a day spent in the most tumultuous and irregular fight ever known, where hurts and bruises were given instead of mortal wounds, *Harold* was defeated, the rebels dispersed, and the royalists left masters of the field, with the glory of a bloodless victory. The rebels defeated.

c But the malcontents soon recovered their spirits after his repulse, and began a second time to make head, though deserted by *Harold*, who, in a cowardly manner, had fled into *Sweden*. The approach however of *Absalon*, with a body of forces, soon reduced them to order: upon which he called an assembly, revived several laws that had fallen into neglect, obliged the peasants publicly to abjure *Harold*, whom they proclaimed king, and restored the former tranquillity of the province. The malcontents would indeed have been more severely handled by *Canute*, who now entered the province, and proposed giving the district of *Frostherret* to be plundered by the soldiers, had not *Absalon* interposed in their favour.

d NEXT year *Canute* received a solemn embassy from the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*, complimenting him upon his accession, and desiring the continuance of that alliance which A. D. 1183. The insidious conduct of Barbarossa. subsisted during his father's reign between the Imperial and *Danish* courts. The intention, however, of all these specious professions of friendship, was no other than to obtain some concessions in favour of the *Vandals*, and to persuade *Canute* to attend the aulic council in person, as a vassal of the empire. His majesty, penetrating into *Barbarossa's* views, returned a modest refusal to these requests: upon which the emperor sent a reply filled with menaces, and commanding him, in a haughty strain of authority, to obey. His threats having no effect, he sent *Sigefred*, and his wife, who was *Canute's* sister, to *Roschild*, in order to move him by their influence; but *Canute*, by *Absalon's* advice, remained firm in his resolution to preserve the independency of his crown. To have his revenge, *Barbarossa* He excites the Vandals to a war with Canute. spirited up *Bugislaus*, new sole prince of the *Vandals*, since the death of *Casimir*, to begin a war with *Denmark*, promising him liberal supplies of men and money. But the *Vandal* prince, dreading the consequences of an open war with so potent a kingdom, and unwilling to disobey the emperor, began first to tamper with *Jarimar* his uncle, then governor of *Rugen*, and the vassal of *Canute*. Disappointed in this attempt, he sought an occasion to quarrel with him. *Jarimar* immediately dispatched an ambassador to acquaint the king with these transactions; and *Bugislaus*, pretending that nothing could be more agreeable to him than submitting the dispute to the decision of *Canute* and a general diet, sent ambassadors to court to plead his cause. While he was amusing *Canute* with negotiations, he privately raised a great army, and equipped so powerful a fleet, that he sent to acquaint *Barbarossa*, that now he had it in his power to oblige *Canute* to submit to the terms his imperial majesty should think fit to prescribe. But his treachery and boasting soon received the just punishment, through the vigilance of *Absalon*, that skilful and hardened veteran. No sooner was the minister made acquainted with *Bugislaus's* proceedings than he published an edict, obliging all men within the *Danish* islands, who had attained a certain age, to assemble under arms at an appointed rendezvous. The king was absent in *Jutland*, and the emergency of the occasion would not admit of the delay which would necessarily attend waiting for his instructions. A fleet was equipped with amazing expedition, the troops were embarked, and under sail in quest of the enemy, before *Bugislaus* imagined that his intention was discovered.

f *Absalon* had dispersed directions among the officers of the fleet, regulating the manner of engaging, and exhorting them to perform their duty, and maintain the reputation of their country, by defeating once more those barbarians they had so often vanquished. His instructions were obeyed; he came upon *Bugislaus* while he lay at anchor, at some distance from *Rugen*, feasting, carousing, and waiting for the emperor's orders in what manner to Absalon defeats the Vandal prince.

dispose of *Denmark*. He dreamed not of *Abfalon*'s approach, and was attacked, defeated, and dispersed before he had time to recollect himself, to issue out one single order, or make the smallest shew of resistance. a

BARBAROSSA was so disappointed in his high expectations, that he gave up all thoughts of reducing *Canute* to the necessity of stooping to his will; and receiving the investiture of his kingdom from the hands of the emperor; for this *Pontanus* mentions as the principal object which *Barbarossa* had in view. Nor did *Abfalon* content himself with this victory: he pushed his good fortune, attacked and took *Wolgest*, *Wellin*, and several other towns and cities, which he gave up to be plundered by his soldiers.

A. D. 1185.

The country of the Vandals subdued.

NEXT year the king in person marched into the *Vandal* country; traversed and laid waste several provinces, without making any resistance; the people indulging themselves in gluttony and drunkenness; as if in the midst of profound peace, the last resources of despair. Inflamed with the desire of rich plunder, the troops desired to be led from *Grotzwin* into *Pomerania*, disregarding all the difficulties of a march through a barbarous and mountainous country, while satiating their avarice was the object. But provisions failing, and the infantry being quite spent with fatigue, the king brought back the army to *Wellin*, where, in a brisk skirmish, he defeated *Bugislaus*, and had near taken him prisoner, at the very time he was laying in ambush for the *Danes*. This action, according to *Pontanus*, happened near the city *Camin* in the *Upper Saxony*, in consequence of which *Canute* laid siege to it, but was prevented from pursuing it, by the intreaties and supplications of the priests and other religious persons, who had come out of the city to deprecate his wrath. b

Bugislaus sues for peace.

BUGISLAUS perceiving nothing but ruin and destruction around him, went in person to *Jarimar* and *Abfalon*, to beg their intercession with the king to procure him a peace; but *Abfalon* imagining his professions were not sincere, replied, that the soldiers were not yet sufficiently rewarded with plunder for the fatigues they had undergone, nor the *Vandals* punished enough for their perfidy. This answer determined *Bugislaus* to obtain peace upon any terms which at length was granted, on condition that he would pay a prodigious sum of money specified, as a fine for his ill conduct, and indemnification for the expences of the war; and that he would hold his title of duke at the hands of the king of *Denmark*, and acknowledge himself a vassal of that crown. This treaty he confirmed by hostages; after which he was sumptuously entertained by *Abfalon*. Before his departure he performed homage to the king, and prostrated himself before him on the ground, protesting, that he held all his dominions by the bounty and clemency of *Canute*, and was willing to surrender them at his pleasure. This was a voluntary act of humiliation, which *Canute*, from a spirit of generosity, endeavoured to prevent, but in vain. *Bugislaus* was as mean in adversity as insolent in prosperity, and the king equally merciful and moderate to the vanquished. Thus the *Vandals*, who had cost *Valdemar* so much toil, treasure, and blood, were at length totally subdued by his son, and their country annexed as a fief to the crown of *Denmark*. *Bugislaus*, during his life, remained firm to his engagements, and on his death-bed strongly recommended it to the guardians of his children, to be intirely directed by *Canute*, in the partition of his dominions. c

A. D. 1188.

A set-form of worship established in the Danish church.

BEFORE the king returned to *Roschild*, *Abfalon* perceiving a great afflux of clergy from all parts of *Europe* to this part of *Germany*, with the king's consent, convoked a general synod, and among other ordinations passed one decree, that the same form of divine service should be used in all the parish churches within the *Danish* dominions, the same psalmody and chantings performed; and for this purpose certain forms of prayer and public worship were drawn up, in which *Abfalon* was assisted by a great number of other learned bishops and divines (A). d

A. D. 1184.

ABOUT the beginning of the following year *Bugislaus* died, and his dukedom was divided between his sons *Casimir* and *Bugislaus*. A fresh contest likewise arose between *Canute* and the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*. The emperor sent an embassy to invite the king to the celebration of the nuptials of his sister and the duke of *Suabia*, and to demand the remainder of her portion which *Valdemar* had promised, but hitherto remained unpaid. *Canute* suspecting some treachery, and recollecting the snares laid by *Barbarossa* for his father, the late enemy he had raised by his intrigues against himself, and his severe conduct to the duke of *Saxony*, answered the ambassadors, that as to what related to the nuptials, he should be glad they were celebrated with all possible pomp; but that he must not go upon such an occasion out of his own dominions. As to the portion, it was unusual, he said, to pay the whole before consummation; and he therefore hoped the emperor would excuse his not complying with a demand so extraordinary and unreasonable. *Barbarossa* was enraged at this con- e

(A) *Saxo Grammaticus*, a truly classical, eloquent, and entertaining historian, concludes his history with the transactions of this year. No writer has so strongly characterized the antient manners of this people, as *Saxo*, who has carefully preserved all their traditions,

fables, and the very genius of the times, in his beautiful translations of the songs and narratives of the *Danish* bards (the only historians of the earlier ages) and the martial achievements of those glorious barbarians, who were the conquerors of a great part of *Europe*.

tempe

a tempt of his authority, and sent back the princess, *Canute's* sister, with her portion and virginity, attended however with a splendid retinue, after she had lived seven years at the imperial court.

NEXT year the crusade was preached up in *Germany*; and the emperor, seized with the spirit of holy achievements, determined upon an expedition to the Holy Land, in order to recover *Palestine* out of the hands of *Saladin* and the infidels. To prevent any disturbances during his absence, he found it necessary to reconcile the differences between him and the courts of *Denmark* and *Saxony*. *Henry Leo* was recalled from banishment, and restored to a part of his dominions; but we do not find any account of the negotiations between him and *Canute*; only it is said in general terms, that the emperor and king terminated all their differences.

Henry Leo recalled from banishment.

b FROM henceforward until the end of the year 1192, *Denmark* enjoyed profound peace, notwithstanding the disturbances raised by the ambition of *Henry Leo*, in *Holstein*, and the neighbouring continent. Now at length the public repose was broke by the contests between *Valdemar*, bishop of *Sleswick*, and the king. This prelate was the son of *Canute*, slain by *Swen* at the public entertainment he made for him and the late king *Valdemar*, at *Roschild*. He now claimed not only his patrimony, but a share in the regal authority, as the son of *Canute*, the grandson of *Magnus*, and great grandson of king *Nicholas*. Perceiving that all his arguments were vain, unless backed with power, he applied for assistance to *Adolphus* earl of *Holstein*, *Bernard* duke of *Saxony*, and *Otho* marquis of *Brandenburgh*, all of whom agreed to attack *Canute* by land, while the bishop invaded his coasts by means of a fleet. To render his measures more secure, the prelate went in person to *Norway*, and with magnificent promises engaged the king, or, as others affirm, his son *Hacquin* in his cause, obtaining from him thirty ships of war, well equipped, and every way fitted to put to sea.

A. D. 1192. Disputes between the king and the bishop of Sleswick.

c BEFORE *Valdewar* entered upon action, he was told it would be for his interest to make an overture of referring his cause to the king, and a general diet of the states. Hence it was not doubted but rather than hazard the loss of all his dominions, *Canute* would consent to a partition of his kingdom; or, at least, agree to give the bishop some honourable and lucrative government. These monitors, besides, hinted the inconsistency of his being at the same time a king and a bishop. *Valdemar* imprudently lent an ear to their admonitions, referred his cause to the diet, and was in the mean time seized and imprisoned, where he continued for the space of fourteen years, until he was discharged in the next reign by king *Valdemar* II. Thus ended this terrible storm, that threatened destruction to *Canute*; though some writers, if we may credit *Pontanus*, relate, that the bishop was taken prisoner in a sea-fight off the coast of *Norway*. His allies, ignorant of the prelate's fate, marched in a hostile manner to the frontiers of *Denmark*; and pitching their camp on the banks of the river *Eyder*, waited the arrival of *Canute*, says *Pontanus*; though we rather imagine they here expected to confer on the operations with the bishop. After they had waited for several days, forage and provisions growing scarce, they determined to return home; all besides *Adolphus*, who entered the *Danish* territories, and laid the country waste as far as *Sleswick*. But the news that his allies had actually retreated, that the bishop was made prisoner, and, above all, a repulse he met with from the king's forces, obliged him to purchase peace, at a great expence, to prevent their cutting off his retreat.

The bishop is seized and imprisoned.

d THIS year *Philip* II. of *France*, sent ambassadors to *Canute*, to demand in marriage his beautiful sister *Ingeburga*, called by *French* writers *Gelberga*. The proposals were accepted, four thousand marks in pure silver paid down for her portion, and a fleet equipped to conduct her with all possible pomp into *France*, where the nuptials were celebrated, and *Ingeburga* proclaimed queen, in the year 1194; or, as other writers relate, in 1195. This prince's the king divorced the following year, under a variety of pretences which it would be unnecessary to recite in this place; and, among others, on account of a foetid breath, which he pleaded, from some of the *Byzantine* writers, was a sufficient cause. Her brother *Canute* applied to the pope, insisting, that *Philip* should part with the wife he had married since his separation from his sister, and take back the injured and repudiated *Ingeburga*, who was confined in a strong castle (A). But the *Danish* historians mention nothing concerning the event of this application to his holiness.

A. D. 1193. Canute's sister marries Philip II. of France.

She is divorced.

f THIS year *Canute* ordered a muster to be made of all the men fit to bear arms in his dominions, and each province to fit out its proportion of shipping, every way equipped to put to sea, and enter upon action. The whole force of the *Danish* marine appears, from the estimate given by *Pontanus*, to have consisted of six hundred and seventy ships of war, besides the squadrons supplied by vassals, tributary states, and allies. When this powerful

A. D. 1195. The power of Denmark.

(A) One reason given by *Philip* for repudiating *Ingeburga*, was their near consanguinity, though by the genealogical table of *Pontanus* it appears, that she was at least ten steps removed; and besides, that there had been a breach in the right line, about three generations before (1).

armament was ready to put to sea, then *Canute* declared his intention of attacking once more the *Vandals* and *Prussians*, who had abjured Christianity, and restored their idols and false gods, after having so long received the light of the gospel. *Walgast*, *Stetin*, and other towns and cities, opened their gates to a force they found themselves unable to resist; and thus the enemy were reduced to obedience as soon as *Canute* appeared.

A. D. 1196.

NEXT year he made an expedition to *Livonia*, with a view to establish Christianity among these northern barbarians, who as yet remained in the ignorance and obscurity of paganism. Some attempts to effect this had been made by *Valdemar* and others of his predecessors; but for want of proper regulations among the missionaries, they all proved abortive. This is the reason assigned by the *Danish* writers for this expedition; though we think it probable that *Canute* had in view the putting a stop to the conquests of the *Teutonic* knights (an order established a few years before) who had almost subdued the whole country, without regard to the right which the kings of *Denmark* claimed over several of the more northern provinces. Concerning the event of this affair, the *Danish* historians are silent.

A. D. 1198.

Quarrel between *Canute* and *Otho* of *Brandenburg*.

ABOUT the year 1198, *Otho* marquis of *Brandenburg* made an incursion into *Pomerania*, and seized upon several castles and fortresses, which he claimed as his property. *Canute*, on the contrary, believed them to be his right, and accordingly determined to regain them by force of arms. Other reasons likewise concurred in lighting up this war; and among the rest a grudge, which *Canute* bore the marquis on account of the late assistance he had given to *Valdemar*, bishop of *Sleswick*. A fleet was equipped, and the command given to *Peter* bishop of *Roschild*, and his brother *Torbern*. They were ordered to enter the river *Warnow*, while the king took up his residence in the island of *Mona*, to observe their operations, and wait the event. Here they were joined by the *Pomeranians*, *Vandals*, and *Mecklenburgers*, the subjects or allies of *Canute*; notwithstanding which the bishop was defeated, made prisoner, and the *Danish* army obliged to fly with precipitation to their ships. *Torbern* was killed in the battle, and the bishop kept for two years a close prisoner, escaping at last by the connivance of the marquis, who was unwilling to be at the expence of maintaining a captive of such distinction.

GROWN more bold by his good fortune, the marquis entering into an alliance with *Adolphus* earl of *Holstein*, made incursions into *Pomerania*, *Mecklenburg*, and the country of the *Vandals*. He laid waste a great part of the government of *Jarmaric*, and proposed entering the territories of *Rugen*; and invading the island of that name; had not the approaching winter stopped his progress.

Canute obliges the enemy to beg peace.

IN the ensuing spring *Canute* commanded his army in person, and entering *Holstein*, laid the territories of *Adolphus* waste. He was too securely encamped for the enemy to venture upon attacking him; and without passing beyond the *Eyder*, he obliged *Adolphus* to sue for peace. After this the king returned to *Denmark*, to be present at the last obsequies of his queen's mother, who died in his absence.

A. D. 1199.

Young *Valdemar* defeats *Adolphus* and makes a successful campaign.

THE spring of the year 1199, was ushered in by a breach of the late peace. *Adolphus*, disliking the conditions imposed upon him, had again recourse to arms, and the king committed the care of the war to his brother *Valdemar*. This young hero now first appeared at the head of an army, and by his conduct gave strong prognostics of his future greatness. With inferior forces he met *Adolphus*, engaged and defeated him, with a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, *Adolphus* himself very narrowly escaping out of the field. Almost all the *Holsteiners* were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. *Adolphus* took shelter in *Hamburg*, which was immediately invested by the conqueror, and taken, the unfortunate duke escaping at a postern gate. *Valdemar* pursued his victory, and in a short time made himself master of all the fortified towns in *Holstein*, over-ran and totally subdued the principality of *Swerin*, took *Lubec*, after a brisk siege, and, in a word, annexed a great part of the *German* continent to the dominions of *Denmark*, without meeting with one repulse during the glorious course of the two campaigns.

WHILE *Valdemar* was traversing these countries, *Adolphus* found means to repossess himself of *Hamburg*; upon which the *Danish* prince immediately crossed the *Elbe*, and a second time laid siege to this city, which had not then attained to that height of power and opulence to which it afterwards arrived. The siege was carried on with such vigour, that the citizens, distressed for provisions, were obliged to capitulate. This brought on a conference between *Valdemar* and *Adolphus*, who waited on the prince in his camp. As soon as the inhabitants of *Dithmarsch*, then serving under *Valdemar*, were informed that *Adolphus* was in the camp, they rushed sword in hand to his tent, in order to revenge the ravages he had committed in their country. Their fury was such, that *Valdemar* and the guards could hardly restrain them from putting him instantly to death. At this meeting it was agreed, that the citadels of *Hamburg* and *Lawenburg* should receive *Danish* garrisons, and be put wholly into the hands of *Valdemar*, he stipulating on his part, that the citizens should remain

a main in the full possession of all their liberties, immunities, and property. But *Adolphus* soon attempted to break his engagements, upon which he was seized and committed to the fortress of *Seburg*, where bishop *Valdemar* was kept a prisoner.

This year died the brave, the honest, and the pious *Abfalon*, archbishop of *Lunden*, the faithful servant of the crown, and patron of the people; the scourge of his country's foes, the protector of letters, the encourager of learned men, the rewarder of merit, and, in a word, the greatest ornament of *Denmark*. Posterity owes to him this peculiar obligation, that he first persuaded *Saxo Grammaticus* to undertake his history, and generously countenanced and supported him while he was engaged in that work, which will transmit the memory of both with honour to the most distant ages. *Andreas Swen*, chancellor of *Denmark*, succeeded him in the archbishopric. According to some authors, *Saxo Grammaticus* died about this time, and a few months after his patron; though, from the manner in which he speaks of *Valdemar I.* in his preface, addressed to the new archbishop, we have reason to think he lived only a few years after that prince's accession to the throne^b.

A. D. 1201.
Death and
character of
Abfalon.

VALDEMAR having greatly enlarged the *Danish* boundaries by the total reduction of *Holstein*, *Stormar*, the districts of *Lubec* and *Hamburg*, the country properly and antiently called *Nordalbingia*, but now included under the general name of *Holstein*, and within the limits of that duchy, together with several other principalities, duchies, and earldoms, was advised to strengthen his alliances and the royal line by marriage. He chose *Ingeburga*, sister to *Otho* duke of *Brunswick*; and the nuptials were celebrated at *Hamburg* with great magnificence, king *Canute* attending in person, and presiding at the entertainment. *Valdemar* had, for some years, enjoyed the government of *Sleswick*; and now his power was considerably encreased by his conquests, all which *Canute* annexed to the duchy of *Sleswick*. The king returned to *Denmark*, and soon after was seized with a malady which carried him off in a few days, and so suddenly, that some persons suspected he was poisoned, though by whose means remains a profound secret. He is celebrated as a prince of great piety and moderation, extremely chaste and temperate, but no great warrior. The conquests made during his reign are solely to be attributed to *Abfalon* and *Valdemar*; but we cannot but commend the judgment of *Canute*, in chusing such ministers and generals, and placing so entire a confidence in them, notwithstanding the obliquy and detraction of their numerous and powerful enemies. *Canute* is said to have passed some very wholesome and necessary laws during his reign, particularly one with respect to murder, by which it was ordained, that only the personal effects of the murderer should be confiscated, his real estate descending to his heirs and relations, that the innocent might not be involved in the punishment of the guilty.

Death and
character of
Canute.

V A L D E M A R II.

IMMEDIATELY on the death of *Canute* his brother, *Valdemar* was invested with all the badges of regal authority, and unanimously chosen to succeed to the throne of *Denmark*. Upon the first advice of the king's illness he set out for *Roschild*, and arrived there before he breathed his last, though he was then speechless. *Valdemar* was received by the nobility and commons with the utmost joy. He was the son and very image of their favourite king, *Valdemar I.* His military exploits had gained him great reputation, and augmented the wealth and power of his country; and his private conduct had secured to him the esteem and affections of all to whom he was personally known.

Valdemar II.
A. D. 1203.

With these advantages *Valdemar* entered upon the government of a kingdom, to preside over which he was equally entitled by birth and merit. The usual oath of allegiance was taken by the whole kingdom, with uncommon alacrity; not excepting the newly-conquered provinces. He began his reign with enacting, by the consent of a general assembly, a variety of salutary laws, which the reader will find specified in *Pontanus* and the *Saxon Chronicle*.

Valdemar
passes some
very salutary
laws.

NEXT he entered upon a treaty with *Adolphus* duke of *Holstein*, then his prisoner, by which it was stipulated, that *Adolphus* should be set at liberty, provided he renounced all claim to the duchy of *Holstein* and the citadels of *Hamburg* and *Lawemburg*; for we find that this last still remained in the hands of his adherents. By what means they got possession of it, after it received a *Danish* garrison, we are not informed; the fact, however, is asserted by *Pontanus*^c.

VALDEMAR passing then into *Schonen*, held a diet, and framed a number of laws for the good regulation of the province.

THIS year it was that bishop *Valdemar* was released, after an imprisonment of fourteen years, on condition that he would never set foot again in any part of the *Danish* dominions; a hard sentence, which was soon mitigated at the intercession of the queen, the bishops, and

A. D. 1206.
The bishop of
Sleswick re-
leased.

^b Præfat. ad Hist. p. 2.

^c L. vi. p. 297.

several of the nobility. He even obtained, through the influence of his friends, the means of being chosen bishop of *Bremen*, in the room of *Hartwic*, lately deceased. This election caused great disturbances in *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, and wherever the jurisdiction of this see extended; but the steady prudence of *Valdemar* surmounted all difficulties, annulled the election, and got *Bucher* chosen archbishop.

A. D. 1208.

*A short view
of the affairs
of Sweden.*

THIS year produced insurrections and tumults among that people called *Sajons*, inhabiting part of *Gothland*, *Sweden Proper*, and *Bothnia*, which communicated the flames of war not only to *Denmark*, but almost to all the kingdoms of the North. *Swercher*, at present, swayed that scepter in consequence of an agreement, that the posterity of the kings *Eric* and *Charles* should alternately reign. But *Charles's* issue getting possession, they either proscribed or slew all the children of *Canute*, son to *Eric*, except *Eric* the youngest, called after his grandfather. This prince fled into *Norway*, and there concealed himself during the persecution carried on against his family; but making strong friends among the nobility and people, he now returned home, and laid claim to the crown. He succeeded so happily in alienating the affections of the people from *Swercher*, that he was already at the head of a strong party. *Swercher* perceiving the danger, left no stone unturned to draw *Valdemar* into his quarrel. He made large promises, used supplications, sent presents, and at length prevailed so far, that *Valdemar* sent a strong body of *Danes* and *Bohemians* to his assistance (A); under the conduct of *Peter*, surnamed the *Elder*, bishop of *Roschild*; who had been unfortunate in a battle against the *Vandals*. Joining forces with *Swercher*, they gave battle to *Eric*, and after an obstinate conflict were totally defeated, with prodigious slaughter. The number of officers and soldiers which the *Danes* lost was so great, that this was the most complete victory and memorable battle which had ever been known in these parts.

*The Danish
auxiliaries de-
feated.*

SWERCHER collecting his scattered troops, made head for some time against the victorious *Eric*, and at length came to a decisive engagement near *Gistlebrow*, more unfortunate than the former; for here his army was overthrown, and himself killed. Upon this *Eric* assumed the regal authority, and *Valdemar* did not chuse to dispute it, imagining that he had already been sufficiently punished for maintaining the unjust cause of an usurper and murderer. In this war it was supposed, that not less than fifteen thousand *Danes*, besides *Bohemians*, perished.

A. D. 1209.

*Lubec burnt
to the ground.*

VALDEMAR applied himself now to the fortifying his frontiers on the continent, and improving the new acquired dominions on that side. He demolished *Wittenburg*, and greatly enlarged *Hamburg*: after which he threw a fine bridge from north to south over the *Elbe*. But, in the midst of these employments, *Lubec* was intirely burnt down by an accident, only five houses escaping the flames; and this part of the town went, in the days of *Pontanus*, by the name of the *Five Houses*.

A. D. 1210.

NEXT year *Valdemar* went upon an expedition against some pagan nations, inhabiting the banks of the *Vistula*, with a view to establish the Christian religion in those barbarous parts. What success he met with we know not; but he was soon recalled, to be present at the birth of his eldest son *Valdemar*, who was born this year, and at the nuptials of his sister with king *Eric*, whom but a little before he held as an enemy to the kingdom.

*Stralsund
founded.*

A. D. 1211.

ABOUT this time was laid the foundation of the city *Stralsund* in *Pomerania Royal*, opposite to the isle of *Rugen*. *Valdemar* intended it both as a fortress and commercial town: nor were his expectations disappointed; for it became so frequented by the *Saxons*, and other nations, that it soon rose to eminence. An attempt was made the following year by *Casimir* and *Bogislaus* to destroy it; but they were repulsed by *Jarimar* and the inhabitants of *Rugen*, assisted by a body of *Danes*. This year the queen, after being delivered of another prince named *Canute*, died, loudly lamented and sincerely regretted, both by the king and people. In memory of her the castle of *Droningholm* was built, that name importing the *Queen's Island*.

A. D. 1213.

*Valdemar
goes in person
against the
Pomeranians.*

IN the year 1213, *Valdemar* determined upon an expedition against the *Pomeranians*; and with that view arrived in *Demin*, the citadel of which he rebuilt, and fortified in the strongest manner.

ABOUT this time *Valdemar* sent ambassadors to congratulate the new emperor *Frederic II.* on his accession, and procure his investiture of the countries he had lately conquered in *Germany*. This was a compliment which *Valdemar* prudently chose to pay, rather than have his right disputed, though it was what his father so positively refused to *Barbarossa*. His request was granted; a formal instrument, confirming him in his right, was made out; and the ambassadors dismissed, after many distinctions conferred on them.

(A) His first queen *Ingeburga* dying without issue, he in the year 1205. By this means he became connected with *Bohemia* (1). *Valdemar* soon after married *Dagmar*, daughter to the king of *Bohemia*. The nuptials were celebrated at Lu-

(1) *Pontan. l. vi.*

a In the mean time the *Danish* forces and fleet were making some progress on the coast of *Pomerania*. After laying waste a great part of the country, *Stetin* was besieged in form, and taken, together with a number of other cities, towns, and fortresses. Upon this occasion the earl of *Swerin* paid homage to *Valdemar*, and took an oath, that, when the king required it, he should always have a body of forces ready to march at his command.

b BURCHER archbishop of *Bremen* dying this year, *Gerhard Osnaburgh* was put in by the pope in his room. This election being disagreeable to the people, they sent to bishop *Valdemar* to assure him, that, if he could procure a proper and sufficient force to support him, they were ready to receive him as their archbishop, and would even join him with all the power they could raise, to expel *Gerhard*. Immediately on this notice the bishop applied himself to *Otho*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, then highly offended with king *Valdemar*, because his fleet had lately taken some forts which he claimed as his right. In consequence of this he lent bishop *Valdemar* a numerous corps of auxiliaries. He was likewise assisted by *Otho*, deposed from the imperial throne by the pope, and desirous of seeking his revenge in this opposition. *Henry Palatine* joined in the confederacy, and was the chief instrument of fixing *Valdemar* in the see of *Bremen*, and deposing *Gerhard*.

c THE pope and king *Valdemar* were fired with resentment at this transaction. The one anathematized, and the other resolved to punish *Valdemar* and the confederates by more effectual means. Equipping a fleet with all possible expedition, he entered the *Elbe*, and laid siege to *Stade*; the citizens having, contrary to their oath of allegiance, received bishop *Valdemar*. *Henry Palatine*, brother to the emperor *Otho*, lay at some distance with a considerable corps, with which he annoyed the besiegers, and relieved by all possible means the garrison.

d OTHO, the deposed emperor, believing that now a proper opportunity offered of invading *Denmark*, forgetting all his obligations to king *Valdemar*, raised an army, and marched to *Hamburg*, to which he laid siege, in conjunction with his brother *Henry*. Pressed hard with the vigour of the besiegers, the garrison capitulated, notwithstanding speedy relief was expected from the approach of king *Valdemar* and the emperor *Frederic*, the former having with him an army of sixty, or, as others relate, of forty thousand men. *Otho*, leaving a strong garrison in *Hamburg*, quitted it with his army in a precipitate manner, not chusing to come to an action with *Valdemar*; and perceiving himself deserted by the *German* princes, relinquished his claim to the imperial diadem, and retired into a private station, in which he died about three years after.

e THE winter came on before *Valdemar* had made any great progress in the war; only *Stade* received his troops; but early in the spring he invaded the *Lower Saxony*, and subdued all the country belonging to *Henry Palatine*. Next he marched against *Hamburg*, which he closely invested, while the garrison resolved upon making a vigorous resistance. New works were raised to annoy the besiegers; but the courage and obstinacy of the garrison and burghers were at length subdued by the perseverance of *Valdemar*, and the consequent famine, which obliged them to surrender at discretion, after the loss of all their principal officers, and incredible hardships sustained.

RETURNING then to *Denmark*, he held a general diet in the island of *Samsoe*, at which his son *Valdemar* was unanimously chosen successor to the throne. Thence he passed into *Jutland*, where the general diet was no less unanimous in granting him whatever he required; and, to crown the felicity of the year, his third queen *Beringaria* brought him a young son, whom they baptized by the name of *Eric*.

f THE following year this young prince was crowned and proclaimed king, by the name of *Valdemar III.* to obviate all disputes about the succession. The coronation was performed at *Sleswick*, in presence of an infinity of people of all ranks, who flocked from every quarter of the kingdom to behold the solemnity.

g ABOUT this time *Valdemar* received advice, that the *Livonians*, assisted by the *Muscovites*, *Lithuanians*, and other northern barbarous nations, had driven from their habitations all those who had embraced Christianity, and taken an oath of allegiance to the crown of *Denmark*. Fitting out a powerful fleet, he immediately set sail for that country, with a resolution to punish this infraction of the treaty subsisting between the two nations. He was no sooner landed in *Livonia* than his troops were seized with a panic, at the sight of such a powerful army of savages as they saw assembled on the mountains. It is said that the king himself was somewhat dismayed, at so unusual and horrible a spectacle as a prodigious army clothed in skins, and more resembling wild beasts than the human species; but, encouraged by the bishops of *Lunden* and *Arhusen*, who assured him of victory while he was fighting the cause of *Christ*, he made a short speech to the soldiers, ordered public prayers to be read between the ranks, and then marched with intrepidity against the enemy. After a warm conflict the *Danish* standard was lost; a circumstance that dispirited the troops, and made them give way; until heaven, says *Pontanus*, was pleased to send down another standard.

A. D. 1214.
Disputes between the king and bishop of Sleswick renewed.

A. D. 1215.

A. D. 1216.
Valdemar invades the Lower Saxony.

A. D. 1217.

A. D. 1218.

Valdemar's expedition to Livonia.

He defeats the
Muscovites
and their
allies.

dard. Upon this they rallied, attacked the confederate barbarians with astonishing resolution, and, notwithstanding their prodigious numbers, overthrew them with incredible slaughter. The historians of these times, and after them *Pontanus*, recite a variety of marvellous circumstances which attended this battle. Among others, they relate, that *Andrew* bishop of *Lunden* retired during the action to an adjacent hill, where, with uplifted hands, he poured forth prayers to the Almighty for *Valdemar's* success. While his hands were held up to heaven, and the fervency of prayer continued, the enemy constantly gave way; but on the least remission of the bishop's devotion, they in their turns pushed the *Danes*; both armies fluctuating backward and forward, like the waves, says our historian, on the sea-shore, according to the prelate's fervour and zeal in petitioning the Supreme Being ^b.

THIS signal victory was obtained near the fortress of *Valdemar*, so called from *Valdemar*, in memory of this glorious event, by which the gospel was once more restored among this rude and ignorant people (A).

An estimate of
the revenue
and force of
Denmark,

How potent and flourishing the kingdom of *Denmark* was at this time, appears from a kind of estimate of the revenues arising from the tributary provinces, or those countries conquered by *Valdemar*, and of the standing forces of the whole kingdom. This curious account *Pontanus* extracted from *Witfeld*, a writer of those days, who copied it exactly from a parchment register kept by *Nicholas Bilde*, a sort of steward to *Valdemar*. From the provinces were daily sent in twenty-four lasts of oats, twenty-four lasts of rye, and half the quantity of wheat; together with thirteen talents of cheese and butter, nine of honey, twenty-four oxen, three hundred sheep, two hundred hogs, and six hundred marks of coined money. This was the certain revenue; to which was added near an equal sum from adventitious circumstances; such as fines, forfeitures, taxes on law-suits and pleadings, with a variety of other contingencies; the whole amounting to an hundred thousand marks a day, or twenty-three millions seven hundred and thirty thousand pounds *per ann.* a sum scarce credible in these days, and which obliges us to think, that we have either taken the mark at too high a value, or that *Witfeld's* register greatly exaggerates the account ^c.

WITH this revenue were kept for constant service fourteen hundred great and small ships for the king's use, each of which, at a medium, carried one hundred and twenty-one soldiers, making the total of standing forces, besides garrisons, amount to one hundred and sixty-nine thousand four hundred fighting men. Such was the prodigious wealth and potency of this kingdom in the reign of *Valdemar II.* if we are to credit the accounts of contemporary writers; and yet we must observe, that at this time it was greatly fallen from its former splendor, when the crowns of *England*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, were annexed to that of *Denmark* (B).

A. D. 1223.

FROM the year 1218 to the present year, nothing memorable happened, besides a remarkable comet, which our author calls a malignant star, that foreboded many calamities to the North, in which quarter it appeared. The rise of these is variously related: *Crantzius* says, that *Henry* earl of *Swerin*, whom we have called *Henry Palatine*, desirous of effecting a perfect reconciliation with *Valdemar*, obtained a passport, and went to wait on the king at *Roschild*; that *Valdemar* granting terms which he deemed too hard and unreasonable, he took the resolution of putting him to death, or spiriting him off, for which purpose he had kept a vessel, ready to hoist sail at a minute's warning; that his majesty, being one day hunting, was met on his return by *Henry*, whom he invited to his tent, pitched in the fields, for a rural refreshment, which opportunity the treacherous guest seized of carrying him away, gagged and bound, putting him on board a ship, and sailing strait to *Germany*: and lastly, that, after first exposing this great prince to public derision, he shut him up a prisoner in the castle of *Daneberg*.

Valdemar
treacherously
carried into
captivity.

WITFELD assigns a different cause for *Henry's* resentment. He says, that *Henry*, going on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, left his beautiful wife and children under the protection and care of *Valdemar*. The king, now a widower, was struck with the personal qualities of *Henry's* wife, and accordingly debauched her: however, *Pontanus* assigns a variety of reasons why greater credit is due to the former relation. In this confinement the great *Valdemar* continued for three years, according to the most authentic documents of these times; though, from a monody quoted by *Pontanus*, his imprisonment would seem to have lasted for upwards of eight years. All this time *Denmark* was in the most distracted situation. *Valdemar* was equally beloved and esteemed by his subjects, who would have releas-

^b PONTAN. l. vi. p. 309.

^c PONTAN. l. vi. p. 306.

(A) We will not spend time with *Pontanus* in examining into the truth of the celestial standard, and the effects of the bishop's prayers: these are the traditions of ignorance, and pious frauds of the churchmen, which it would be unnecessary to expose in this more enlightened age.

(B) This estimate was made in the year 1221, and is of so extraordinary a nature, that we cannot expect the reader's implicit faith in it, though we think it so curious as to deserve a place in our history.

- a ed him by force, did they not apprehend the cruelty of *Henry*, should such measures be followed. The highest ransoms were offered for his liberty : but that treacherous prince was inexorable. At length the bishops, nobility, and people, joined with one voice in petitioning the intercession of the emperor *Frederic II.* A diet of the imperial states met of consequence ; and *Valdemar* might have been set at liberty, if he could have been brought to relinquish his late conquests. But to this he would give no ear : his life, he said, was only valuable while it was useful to his people ; and should he consent to part with conquests which had cost so much blood and treasure, his subjects would have little reason to wish for his liberty at the price of such an indignity to the crown of *Denmark*. At length, however, this noble obstinacy was overcome by the intreaties of his subjects and children, who
- b represented the calamitous state of the kingdom ; the opportunities offered to ambition and treason ; the losses consequent on the vacancy of the throne, infinitely more pernicious to the people than the severest terms the enemy could impose ; with a variety of other arguments, which operated on the mind of this great prince, because they had the appearance of public good. The terms were hard, but they were the best that could be procured. *Valdemar* was set at liberty for a prodigious ransom in money, for relinquishing *Holstein*, *Swerin*, *Hamburg*, and the other towns and fortresses on either side the *Elbe* ; and lastly, for swearing solemnly to maintain this compulsive contract, and never to enter on any measures to punish *Henry*, or any of the other princes who had so treacherously combined against him. The treaty was signed on the twenty-fifth of *March* 1226, according to *Pontanus* ;
- c after which the king returned home disconsolated, enraged, but more than ever beloved by his subjects, who now became better acquainted with the sublimity of his virtues, by this trial of adversity. The conditions of his release.
A. D. 1226.

PREVIOUS to the king's release, the lords of those districts which he had conquered before and since the late king's death, were busied in recovering their rights, which they had completely effected before they ventured to set him at liberty. *Albert* earl of *Orlemund*, *Valdemar*'s lieutenant in these parts, endeavoured to oppose them, and for that purpose raised a number of forces, with which he gave battle to the enemy, but with a fortune no way proportioned to his zeal and fidelity. After this victory they easily recovered the whole country they had lost, and obtained an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants.

- d SUCH was the situation of the *Danish* provinces in *Germany* at this time ; but *Valdemar*'s misfortunes were not yet at an end. The *Lubeckers*, fired with the imaginary freedom which the neighbouring states had recovered, entered upon a secret negotiation with the emperor *Frederick*, about throwing off the *Danish* yoke. Their measures were taken so prudently, that the citadel was seized, and the *Danish* garrison made prisoners, before they had the least intimation of the intention of the citizens, who assembled under pretence of chusing new magistrates on the usual day. In order to protect them against the consequences of this revolt, they had first signed a treaty of alliance with *Albert* of *Saxony*, and all the neighbouring princes, who engaged in this confederacy at the instance of the emperor, then upon bad terms with *Valdemar*, and eager to extend the influence of the imperial crown.
- e All these circumstances, together with the disputed election of *Nicholas Stigeth*, chosen bishop of *Roschild*, much against *Valdemar*'s inclination, determined him to look about for means to disengage himself from these ties and incumbrances, so irksome to a prince of his spirit. The method in which he had been spirited away into captivity was infamous ; the conditions upon which he was released, oppressive ; the oath he had taken not to seek revenge, altogether compulsive ; the revolt of the *Lubeckers*, a fresh provocation ; and this election of the bishop of *Roschild*, a flagrant indignity and open defiance of his authority. Without having recourse to what was thought the supreme power, invested by the Almighty in the pope, to absolve from oaths and engagements, it would be no difficult matter to acquit *Valdemar* upon the principles of reason, for a breach of a contract so iniquitous and shameful.
- f This at least may be said, that if ever prince was excusable for an infraction of a solemn treaty, confirmed by oath, *Valdemar*'s conduct may certainly admit of some palliation. He applied to the pope, was absolved from his engagements, raised a great army, and entered *Holstein* with all the resentment of a prince highly injured. Seizing upon *Idshoa*, and other places in this duchy, he gave them up to be plundered by the soldiers, and then laid them in ashes. Leading his army back to *Bornholm*, he was met by the bishop of *Lubeck*, the archbishop of *Bremen*, *Albert* duke of *Saxony*, the duke of *Holstein*, the earls of *Swerin*, *Oldenburg*, and *Mecklenburg*, with several other *German* princes, at the head of a prodigious army. A battle was fought with incredible fury, and with such terrible slaughter on both sides, that the shields and helmets of the soldiers, to use an expression of our author, floated in blood. The event was long doubtful, until *Valdemar* unhappily received a wound in the eye, which forced him to leave the field. His troops dispirited, without the presence of their monarch, gave way, and at last a total rout ensued, chiefly owing to a
- g The city of Lubeck revolts.
Valdemar is defeated.

strong reinforcement of fresh troops, which the *Lubeckers* brought up to support the enemy. a

In this unfortunate engagement *Valdemar* lost an eye, his best troops were destroyed, and his most experienced generals killed or taken prisoners; but he was not dismayed. On the contrary, he returned to *Denmark*, collected his scattered army, and began making new levies with so much vigour, that by next spring he took the field with a more formidable power than before. Both armies encamped on the opposite sides of the *Elbe*; but the remembrance of the last battle made them equally dread a fresh trial of courage. *Valdemar* laid siege again to *Idshoa*; but the enemy's approach obliged him to relinquish it. He then entered the country of *Dithmarsh*, which he laid waste, and rendered a perfect desert. Returning then through the *Northern Holstein*, he set fire to the whole country, and retired to *Denmark*, with intention to augment his power, and end the war by some decisive stroke. b

Lawenburg
surrenders to
the enemy.

DURING his absence, *Albert* of *Saxony* seized upon *Ratzburg* and *Molna*, and laid siege to *Lawenburg*, which the garrison defended with such obstinacy, that duke *Albert* was forced to enter upon a negotiation with them. He proposed, therefore, setting *Albert* earl of *Orlemund* at liberty, who was for many years detained a prisoner in *Swerin*, provided they would surrender the town; but the brave garrison would accept of no terms without the consent of their king; and for that purpose sent to *Valdemar* for instructions. The king was eager to procure the release of earl *Albert*; he was likewise apprehensive that the garrison could not hold out until he was in a condition to relieve them: it was therefore his advice, that they should capitulate on the best terms in their power. Accordingly *Lawenburg* c was surrendered, the garrison marched out with military honours, and *Albert* of *Orlemund* was set at liberty, after a long imprisonment, in which he was treated with the most cruel severity (A).

A. D. 1228.

His son Val-
demar killed
by an accident.

AFTER this transaction *Valdemar* would seem to have dropt all intention of pursuing revenge. For the two succeeding years, we find no warlike preparations going on; nor yet was there any treaty set on foot for a general peace. It is possible that the unfortunate death of his son *Valdemar*, shot accidentally at a party of hunting, might have broke his resolutions; and, indeed, this is the cause ascribed by historians for his indolence, though it did not happen until the year 1231.

As soon as the public grief was in some measure subsided for the death of a prince so amiable as the young *Valdemar*, a diet assembled for fixing the succession. *Eric* accordingly, the second son, was chosen by unanimous consent; and his coronation performed with the same solemnities observed in that of his brother. Immediately upon this provision was made for all the other male children, by assigning them certain governments, with a kind of supreme authority. *Abel*, the second son, was created duke of *Southern Jutland*, and *Canute*, the third son, held *Bleking* with the same titles and authority. No sooner was *Abel* invested with the ensigns of his place, than he began assiduously to cultivate the friendship of *Adolphus* duke of *Holstein*, by marrying his daughter, without any regard to the injuries he had done his father, and the quarrel subsisting between them. Ambition was the motive for this alliance: he resented the preference given to his brother *Eric*, and resolved to strengthen his own interest, with a view to claim the crown at his father's decease. *Eric* and his friends were aware of his designs, and in order to counteract them, proposals of marriage were made to a daughter of the duke of *Saxony*, to whom *Eric* was married in the year 1237 (B). Either marriage was displeasing to *Valdemar*, the fathers of both ladies having long been his bitterest enemies; and he prognosticated the effects which must necessarily attend alliances so unnatural. Hatred, however, to the *Lubeckers* made him enter into a treaty with *Adolphus*, who had quarrelled with them. The king not only reinforced him with a strong body of land-forces, but likewise sent a fleet up the *Trave*, blocked up the mouth of the river with strong chains and booms to prevent any succours being sent into the city, and engaged *Adolphus* to lay close siege to it by land, while his fleet invested it on the side of the river. The particulars of this siege we know not, only that the *Lubeckers*, finding themselves hard pressed for want of provisions, were busied in altering the channel of the river, when a large fleet of their merchantmen arriving seasonably with a fair wind, d

Lubeck
besieged.

(A) To this *Albert* it was that the king had given the government of *Hamburg*, which city he sold to the inhabitants when he found himself deserted by the *Danes*, and hard pressed by the duke of *Holstein*. This event they call the æra of their liberty, though with little reason, as *Hamburg* has since been forced to acknowledge the sovereignty of the dukes of *Holstein*. Besides, it may be urged, that *Albert* had no right to dispose of

a city of which he was only governor (1).

(B) The abbot of *Stade* calls this lady a daughter of the duke of *Anhalt*. Some other writers say, she was daughter to the duke of *Lunenbourg*; but king *Eric's* chronicle, which must be deemed the most undoubted authority, asserts that she was daughter to *Albert* of *Saxony* (2).

(1) *Pontani*. l. vi.

(2) *Pontani*. p. 318.

a broke the chains, supplied the garrison, and was probably the occasion of raising the siege; although the *Danish* historians ascribe it to some other views, upon which *Valdemar* and *Adolphus* retired. What these designs were we are not told; though we are left room to conjecture, that a war which happened between *Denmark* and *Norway* about this time, was the occasion of *Valdemar's* withdrawing his forces. But of this war we neither know the cause, the particulars, or the event.

KING *Eric*, in his annals of *Denmark*; takes notice of a great war carried on by *Valdemar* A. D. 1239. this year in *Livonia*; in which a prodigious army of *Muscovites* was defeated; a number of towns taken, and almost the whole country subdued under the dominion of the crown of *Denmark*. The royal writer is, however, so concise in his relations, that we know little more than that there was a war, which terminated fortunately to *Valdemar*.

b HAVING put an end to these foreign tumults, which had so drained the kingdom of men and money, the king now applied himself to the framing of laws, encouraging industry, and easing the subject from the weight of the heavy taxes necessarily imposed to support the honour of the crown, and the indignities put on the whole kingdom. For this purpose a general diet was held at *Verdenburg*, and a new body of laws framed out of the imperial, civil, and canon laws, each of which had before been used in different parts of the kingdom. Upon this occasion were settled the rights of the prince and people, and all circumstances criminal, civil, and ecclesiastical; so that from this time we may date the origin of that constitution, which subsisted until the great revolution in the year 1660. It must be esteemed very extraordinary, considering the importance of this body of laws, that no writer has preserved a copy of them, or even related their contents in a summary way; and that they should have satisfied themselves with acquainting posterity that they were wise, wholesome, and a greater ornament to *Valdemar* than all the noble transactions of his reign. Such is the manner in which they skim over the most remarkable and important events in the annals of this country, probably for no other reason than the trouble which would attend consulting the original archives.

A new body of laws compiled.

c *VALDEMAR* had now attained an advanced age. He had seen his kingdom raised to the highest pitch of glory and power, through his own merit; he had seen it sink into the deepest distress, from an accident which only affected his person; but that fully demonstrated of what importance his virtues were to the good of the nation; and now he saw it again restored to peace, tranquillity, good order, and felicity, by means of his prudence, discretion, and moderation. Thus satiated with esteem, glory, and worldly grandeur, this great prince resigned his last breath in the month of *April*, 1241, leaving his unhappy people a prey to the ambitious and unnatural contentions of his children.

A. D. 1240: *Valdemar's* death and character.

S E C T VII:

Containing the Transactions of Denmark down to the Year 1337.

E R I C V. surnamed P L O G - P E N N I N G.

N O sooner were the last obsequies paid to the memory of the late glorious monarch, than his son *Eric*, some years before chosen his successor, mounted the throne at the age of twenty-five. *Canute*, his brother, by the same father, was at this time governor and duke of *Bleking*: he soon possessed *Laaland*, and in time acquired the power and title of duke of *Falstria*. *Abel*, his full brother, was duke of *Sleswick* and all *South Jutland*, and *Christopher* of *Falstre*. Besides these provinces, each of the brothers had their separate fortunes assigned them, independent of each other; a regulation the most erroneous of *Valdemar's* reign, though intended for the mutual good of all his children, among whom he endeavoured to share his affection equally. Each possessing a sovereign independency, a rivalry ensued. It made room for intrigue, and all the engines of ambition, which soon suppressed every emotion of brotherly love. *Abel*, even in his father's life-time, wholly estranged himself from his family, and united closely with his wife's friends, the most inveterate foes of his own blood.

Eric V. surnamed Plog-Penning.

The origin of the civil divisions in Denmark.

f WHAT first gave occasion for an open rupture was a design *Eric* set on foot to recover all that country north of the *Elbe*, so unjustly extorted from his father in exchange for his liberty. *Holstein* was comprehended in this district; and *Abel*, being not only the son-in-law of *Adolphus IV.* of *Holstein*, but the guardian of his children, since that prince's retreat into a monastery, thought himself obliged, in honour and interest, to defend their rights. With this view he struck up an alliance with the archbishop of *Bremen*, and other ancient foes to his father. He refused all the equitable proposals offered by *Eric*; and, by the spring of the year 1242, brought matters to such a crisis, that they were ripe for an open rupture.

War commenced.

A. D. 1242.

rupture. *Cranizius*, indeed, contrary to the testimony of all other writers, seems to lay the blame on *Eric*; for he ascribes the subsequent war to the violence used against the *Lubeckers*, who were fishing on the coasts of *Zealand*, whither they were carried prisoners, and detained. To revenge this insult, he relates, that *Abel* fitted out a squadron, with which he attacked *Haffnia* (now *Copenhagen*), and, after demolishing it, retired with a great booty. *Pontanus*, however, with more reason, attributes the whole to the ambition of *Abel*, and the instigation of his wife's friends: an account perfectly consistent with the characters of both princes; for nothing could be more moderate; just, and prudent, than the whole conduct of *Eric*, or more the reverse of this than the measures of the hot-headed *Abel*.

A peace concluded between Eric and Abel.

ERIC, finding his brother deaf to all his remonstrances, raised an army, equipped a fleet, and landed his men near the promontory of *Eldenez*. Nor was *Abel* less vigilant; for here he met him with a power not inferior. Both armies were ready to come to an action, had not some mutual friends interposed, and by their good offices happily effected a compromise for that time, on this condition, that the young princes of *Holstein* should be brought home from *Paris*, and the management of their own affairs committed to them. All the allies on either side were comprehended in this treaty, and the sore, which had for years disunited the different parts of *Valdemar's* kingdom, was suddenly skinned over by the art of state-empirics, who had neither honesty nor ability to probe it to the bottom, and remove the original cause of the disorder.

A. D. 1244.
War renewed between the brothers.

THE young princes of *Holstein* being now returned home; to the great joy of their subjects, the guardianship was taken out of *Abel's* hands; yet, though this bone of contention between him and *Eric* was taken away, there occurred another handle of dispute. *Eric* demanded homage for the duchy of *Sleswick*, which *Abel* positively refused, claiming it as an independent sovereignty. Hostilities commenced upon this, and perpetual incursions were made into each other's territories. *Sleswick* was invaded by the elder brother, and the younger retaliated by making descents on the *Danish* islands: but before the end of the year this irregular and piratical war was terminated by the interposition of some mediators, who were well disposed to both parties.

The Lubeckers make descents on Denmark.

IT was about the close of the year 1246, that *Eric* resolved to revenge the insults which the *Lubeckers* had committed against his father and himself. As they were not comprehended in the late treaty between him and *Abel*, he made no formal declaration of his intention; but ordered their ships to be seized wherever they were found, and sent a squadron up the *Trave* to block up the city, and ruin their commerce. These merchants, in their turn, made descents on the coast of *Denmark*; and having the address to engage the princes of *Holstein* and archbishop of *Bremen* in their quarrel, brought *Eric* to think of a peace before any decisive blow was struck, that wise monarch not chusing to involve himself in another quarrel with the *German* princes.

A. D. 1247.

No sooner had he terminated this quarrel than the dispute with *Abel* was renewed. *Canute* and *Christopher*, the two younger brethren, joined with *Abel* in refusing homage to *Eric*, and he, in his turn, insisting upon it, both sides had recourse to arms. *Abel* first commenced hostilities by making a descent in *Fionia*, burning *Othonia*, the capital of the island, and seizing upon *Saneburg*, which he claimed as his right, and accordingly garrisoned with a strong body of troops. *Eric* arriving soon after with his army before the place, took it, laying the whole in ashes. Afterwards making a descent in *Falstria*, and the dominions of *Christopher*, he obliged him to acknowledge his sovereignty. This advantage was succeeded by another; for he took *Canute* prisoner, and confined him in the castle of *Stigen*, from whence he was delivered by the *Lubeck* fleet, which took and destroyed the fortress.

A. D. 1248.

ABEL and his associates carried on the war by sea with great vigour; while the king, calling in the *Vandals* as auxiliaries, entered *Holstein*, took *Oldenslœa*, and obtained a vast booty. *Canute* and *Christopher* seized upon all *South Jutland*; and then investing the city of *Ripen*, soon became masters both of it and the citadel, making *Eschil* the bishop with all his children prisoners. *Eric*, on the other hand, got possession of *Laaland*, *Falstria*, and all the other territories of *Christopher*, who broke his engagements with the king; to which he added *Bleking* and *Canute's* duchy of *Schonen*, annexing them all to his crown. Thus the war was pursued with great animosity, but without any decisive blow, for the whole year. At the close of the campaign a truce was agreed upon, and some mutual overtures were made towards an accommodation; but the truce was short, and all endeavours to work a reconciliation ineffectual. The young princes had alienated the affections of a great part of the nobility, clergy, and people from the king. This made them the more indifferent to a peace, and added new fuel to the flames of war; so that, early in the next spring, it was renewed with redoubled vigour. *Denmark* was rent with civil divisions and external enemies. The *Lubeckers* harraided the coasts with their shipping; and *Eric* had his revenge by means of the *Vandals*, who ravaged *Holstein*, until they were defeated by *Abel*. However,

- a ever, the most signal advantage was gained by the king in person, who gave battle to his brother *Canute*, defeated, and made him prisoner. Afterwards he suddenly attacked *Flensburg*, at that time a very opulent mart, set fire to the town, and laid it and all the neighbouring country in ashes. He had now got two of his brothers in confinement; a success which only increased the number of his enemies, and irritated the nobility against him. This determined him to set *Christopher* at liberty, on no other condition than that he should pay him homage, and acknowledge his sovereignty. *Christopher* readily accepted the terms, was released, and became his brother's vassal. He even attended him in a sudden irruption he made into *Holstein*, while the diet of that duchy sat; from whence, after burning the town, he carried a great number of the nobility prisoners into *Denmark*, all of whom
- b were ransomed at a high price.

NEXT he defeated the *Lubec* fleet in the *Sound*, after taking four of their ships, and destroying an equal number. At this time he had given instructions to *Henry Meliorp*, governor of *Rendsburg*, to seize the first opportunity of *Abel's* absence to make an irruption into *Sleswick*. His orders were punctually executed, and some of the chief cities and fortresses taken by surprize. *Eschil*, the bishop, was likewise punished by the loss of some valuable effects, for having changed sides, and taken part with *Abel*, thro' the influence of the archbishop of *Bremen*. In a word, all *Sleswick* was subdued, almost as soon as entered, by means of the active and vigilant *Henry*, reputed one of the best officers in the service of *Denmark*. *The Lubec fleet defeated.*

- c THIS series of good fortune did not long continue. *Abel*, the two princes of *Holstein*, and the archbishop of *Bremen*, took vigorous measures for the recovery of *Sleswick*. A numerous army was raised, the *Danes* driven out, and almost all *Jutland* laid waste; however, the enemy were forced to retreat with precipitation, on advice that *Eric* was marching with an army of *Zealanders* to attack them.

- d IN the mean time *Gerbard*, the archbishop of *Bremen*, died, and in his room was chosen *Hildebold*, a prelate who did not so sanguinely embrace the cause of *Abel*. There were not wanting some friendly mediators among the *German* princes connected by marriage to the rival brothers, who wished to see this unnatural war, so ruinous to the subject, ended in an amicable a manner. *John* marquis of *Brandenburg*, married to *Sophia* the king's sister, the duke of *Lunenbourg*, and *Albert* of *Saxony*, interested themselves in a particular manner; but *Eric* was obstinate in demanding homage, and *Abel* no less positive in refusing it, so that the war went on in spite of all endeavours to terminate it by the most friendly remonstrances.

- AT length *Sophia*, the marchioness of *Brandenburgh*, at that time far advanced in her pregnancy, undertook a journey to *Denmark*, hoping by her presence to work on the minds of her brothers: but she was taken with the pains of labour at *Flensburg*, where she miscarried and died in a few days. This circumstance, with the wise conduct of the bishop of *Lunden*, at last terminated their differences upon the following terms: *Abel* had the title of duke independent, but paid homage for *South Jutland*. *Canute* was restored to his dominions, which he was to hold upon a feudal tenure. Each side was to indemnify the losses sustained by the other. All the allies of either side were comprehended in this treaty; and
- e lastly, the king and *Abel* ratified it not only by a written agreement, a solemn oath, but by twenty hostages mutually exchanged. Moreover it was stipulated, that whatever party should be guilty of the slightest infraction of so solemn a convention, the hostages should have the free liberty of joining themselves to the opposite side. Towards the close of the year the treaty was solemnly signed, sealed, and executed; upon which all *Denmark* rung with joy, and the most riotous expressions of public satisfaction took place of the misery and wretchedness that every where prevailed. *Treaty of peace concluded.*

- NEXT year a diet was held at *Roschild*, in which the king, in a laboured harangue, expressed his eager desire of propagating the Christian faith among the barbarous nations of the North, and the expediency of reclaiming all the former possessions of *Denmark* in
- f *Livonia*, and along the frontiers of *Russia*, which had been lost amidst the late civil commotions. The diet giving their assent to his proposal of undertaking another expedition thither, he then laid before them the exhausted condition of the treasury, and the necessity there was for raising the proper supplies by an additional tax. This was a certain sum to be paid by each plough, under the name of *Plofchat*, or as *Eric* the historian calls it, *Ploch*, or *Plog-Penning*, by which term the king was afterwards surnamed. *Origin of plog-penning or plough-tax.*

- WHEN the king's instructions for collecting this unusual tax in *Schonon* arrived, all the people murmured, and threatened to take up arms if any violence was offered in levying a tax which they thought oppressive and iniquitous. Matters ran so high, that *Eric* believing his presence was necessary, went thither, and began to harangue the people in the mildest terms; but their indignation run so high, that he was forced to withdraw himself precipitately to *Helsingburg*. Thither the malcontents pursued him, laid siege to the citadel, and would have taken their king prisoner, had he not prudently escaped in the night at a postern-gate. As soon as the king returned to *Zealand* the tumult subsided, but still the tax
- g *The inhabitants of Schonon revolt.*

was unpaid. *Eric* enraged, not only at their refusal in the present emergency of the state, but at the late insult offered to his person, raised an army and marched to *Schonen*. Nor were the malcontents backward in their warlike preparations; for they met him in the field, gave battle to their king, and were overthrown, and forced to pay the tax they had so obstinately refused.

War between
Eric and the
princes of
Holstein.

Abel treacher-
ously murders
the king his
brother.

A. D. 1250.
Death and
character of
Eric.

HAVING settled the affairs of the kingdom, and made the necessary preparations, *Eric* set sail for *Livonia*, where he was extremely successful in all his operations, though we find no particular account of them. We are told he was suddenly called back by some disputes which had arisen concerning the execution of the late treaty with *Abel*. The dukes of *Holstein* demanded the town of *Rensburg*, agreeable to the article, that all parties should enjoy their former rights. This town was situated in their dominions; but *Eric* claimed it in right of conquest and possession, prior to this last war. All the negotiations on foot were fruitless; and the *Holsteiners* united themselves to the bishops of *Bremen* and *Paderborn*, determined to maintain their cause by force of arms. *Meldorp* commanded the garrison for the king, the enemy marched to lay siege to it, and *Eric* raised forces to relieve with all expedition this brave officer. On his arrival at *Danewark*, that strong frontier, he bethought him of a visit to his brother *Abel*, who had taken no part in this quarrel, in order to prevail on him to use his influence with the allies to come to a reasonable composition, telling him that he was quite weary of war, and shocked at the late effusion of Christian blood. The king was well received; *Abel* promised his utmost endeavours should not be wanting; but the demon of ambition had got possession of his heart. He had laid a plan for the destruction of his brother, who was spirited off in a boat, murdered at sea, and his body thrown overboard, a prey to the ravenous fishes. This horrible act was perpetrated by the hands, and originally schemed by the villainous heart of *Gudmund*, a prelate banished *Denmark* on account of his vices; but nothing can palliate the conduct of *Abel*, whose ungovernable ambition had stimulated him to a breach of the first duties of humanity, and urged him to the most ungenerous violation of the rights of hospitality, as well as the cruel and shocking crime of fratricide.

In this manner died *Eric*, a prince whose failings were totally obscured by his qualities both of the head and heart. He had the greatest probity of soul, as well as the truest piety, without any tincture of the superstition of the times. His reign would have been happy to his people, and glorious to himself, but for that single error in the great *Valdemar's* conduct, which enabled the younger brothers to claim an independency on the elder. Without great military talents his courage and good sense gained him the reputation of an able general. His politics were sound, but clear; they were dictated by honesty and sound judgment, without any of those dark windings, and that unfathomable mystery, which have falsely acquired the reputation of deep policy, for no other reason than that they equally confound and perplex the contriver and the world. In a word, *Eric* was generous, sincere, brave, and liberal, strenuous to maintain the dignity of his crown, but unambitious of extending his prerogative beyond the measures of equity and prudence. This however may be denied by those who ascribe to ambition the desire he had of reducing his brethren under his sovereignty. We think otherwise. The provinces assigned to them had always been dependent on the crown: it is probable that *Valdemar* meant they should continue so; if not, certain it is, that he had no power to make this partition without the consent of the states; and yet we find it confirmed by no other authority than his last will.

ABEL endeavoured to screen his own guilt by promulgating a report, that *Eric* had perished at sea by the vessel's foundering. For a time this story met with credit, although there were not wanting persons who suspected his treachery. In a short time, all was discovered by the mangled body of the king, which was thrown by the waves on the shore, taken up by some monks, and privately deposited in the monastery of *St. Laurence*. Before his death *Gudmund* had extorted from him a confession of the place where he had deposited his private treasure; but, on examination, nothing besides a few jewels and rich garments were found.

A B E L.

Abel elected
king, and the
diet's reasons
for choosing
him.

ERIC dying without issue male, the states assembled for the election of a sovereign, and though they detested *Abel* on account of the unnatural crime he had committed, yet they chose him king for conveniency, and to avoid the civil wars which would necessarily ensue from setting him aside. By this means they indisputably reunited the duchy of *Sleswick* to the crown; they run no hazards from the power of *Abel*, who would probably have joined himself to his late allies, had his claim been overlooked; they annexed *Swenburg* and *Schelfscore*, the hereditary patrimony of *Abel*, to the *Danish* dominions, and gained many other advantages, all of which, in our opinion, were more than counterbalanced by the crimes of the new monarch; but the diet thought otherwise. As yet indeed the murder was not clearly proved upon him; for the royal body had not appeared till after the election.

- a election. He had, by ambassadors, modestly pleaded his right, and defended his own character with such arguments as weighed with a majority : he declared, that the vessel had been overset by the great number of people which had entered her in a tumultuous manner, with a view of doing the king honour by a splendid retinue ; but this relation was not only contradictory to the report he had ordered to be published, but inconsistent with itself, as the king alone, of all the passengers, was missing. However, he granted extraordinary immunities, and distributed presents among the bishops and inferior clergy, by whose influence chiefly he gained his point. In a word, he was crowned in less than two months after his brother's death, having first solemnly sworn that he had no concern in it ; but that *Eric* was killed by some soldiers at the instigation of private enemies. It is b strange that so respectable and wise an assembly should be capable of putting themselves under the authority of a person, whose equivocation and different accounts were the strongest proofs of his guilt, and who, to the unnatural crime of parricide, superadded that of perjury and subornation ; for he had procured twenty noblemen to join with him in the oath.

ABEL had not long enjoyed the diadem, before his conscience began to torment him. In examining *Eric's* will, he found that the deceased prince had resolved upon abdicating the crown and retiring to a monastery ; and that he had appointed him his successor, provided the consent of the diet could be obtained. He likewise found a legacy to himself, an intire forgiveness of all that was past, and the most affectionate expressions of regard for all his brothers, and *Abel*, in particular. These circumstances pierced his breast like c daggers, called to his remembrance the virtues of his brother, and rendered him, though the greatest, yet the most miserable person in *Denmark*, because he was the most guilty.

Abel is stung by his own conscience.

BEFORE his accession to the throne he had sent his eldest son *Valdemar* to be educated in *France* ; he now recalled him to invest him in the duchy of *Sleswick*, though his brother *Christopher* had applied for that dignity. In passing through the bishopric of *Cologne*, the young prince was seized by order of that prelate, and detained for four years in prison. For this act of violence we find no cause ascribed, besides the detestation in which the bishop held the whole family, since the murder of *Eric*.

- THE *Polish* writers relate a war that happened this year between *Boleslaw* king of *Poland* A. D. 1251. and *Abel*. *Peter Dowin*, son to *William*, who was private treasurer to *Eric*, had fled from d *Denmark* upon that prince's death, with all the treasure, to prevent its falling into the hands of the parricide. *Peter* was a man of singular talents, insinuating, polite, eloquent, and virtuous ; he had so ingratiated himself with *Boleslaw*, that he attained very high honours in *Poland*, and became the favourite of the king and court. He had learned the language, was so winning in his address, and so shaped himself to the manners of the country, that all men rejoiced at his elevation, though a foreigner. When he found his influence estab- War between Poland and Denmark. lished, he related the cause of his flight to *Boleslaw* the king, and artfully led on that generous prince to a war which might at the same time punish the crimes of *Abel*, and extend the limits of his own dominions. Accordingly a powerful armament was equipped, with which *Boleslaw*, accompanied by *Peter* and *Eric's* treasure, sailed into *Denmark*, where e he was joyfully received by all ranks of people, as his proclamation assured them his sole intention was to avenge the murder of *Eric*. After all, however, he performed nothing ; for having put the treasure into the hands of the diet, he returned to *Poland*, leaving the *Danes* to the free choice of a king. The story is related by *Cromer* and *Herbut*, two *Polish* historians ; but wholly omitted by the *Danish* writers, and probably with good reason, as it seems fraught with absurdity and anachronism, as appears by comparing the years when *Boleslaw* and *Abel* reigned.

- TOWARDS the close of this year a diet was held, in which it was enacted, that *Canute* and *Christopher* should remain in the full possession of the dominions left them by *Valdemar* ; that a general tax should be raised for the payment of the crown-debt, contracted in the f last war, and for redeeming the castles and forts, pledged to neighbouring princes, in order to raise money.

- DURING the late wars between *Eric* and *Abel*, some disputes arose between *Denmark*, Sweden and *Norway*, about certain frontiers, which the circumstances of the state would not then permit *Eric* to adjust. Now a congress of plenipotentiaries of the three nations was fixed, to settle the matter in an amicable manner, and instructions were given to the *Danish* ambassadors by the diet, and not by the king, a thing not usual ; whence we may conclude, that the general assembly of the states assumed to themselves more power in this than they had done in former reigns ; and that the hatred of the people to *Abel* laid him under certain restrictions unknown to his predecessors.

A congress for settling the disputes between Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.

- g IT was at this diet that *Abel*, finding the treasury quite exhausted, assigned lands to *Henry Meldorp*, in lieu of a large sum of money due upon arrears. This transaction occasioned some disputes between them which terminated in blood ; although the circum-

Abel defeated
and slain.

His character.

stances that attended it are very obscurely related by all the writers we have seen. *Crantz* assigns a different cause for this quarrel, affirming, that the *Emdeners*, and the inhabitants of *Rendsburg*, *Frederickstadt*, *Tonningen*, and those towns and countries situated between *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, refusing to pay the new-laid tax, so irritated the king, that levying an army he engaged and defeated them; but the rebels making head the next day, attacked the king in his camp, and after an obstinate conflict routed his army, and slew him, determined not to be conquered in the field, on *St. Peter's-Day*, in the year 1252. It was some days before his body could be found among the prodigious carnage that was made, to which his single arm greatly contributed. As soon as known, the royal corpse was taken up and carried to *Sleswick*, where it was buried with the magnificence suitable rather to his birth than to his virtues. *Abel*, it must be acknowledged, was brave, and possessed many of the other qualities of a great monarch; but ambition was the prevailing passion of his heart. This had suppressed all the dictates of humanity, and the strongest natural affections; so that he breathed his last gloriously, left his memory stained with the horrid crimes of fratricide, perjury, and subornation, and died admired for his virtues, detested for his vices, dreaded for his power, but unlamented by all who had any regard for honour, humanity, and truth.

C H R I S T O P H E R I.

Christopher I.

ABEL left two sons, the eldest of whom, *Valdemar* by name, was still a prisoner at *Cologne*. *Matilda*, his mother, and now queen-dowager, used all her endeavours to have him elected, tho' a captive, and she made a very considerable party in the diet in his favour. However, it was resolved by a majority to bestow the crown upon *Christopher*, brother to the late king, in order to avoid the disturbance which his power might probably occasion. In a word, the same reasons influenced them in the present election, which had prevailed in the former, without the objections that lay against *Abel*, as *Christopher's* character was unstained by any crimes of a deep dye. Indeed, the people were somewhat prejudiced, tho' unjustly, against the innocent *Valdemar*, on account of the guilt of his father. They looked upon him as a branch of the same stem, which consequently must inherit its qualities.

The reasons
which in-
fluenced the
diet to elect
Christopher.

BEFORE his accession *Christopher* had married *Margretta Sabiria*, daughter to the duke of *Pomerania*. He began his reign with granting all its wonted privileges and immunities to the diocese of *Lunden*, though we are no where told how it came to be deprived of them; and ordained besides, that none of the suffragans of this see should pay taxes to the crown, or be obliged to quarter soldiers.

War between
Christopher
and Meldorp.

IN the beginning of the following year he took upon him the guardianship of *Abel's* children, and demanded an oath of allegiance from *Henry Meldorp*, who held the towns of *Sweburg* and *Schelfscore*, part of the patrimony of *Abel*. They had been pledged to *Henry*, and being a man of great spirit and warlike abilities, he insisted upon holding them in his own right, until they should be redeemed by the payment of the money he had lent upon them. This dispute terminated in blows, *Christopher* was defeated, and many of his nobility slain. Rendered more bold by his victory, *Henry* laid all the adjacent country under contribution: but hearing that *Christopher* was marching towards him with a very powerful army, to which he could only oppose a handful of men, he took ship and retired out of the kingdom. *Christopher* laid siege to the two cities in dispute, took and razed them to the ground, after putting the garrisons to the sword.

The king is de-
feated.

THIS transaction was soon followed by a quarrel with the princes of *Holstein*. *Christopher* went over to *South Jutland* to receive an oath from the people, as the guardian of his nephews. The *Holsteiners*, believing he had some other design, requested, by ambassadors, that he would restore their patrimony to his nephews, who were now of age to manage their own affairs, and put the duchy of *Sleswick* into the hands of some disinterested person, in trust for the lawful heir. This the king refused, affirming that it was a fief of the crown, and was always conferred on one of the king's children. They persisted, and he was obstinate. At length matters came to a crisis, and the sword must determine the contest; for such is the method princes have ever chosen to decide points of equity.

War com-
mences be-
tween Chris-
topher and the
princes of
Holstein.

BEFORE hostilities commenced *Christopher* called a diet, and had the address to procure a decree, whereby *Abel's* children were excluded the succession, and the crown settled upon his own issue male, provided he left any behind him. Immediately he equipped a fleet, and attacked *Sanderburg*, the walls and fortifications of which he demolished. In the mean time *Ilacquin*, king of *Norway*, whether in alliance with the princes of *Holstein*, or whether he seized this opportunity of revenging some injury received from *Christopher*, we are not told; but he invaded *Holland* with a great fleet, laid the country waste, and committed terrible ravages wherever he went, leaving at last his life in the country as an atonement to the unhappy people, for the losses they sustained by his cruelty.

Particulars of
this war.

a ALL this while *Christopher* opposed in person, the *Holsteiners*, joined by the *Brandenburgers*, *Lubeckers*, several *Vandal* cities, and *Henry Meldorp*, who was greatly instrumental in forming this confederacy. The allies made their first attack on *Sleswick*, whence they carried off the bishop and a number of the nobility. The shores of *Schonen* swarmed, and were continually harraſſed with the *Lubec* and *Vandal* pirates, where, at laſt, they met with a Squadron of the king's ſhips, and fought a bloody and drawn battle. *Meldorp* invaded *Zealand*; he attacked the iſland of *Mona*, and there forced the ſtrong caſtle *Stega*. Paſſing from thence into *Falſtria*, he ſubdued *Nicoping*. Nothing could be more vigorous and active than the operations of the confederates during this campaign. Nor was *Christopher* idle; but he was diſtracted amidſt the variety of his enemies, and unable to oppoſe himſelf to them all. A. D. 1253.

b Seasonably for him ſome of the *German* princes offered their mediation, and a peace was concluded on theſe terms, viz. That *Christopher* ſhould reſtore to his nephews the duchy of *Sleſwick* at a certain time appointed, and put them in immediate poſſeſſion of their patrimony in *Denmark*: That they ſhould ſign the decree paſſed at the diet of *Neoburg*, whereby they were excluded the ſucceſſion, reſigning all their right to *Christopher* and his iſſue: That *Christopher* ſhould indemnify them for their loſſes by the war. Other articles were added, to which both parties ſubſcribed; the duke of *Pomerania* and the *Vandal* princes being appointed guaranties of the performance of the treaty. A. D. 1254. Peace concluded.

c *CHRISTOPHER* had ſcarce breathed after this war, before he was engaged in another quarrel. The archbiſhop of *Lunden* dying, *Erland* biſhop of *Roschild* was choſen to ſucceed him, without the king's conſent or knowledge. It was then cuſtomary, that no biſhop could be removed from his ſee, or any way promoted, without ſuch election was ratified by the king. They were likewiſe obliged to ſerve in the wars, except the contrary was permitted through the ſpecial grace of the ſovereign. *Erland*, however, ſecure of the pope's protection, not only diſregarded theſe forms, but totally changed the eccleſiaſtical laws and ſtatutes of *Schonen* for new ones of his own. *Christopher* was ſo incenſed at this haughty conduct, that he fitted out a fleet againſt him, entered the river *Sley*, inveſted *Gaſenburg*, and demolished its fortifications. Finding his ſchemes thwarted by *Matilda*, the queen-dowager, he determined to ſecure her intereſt, by ſettling *South Jutland* upon her; but this *Erland* prevented, by marrying her to the duke of *Swedeland*, though ſhe was actually betrothed to the biſhop of *Othon*. A diſpute between *Christopher* and the biſhop of *Lunden*. A detail of this quarrel, and the biſhop's conduct.

d WE hear no more of the quarrel between the king and the archbiſhop; for *Valdemar* being now ſet at liberty, by the interceſſion of his uncle *John*, required all *Christopher*'s attention to adjust matters between them. This was effected by reſigning to him the duchy of *Sleſwick*, which was done by the king's delivering him a ſtandard in the uſual form, and receiving from him an oath of allegiance, and the ceremonies of vallaſage. A. D. 1255.

e THIS year *Chriſtopher* ſent ambaffadors to *Rome*, to congratulate pope *Alexander* on his acceſſion to the papal dignity, and to procure from him a confirmation of the ſovereignty of the *Vandal* country, granted to his father *Valdemar* by the emperor *Frederick*. His requeſt was granted; but the clergy, excited by *Erland*, inſtigated the common people, and they reſuſed to admit his authority. They went father, and even committed outrages on the *Daniſh* frontiers, ſeizing towns, demolishing forts, and burning villages. The incenſed king gave them battle, and defeated them with great ſlaughter; but was prevented from puniſhing them as they deſerved, by the menaces of the archbiſhop of *Lunden* and biſhop of *Roschild*, who applied to the pope to retract the grant he had lately made, in caſe the king reſuſed to make up matters with the inſurgents. A. D. 1256.

f *ERLAND*, archbiſhop of *Lunden*, exerted more than a papal authority in *Schonen*. He abrogated laws, formed ſtatutes, and paſſed decrees at pleaſure, to the great diſcontent of the king and people. *Chriſtopher* having ſummoned a diet of the people at *Neoburg*, *Erland*, as a mark of diſreſpect, convoked at the ſame time a ſynod of the clergy, to prevent the biſhops from attending the king's ſummons. He had even the preſumption to deſire the king would adjourn the diet until the buſineſs of the ſynod was firſt ended. *Chriſtopher* received this meſſage with diſdain; and perſiſting in his deſign of holding a diet, *Erland* paſſed a decree in defiance of his authority, which ſet the clerical function above ſovereignty itſelf, and ſhewed how neceſſary it was to clip the wings of that ſacerdotal pride and ambition, which rendered the miniſters of *Chriſt* the peſts of ſociety, and the diſturbers of the public tranquillity.

g *CHRISTOPHER*, determining to humble this headſtrong prelate, aſſembled another diet at *Vartenburg*, at which were preſent the dukes of *Pomerania*, *Rugen*, and other great vallaſs of the crown, prevented by the hard froſt from attending the laſt diet. Here he drew up an indictment againſt *Erland*, containing the following charges. 1ſt, That without the royal aſſent, or even knowledge, he had uſurped the archbiſhopric, and even preſumed to ordain other biſhops by his own ſole authority. 2d, That after ſwearing allegiance to himſelf and ſon, he reſuſed to crown either, and interdicted thoſe perſons who had performed the duty. *Christopher's charge againſt Erland*.

duty. 3d, That he had forbid the bishops, under pain of excommunication, from serving in the wars at the king's express command; though, by the laws of the land, they were bound to do this as well as the laity. 4th, That by unseasonably convoking a synod, in contempt of the royal authority, he had occasioned great loss to the nation by procrastinating public business. 5th, That in this synod he had passed certain decrees, which he got ratified by the pope, diametrically opposite to the laws of the kingdom, and extremely destructive of the public weal. To these articles of indictment were added several other heads, equally grievous. The haughty prelate was now forced to stoop and bend his proud neck to sovereignty. He petitioned the prince of *Pomerania* to intercede with the king; but *Christopher* was deaf to all extenuations of crimes so heinous. He insisted on the archbishop's answering to every separate article of the charge: however, time was granted, and the prelate respite until the next diet.

A. D. 1257.

NEXT year the quarrel was dropt, without any apparent reason, just as the diet had met; and soon after resumed, upon account of the archbishop's excommunicating a certain lady of quality, without assigning just reason for such a conduct. After solemnly citing *Erland* before his tribunal, the end of this dispute was depriving the archbishopric of *Lunden* of all the extraordinary privileges and immunities conferred on it by former kings of *Denmark*, and reducing it to the condition of other dioceses, over which it was raised by the king's favour to *Eschil*, the former bishop.

NOR was the prelate enough humbled with this indignity. He had brought over to espouse this quarrel the bishops of *Othon*, *Roschild*, and *Ripen*, with other dignified personages of the church, as well as the duke of *Pomerania*. Relying upon their powerful interest, he grew more insolent, demanded several privileges which former archbishops had never claimed, and was just on the brink of renewing the contest with redoubled warmth, when *Valdemar* of *Sleswick*'s death for a time diverted the king's attention to other objects.

Quarrel between Eric and Christopher.

IN the letters patent, by which *Valdemar* held *Sleswick*, no mention was made of his heirs: his brother *Eric* demanded it, however, as his right; and the king claimed it as his, saying, that the letters patent certainly intended it should fall back to the crown, by their making no provision for the natural heirs. Thus a fresh war was kindled: *Eric* raised forces; but the king marched against him with an army so powerful, as forced him to relinquish the defence of *Sleswick*, which fell an easy prey to the king. Having placed garrisons in all the castles, he returned to *Denmark*; and calling an assembly at *Othon*, had his son *Eric* not only declared his successor, but crowned with all the usual solemnities. This rather was the intention of *Christopher* and the assembly; but the archbishop of *Lunden* not only refused to perform the solemnity, but prohibited all the other bishops of the kingdom, under pain of interdiction from fire and water, as well as from administering the sacrament. Upon this the diet was removed to *Haffnia*, where *Eric* was crowned by the nobility, and consecrated by the hands of a private clergyman, who despised the menace of the archbishop, when it interfered with the duties which he owed to his king and country.

A. D. 1258.

The pride of Erland.

THIS solemnity being over, the king informed the diet, that he had certain advice of the ill offices doing him at *Rome* by the archbishop of *Lunden*, who had persuaded the pope, that *Abel*'s children were excluded contrary to the general sense of the people, and by the king's single authority: that *Erland* had entered into a written engagement with the bishops and *Abel*'s children, that he would support them against all the king's force in maintaining their right to the crown: that he had represented the king as an enemy to the ecclesiastical order, who had embraced all opportunities of oppressing them: finally, that *Erland* had compelled the dowager *Matilda* to give her hand to the duke of *Swedeland*, after she was betrothed to the bishop of *Othon*. Upon maturely weighing all the particulars of this charge, it appeared to the diet, that there was no security for the safety of the king's person and government, unless the archbishop and some other sacerdotal incendiaries were taken into custody. Accordingly the archbishop, his archdeacon, and the bishop of *Ripen*, were seized; the bishops of *Othon* and *Roschild* escaping upon the first alarm. Immediately the whole kingdom was interdicted, agreeable to the resolution of the last synod, in case violence was offered to a bishop. The king wrote to the pope, representing to him the haughty conduct of the archbishop, the injustice and absurdity of a prelate's assuming to himself a share in the royal prerogative, and the hardship that he should have it in his power to interdict a whole people on account of his resentment to one man.

The king writes to the pope.

THESE remonstrances were no sooner dispatched to *Rome*, than he ordered all priests within the kingdom, and persons exercising the sacerdotal function, to administer the communion, under the penalty of losing their tythes and stipends. In the mean time the bishops of *Roschild* and *Othon* were busied in levying forces, having engaged in their alliance the duke of *Pomerania*, the princes of *Holstein*, and *Jarmerci* prince of *Rugen*. *Christopher* made preparations to weather this storm, by entering into a treaty with *Hacquin* king of *Norway*, and *Birger* duke of *Swedeland*, married to the dowager *Matilda*. Matters were

a drawing fast to a crisis; and open hostilities must have soon commenced, had not *Christopher's* death, and the prudent conduct of *Margaretta*, his widow, put an end to the war-like proceedings. With respect to the cause of this prince's death, there are various relations. Some think he died a natural but sudden death; while others, with more probability, insinuate that he was murdered by the contrivance of *Arnefast*, bishop of *Arpius*, and promoted to that see by *Erland* against the king's will. Others attribute the action to the same bishop; but render the means still more infamous, affirming, that he poisoned the bread which he administered to the king in performing the eucharist: a villainy so enormous as to merit little credit, did not history produce other instances of the same nature. Christopher's death and character. A. D. 1259:

b As to *Christopher*, he was rather a deserving than a happy prince. He found the treasury exhausted on his accession, the people violently incensed against the late king, yet a strong faction in favour of his children; and it was his misfortune to involve himself further, though unavoidably, by entering into disputes with the clergy. At his death he left things in much the same situation he found them; the treasury exhausted, and the nation split into two powerful factions.

E R I C VII. ~

c *CRISTOPHER's* death made room for his eldest son *Eric*. As the young king had not yet attained at full age, his mother *Margaret*, a lady of prudence, virtue, and piety, took into her hands the reins of government. Her administration began with troubles, occasioned by the pope's letters to *Jarmerci*, prince of *Rugen*, inviting him to attempt releasing the archbishop of *Lunden*. Notwithstanding *Jarmerci* was a vassal of the crown, at the pope's desire he made a sudden descent on *Zealand*, and was met there by a tumultuous army, which *Margaret* had raised of a sudden to oppose him. A battle ensued, and the *Danes* were defeated, leaving ten thousand men dead on the field. The bishop of *Roschild* renewed the interdiction, and forbid Christian burial to those brave fellows, who had lost their lives in the cause of their young king. All the country was laid waste, and *Hassnia* taken and plundered. Not content with laying *Zealand* waste, *Jarmerci* passed to *Bornholm*, and investing the strong castle of *Hammehuse*, took it, put the garrison to the sword, and subdued the whole island. Margaret, regent of Denmark. Quarrels between the crown and the clergy.

d In the mean time *Margaret*, with her son *Eric*, took shelter in *Fionia*, where, and in *North Jutland*, levies were making to renew the war with all possible diligence. Happily for them the fierce *Jarmerci* was slain while he was plundering a monastery, an incensed nun having stabbed him in the groin with a knife. Being rid of this enemy, *Margaret* settled the difference about his wife's fortune with the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and by this means gained him over to her interest.

e TOWARDS the beginning of this year *Eric* was a second time crowned at a public diet, having now attained the age of eleven years. It was the opinion of the diet that the archbishop should be set at liberty, and reinstated in his diocese; but this the refractory prelate refused, insisting that all should be laid before the pope. However, being now at liberty, he went into *Sweden*, from whence he sent the most virulent letters against the king to *Rome*. *Margaret* and *Eric*, desirous of a reconciliation with the church, replaced all the other bishops in their respective sees; but, incensed at *Erland*, they were no less obstinate than the archbishop. At the same time pope *Alexander* dying, *Urban IV.* was elected in his room; to gain favour with whom ambassadors were sent by *Eric* to congratulate his accession, and obviate all the accusations which probably would be laid against him by his rebellious clergy. A. D. 1260:

f BEFORE these disputes were terminated, *Matilda*, widow of *Abel*, and wife to the duke of *Swedeland*, instigated her son *Eric* to claim the duchy of *Sleswick*, to which he was the nearest heir, his brother *Valdemar* dying without issue. The inhabitants were well disposed towards him, the princes of *Holstein* preferred him as a neighbour to the powerful king of *Denmark*, and determined to support him; other princes likewise countenanced and lent him forces, which, with those he had raised, composed a considerable army. King *Eric* and his mother *Margaretta* led an army against him, *Findan-Ivan* commanding under them. A battle was fought near *Lopeid* with great fury, a prodigious number was slain on both sides, and the *Holsteiners* were beginning to fall back in disorder, when *Findan-Ivan*, won by the enemy's gold, treacherously drew off the *Danish* troops, suffered himself to be taken, and his king defeated and made prisoner with his mother. Young Eric lays claim to Sleswick. A. D. 1261. The king and queen are taken prisoners.

g AFTER this *Eric* took possession of *Sleswick* without resistance, the king was sent prisoner to *Alsen*, the queen and the bishop of *Sleswick*, who likewise fell into the enemy's hands, were closely confined at *Hamburg*, and the latter loaded with chains by order of *Erland*, archbishop of *Lunden*. This prelate, upon the news of *Margaretta's* defeat, returned from *Sweden*, and now grew insolent without controul. The sound policy of *Margaretta* rendered her confinement short: she wrought matters so with *Albert* of *Brunswick*, that he interested himself

They are re-
leased.

himself in her release; and she no sooner obtained her liberty than she diligently applied for the king's and the bishop's enlargement, which was, in a short time, effected by means of a high ransom, and a promise to marry his sister to *Albert of Brandenburg*, as soon as she arrived at a proper age.

A. D. 1265.

The pope's le-
gate excommu-
nicates the king
and queen.

THE king and *Margaretta* were now at liberty to revenge the injuries *Erland* had done them during confinement. They accordingly drew up a heavy charge against him, which they sent to pope *Urban*, beseeching, that, to establish the tranquillity of the kingdom, he would withdraw him from the diocese of *Lunden*. *Urban* granted their request, and wrote a severe letter to that purpose to *Erland*; but his holiness died before his orders took place; and in order to ingratiate himself with *Clement VI.* the succeeding pope, the archbishop proposed making a tour to *Rome*. Soon after the pope sent his legate to *Denmark*: he was graciously received by king *Eric*, promised fair, but in a short time took part with the archbishop; summoned the king and queen-mother to appear before him at *Sleswick*, which they refusing, he set out for *Lubec*, and was followed thither by all the bishops of *Denmark*. From *Lubec* this spiritual tyrant thundered out his impotent anathemas, interdicting the king and queen-mother, together with all the nobility of the court; after which he departed for *Rome*, attended by *Erland*. How this dispute with *Erland* and the pope's legate terminated, we know not, as we find no farther mention made of it during *Eric's* reign (A).

A. D. 1270.
Eric sends an
army to Livonia,
and defeats the
barbarians.

FROM this time *Denmark* enjoyed a profound peace, until the year 1270. *Eric* was busied in framing new laws, giving directions for the strict execution of the old, replenishing his exhausted treasury, and recruiting by every possible means the almost-wasted constitution and spent strength of the kingdom, when the *Muscovites*, *Lithuanians*, and *Semigallians*, made a sudden irruption into the province of *Estonia*, or that part of *Livonia* subject to the crown of *Denmark*, and conquered by the predecessors of *Eric*. They had over-run great part of the country, and reduced the inhabitants to great distress, before *Matthias* with the *Danish* fleet came up. On his arrival he landed his troops, fought and defeated the enemy; but pursuing them with too great eagerness, he was slain in the chase; a loss that greatly damped the joy of the victory.

War between
the king and
duke of Sles-
wick.

To this transaction succeeded a war with *Eric* of *Sleswick*, occasioned by a variety of circumstances. The king could not digest the manner in which that duchy had been wrested from him, tho' in fact it was but a poor equivalent for the crown of *Denmark*. He had received complaints from the inhabitants of several grievances which *Eric* refused to redress. This prince had likewise refused to appear before the king's tribunal when cited as a vassal; and a dispute arose between them about *Alsen* and other neighbouring islands in the *Baltic*. *Eric* commenced hostilities, by entering the duchy with a powerful army, and seizing upon the fortress of *Tunder*, which he razed. Thence he marched to *Handerslaw* and *Flensburg*, making himself master of both cities, and indeed of almost the whole duchy, without any considerable opposition.

A. D. 1277.
Affairs of
Sweden.

ERIC and his wife dying about this time, the king took upon himself the guardianship of his three sons, *Abel*, *Eric*, and *Valdemar*, all minors, and constituted *John Witting* governor of *Sleswick*. This was cause of fresh troubles; the princes of *Holstein*, cousins to the deceased *Eric*, believing this charge ought by right to devolve upon them, resolved to claim it by force of arms. They crossed the *Eyder* with an army to attack the king, who, unwilling to enter upon another war, gave the government of the duchy to the eldest son of *Eric*, and thus compromised matters.

THIS year *Eric* entered into an alliance with *Magnus* duke of *Nicoping*, who had fled from *Sweden* to crave his assistance against *Valdemar*. This prince had usurped the whole dominion, allowing nothing to the younger brother. *Magnus* hastened back with the *Danish* reinforcement, and soon compelled *Valdemar* to rest satisfied with an equal share of dominion: but a quarrel soon arose between the king and *Magnus*, who having now gained his ends, refused to pay the sum stipulated for the assistance afforded by *Eric*. Nay more, he began to commence hostilities, and entered *Schonon* with an army, after he had publicly broke off the late treaty. Here he laid waste a great part of the country; but was at length stopped in his cruel and ungrateful progress by *Uffo*, whom the king had sent to oppose him. A battle ensued, *Magnus* was repulsed, and forced to quit the province with disgrace. Farther to revenge the insult, *Eric* sent privately to *Valdemar*, that if he would hold his crown of *Denmark*, he would restore him to the full dominion of his kingdom. His proposals were

(A) *Pontanus* indeed observes, that *Eric*, in order to make up matters with the holy see, made some concessions to the archbishop, and paid him besides a sum of money: that the prelate returning from the council of *Lycns*, in the year 1274, died at *Rugen*, and thus rid the king of his greatest enemy: and lastly, that after this the interdiction was taken off, the pope being desirous of pursuing the war against the *Saracens* (1).

a cepted, *Valdemar* raised an army, and was joined by a strong body of *Danes*; but both were defeated, a prodigious number slain, and *Valdemar*, escaping with difficulty out of the field, was forced to seek shelter in *Denmark*. This victory was obtained by *Charles Uffe*, general to *Magnus*, and one of the best officers of *Sweden*.

VALDEMAR made but a short stay in *Denmark*; for as soon as forces were raised he entered *Gothland*, plundering and laying waste all before him, as if he had been in an enemy's country; nor did *Magnus* oppose him, as he intended to procure a peace by resigning this province to *Valdemar*. With this view he sent to *Eric*, to acquaint him that he was ready to pay the promised subsidy, provided he withdrew his troops; which *Eric* accepting, a peace was concluded.

b ABOUT the beginning of this year a war broke out between *Denmark* and *Norway*, owing to *Eric's* withholding the portion of *Ingeburga*, daughter to *Eric VI.* and wife to *Magnus* king of *Norway*. *Magnus* arriving with a great fleet in *Schonen*, landed his troops at *Scanora*, where he was met and defeated by the *Danish* army, leaving five thousand of his men dead on the field of battle. Thus repulsed, he returned with all expedition to *Norway*, and *Eric* hearing that the sons of the king of *Sweden* had served in the army of *Magnus*, led his troops to waste *Gothland*, which he plundered and laid desolate in revenge. *Magnus* of *Sweden*, unwilling to break the peace, which had so lately been concluded, proposed an interview with *Eric*, in order to adjust the difference between them. They met on the frontiers of *Gothland*, and *Eric* agreed to indemnify the loss which *Sweden* had sustained from this invasion, by remitting half the subsidy to be paid by *Magnus*. On the other hand, the castle of *Lodofia* was pledged to him in security of the payment of the remaining moiety; and thus the two princes were again reconciled, to the great joy of both kingdoms.

A. D. 1278.
A rupture between Denmark and Norway.

c HAVING now some little respite from foreign wars, he held a diet at *Nioburgh*, in order to redress some grievances of which the people loudly complained. Of these we know nothing more than that a decree was passed on this occasion, which formed a supplemental part of the laws of *Zealand*. The controversy between him and *Valdemar* of *Sleswick* about *Alsen*, and the other small islands situated round it in the *Baltic*, was submitted to the determination of a board of decemvirs, chosen by both sides. Their verdict was, that *Valdemar* should hold these islands of the king, paying him a certain yearly revenue in acknowledgment.

A. D. 1280.
A detail of the war.

d THE year 1282 was ushered in by a pestilential disease, by which great numbers of men and cattle were swept off, and this was preceded, says our author, by a strange appearance in the air of two dragons fighting; the infallible prognostic of dreadful calamities. Terrible fires happened in different parts of the kingdom, especially in *Lunden*, which destroyed a multitude of houses and churches. To crown the misfortunes of the year, *Margaretta*, the king's mother, died, deeply regretted by all degrees of people, after having, with great discretion and policy, governed the kingdom and her son for the space of twenty-three years.

Death and character of Margaretta.

e THE death of this excellent princess raised many enemies to *Eric*, whom her prudence had long repressed. *Valdemar* duke of *Sleswick* laid claim to his patrimony, and determining to support his demand by force, united himself to the earl of *Halland*, and *Stigot*, tribune of the *Danish* knights, as we find him termed by our authors, though they do not explain the nature of this office. The earl had indeed the same reasons for beginning a war; and *Eric*, to avoid one, ceded *South Jutland* to *Valdemar*, and *Halland* to the earl, reserving only his own sovereignty: but this did not satisfy them; they still persisted in their resolution to break with the king; to which they were incited by *Hacquin* of *Norway's* resolution to renew the war which his father *Magnus* had dropt after his repulse in *Schonen*. *Hacquin* began with ravaging the coasts of *Denmark*, burning *Scaga*, a town in *North Jutland*, and grievously distressing the inhabitants of the sea-shore. *Valdemar* at the same time was raising a storm in the south; and resolving to settle a plan of operations with *Hacquin*, set sail for *Norway*; and was taken on his way by a *Danish* squadron, and carried prisoner to *Elfinore*. Here he was detained, closely confined for some months, and then set at liberty, at the intercession of some princes, on signing an acknowledgment of his errors, and giving up all his pretensions to *Alsen*, and the other places he had claimed as his right. This instrument was guaranteed by the princes who procured his liberty, all of whom took an oath to declare against him, should he infringe any single article of the deed he had now solemnly signed and sealed.

A. D. 1284,

f *ERIC*, having finished this transaction, and patched up a peace with the king of *Norway*, comforted himself with the pleasing hope of enjoying the remainder of his life in tranquillity; but he was treacherously murdered a few weeks after by a band of conspirators, the chief nobility of the kingdom, among whom was *James* earl of *Halland*. The cabal consisted of nine persons, each of them having their particular grudge against the king, whom they accused of incontinence and avarice, the weak apologies of treachery and rebellion.

A. D. 1286.
Eric murdered.

bellion. They perpetrated their design as the king was making a progress to *North Jutland* to administer justice, and settle the state of the province, loading him with fifty wounds, while he lay fast asleep in his chamber at an inn in *Warburg*, where he had taken the diversion of hunting for a few days. The murderers were a long time unknown, and might perhaps have ever lain concealed, had not their consciences risen in judgment against them. Imagining there was no security for them in *Denmark*, they fled to *Norway*, by which means the whole plot was discovered, and their names transmitted with ignominy to the latest posterity.

His character. Thus died *Eric VII.* in the flower of his age, and with the reputation of several virtues, which he obscured by lust and avarice. He had debauched the wives and daughters of several of the nobility, which drew upon him their indignation: and the large sums amassed by his rapaciousness had filled his private coffers; while the public treasury was empty, and the people oppressed with poverty. These vices were, however, more than sufficiently punished by the nature of his death; and it is probable, if he had lived longer, that experience would have in some measure corrected them, on perceiving how odious they were to his subjects:

ERIC VIII. surnamed the PIOUS.

Eric VIII. surnamed the Pious. *ERIC* the Pious, surnamed likewise *Merved*, succeeded to the crown of his father *Eric VII.* As he was yet a minor, his mother and the senate governed the kingdom; and *Valdemar* of *Sleswick* was appointed his guardian. The first act of *Eric's* authority was holding a diet at *Schelfscore*, where he proposed means to the diet for revenging his father's death, and punishing the murderers. The conspirators wanted not friends, who gave them immediate intelligence of the resolution of the assembly: upon which they planned a scheme for seizing the king's person; and taking the supreme government into their own hands. Secret as this plot was kept, *Valdemar* got some intimation of it; and having first removed the king out of danger, he doubled the guards round the city, and took such effectual measures as frustrated the conspiracy, and obliged the conspirators to fly the kingdom.

THIS year likewise a strange prodigy, at least what was thought so in those dark ages, appeared in the heavens. Three suns, as resplendent as the meridian sun, were seen altogether, each incircled by a beautiful rainbow; but this is a phenomenon easily accounted for by every person who has made natural philosophy his study. It was then esteemed the harbinger of dreadful calamities:

A. D. 1287. Inquiry into the conspiracy. A SECOND diet was held at *Neoburg*; and here a resolution was taken, that the care of making an inquiry into this horrid plot should be committed to *Otho* of *Brandenburg*, *Witislaw* of *Rugen*, the princes of *Holstein*, and others of the *Danish* nobility, to the number of twenty-seven persons. The committee, upon examining proper evidence, cited *James* earl of *Holland*, *Canute Stigot*, *Nicholas Halanffar*, *Peter Porse*, *Peter James*, *Nicholas Canute*, *Ago Caccius*, *Ranno Jona*, and *Orvid Benedict*, before them; pronounced them guilty of parricide and high treason, the enemies of the king and kingdom, outlawed by the laws of the land, and their estates confiscated to the crown.

The conspirators are outlawed. THE conspirators, failing in their last attempt, had taken refuge a second time in *Norway*, where they swore allegiance to the king, at that time on bad terms with *Denmark*, and received from him the castle of *Congele*, strong by art and nature. They likewise resolved to fortify, in the strongest manner, *Hunelstrals*, *Warburg*, and other places belonging to the earl of *Holland*, against all the attempts of the *Danes*; and thus a war was again commenced between *Denmark* and *Norway*, which continued for the space of nine years, almost to the utter ruin and destruction of both kingdoms.

War with Norway. IN the beginning of the year 1288, *Hacquin* proclaimed war, upon the same pretences which both he and his father had used in the preceding contests. He likewise screened the injustice of his cause under the spacious pretext of revenging the injury done to some of the first nobility in *Denmark*, by robbing them of their estates, and banishing them the kingdom, without form of trial, or proof of their guilt. However false this last pretext might be, it gave a better aspect to his cause, and made the *Norwegians*, as well as neighbouring nations, less acquainted with the true state of affairs, applaud his motives. Little was done for this year besides making vigorous preparations; but in the spring of the following year *Hacquin* attacked *Elsinore*, and burnt it down to the ground. He steered thence to *Haffnia*; but not venturing to land, he turned his course to the islands *Amagria* and *Mona*, which he laid waste. After this he sent *Contorius Cruter* with a squadron of light frigates to make an attempt on *Scanora*; but this officer returned with the loss of two thirds of his whole fleet.

Detail of the war. IN the mean time the outlawed conspirators ravaged the coasts; and *Stigot*, after destroying *Brasingburg*, made a descent on *Samsøe*, whence he carried off some plunder. He next went to *Torneburg*, where king *Eric* used frequently to pass a few days, and this place he burnt.

a burnt. From hence he steered to *Falstria*, and, after laying desolate the city *Nicoping*, he invested the citadel. The *Norwegians*, thinking to make an easy prey of a squadron of *Danish* ships lying off the island *Laaland*, were themselves defeated with great loss. This obliged *Stigot* to raise the siege, and retire with all possible expedition to *Hacquin*, then at *Amagria*. Here joining forces, they sailed to *Strebecopia*, burnt it, and then returned to *Norway*.

ERIC, willing to spare innocent blood, sent ambassadors with proposals of peace. He offered to pay to *Hacquin* his mother's portion, provided he would separate himself from the parricides, and quit the defence of a cause which a good prince ought to blush for having ever engaged in: but *Hacquin* insisted upon terms for the conspirators, which broke off the negotiation. The queen now brought on a treaty of marriage between the king and *Ingeburga*, princess of *Sweden*, and daughter to king *Magnus*. As soon as the terms were settled the parties were betrothed; and, to connect the families more firmly, she contracted her daughter with the son of *Magnus*, both crowns soliciting for a dispensation at *Rome*.

In the summer of this year *Hacquin* and the exiles again put to sea, plundered and burnt the towns of *Alburg* and *Swenburg* in *Jutland* and *Fionia*, ravaged part of *Laaland*, and then returned unmolested to *Norway*. But the exiles remained with part of the fleet in the *Baltic*, and fortified *Sproa* and *Hielm*, from whence they proposed harrassing the coasts of *Denmark*. Nor did *Hacquin* remain long in indolence. Next year he returned, and made an unsuccessful attempt on *Corfora*. Again he turned his arms against *Holben* and *Nicoping*, both which cities he burnt and destroyed. All this while the exiles were ravaging *Middleford*, and other places of less consideration. *Stigot*, their admiral, had by this time so fortified *Hielm*, that it became a place of great strength, and a safe retreat; for though the island be small, yet its lofty and craggy situation renders it extremely difficult of access.

UNTIL the year 1293 we find nothing material recorded, besides the rebuilding of *Haffnia*, and the death of *Stigot*, who resigned his last breath with a heroism which would have reflected honour on a better life, and in the true *Roman* spirit. Assembling his friends round him, he spoke to them in the following manner: "You see, my friends, what our situation is. We have weathered every storm, by means of the harmony subsisting among us: we have succeeded in every enterprize from the same cause. Now that I am about to part with you for ever, observe this my last request, that you still preserve the same unanimity, and God will prosper your undertakings. Chuse another leader in my room; obey him as you have done me; and let not the ambition of any individual ruin the confederacy, and destroy the column of honour we have been so long erecting. In this consists your whole strength: like this bundle of twigs, while you cleave together, you are incapable of being broken; apart, you are weak, and may be turned, twisted, and snapped at pleasure." With these words he yielded up the ghost, and delivered *Eric* from one of the most formidable of his enemies. Stigot's death.

TOWARDS the close of this year a congress was settled, at which *Eric* and *Hacquin* were to preside in person, for the adjusting of their differences. The princes met; but parting without having come to any conclusion, *Hacquin* equipped a fleet, and recommenced hostilities, making a fourth descent on *Denmark*, to the great loss and terror of the inhabitants, great numbers of whom were ruined by it. He took the ships of *Denmark* at sea; some he plundered, others he destroyed; but in general he sent them into his ports, immediately confiscating both ships and cargoes. A. D. 1293.

Nor long after *Ranno Jona*, another of the conspirators, was taken in *Roschild*, and broke upon the wheel; and the archbishop of *Lunden* was, by the king's order, thrown into prison, together with his archdeacon. This latter escaping, went to *Rome*, and, by his manner of relating things, incensed his holiness violently against the king.

IMMEDIATELY on the back of this, a dispute arose between *Eric* and *Valdemar* duke of *Holstein*, concerning some frontier towns, to which both claimed a right; and the king of *Norway*, believing this a seasonable opportunity for pursuing the war, entered into a league with *Valdemar*, and renewed his depredations on the *Danish* coasts. A. D. 1298.

WHILE these transactions were going forward, the bishop of *Lunden* effecting his escape from *Sedgburg-castle*, went first to *Bornholm*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he added fresh fuel to the fire already kindled by his archdeacon. In consequence the whole kingdom was laid under a new interdiction, and the king mulcted to pay the archbishop an immense sum of money, to indemnify his losses and disgrace. *Eric* had sent his brother *Christopher* and his high chancellor to *Rome*, to plead his cause: he now lost it, and blamed his brother, as either corrupt or indolent, which produced a quarrel between them. Whether the affront put upon the king at *Callenburg* was an effect of this difference, or the cause of it, we know not: history only relates, that *Christopher's* garrison in that place shut the gates upon *Eric*, just as he was preparing to enter the city. Highly incensed at the indignity, his majesty returned with a body of forces, in order to punish the offenders. *Christopher* was

was penitent, or rather he professed his ignorance of the whole ; but nothing less than the death of the principal officers in the town could satisfy the king. ^a

A. D. 1299. THE next year was spent in a series of altercation with the pope's legate and the bishop of *Lunden*. The legate had entered wholly into the interest of the latter, insisting upon terms which the king determined not to grant. He had likewise refused to pay the fine imposed on him by his holiness ; and imagining the pope had been deceived by a false representation of the nature of the dispute, he remitted to *Rome* a fresh appeal, and heavy complaints both of the legate and the archbishop.

Treaty with
Lubec.

IN this situation stood things between his majesty and the pope, when ambassadors arrived at *Roschild* from *Lubec*, soliciting *Eric* to take upon him the protection of this commercial city, greatly distressed by a number of surrounding enemies, who envied her rapid progress, and cast an eye of desire on the immense wealth she had treasured up. *Eric* accepted the proposals, and a treaty was agreed on, whereby he undertook to defend the *Lubeckers* against all their enemies, in consideration of a subsidy of seven hundred and fifty marks in silver yearly. On the other hand, they were to act as vassals to the king ; and to have in pay a certain number of forces, and a fleet ready to put in motion at the king's call. The *Lubeckers* were in the mean time to trade freely to all the ports of *Denmark*, as long as this treaty remained in force, and the time was limited to the term of eleven years. ^b

A. D. 1300. THIS year a negotiation for a peace between the crowns of *Denmark* and *Norway* was set on foot by the duke of *Langland*, who offered his mediation, and renewed the very terms which had been proposed some years before, when the convention was broke off on account of the conspirators, whom the king refused to include. With this view he passed over to *Norway*, and obtained from *Hacquin* a promise that he would meet *Eric* at *Corfura*, each attended by a few nobility, and submit their differences to the arbitration of any six persons to be chosen, three by each party, provided that *Eric's* consent could be gained. *Eric* easily assented to a proposal so equitable, and immediately granted passports to *Hacquin* and his retinue ; but he forbid the regicides to be of the number. After the commissioners had taken a solemn oath to be swayed by no private or national motives, they entered upon business ; but could come to no determination, and thus the congress broke up without the happy fruits expected from it. ^c

Congress for a
peace between
Denmark and
Norway.

A DIFFERENCE which arose between the knights of the *Teutonic* order and the bishop of *Riga*, had almost involved the king in a war with that warlike association ; but the pope's interposition prevented the effusion of Christian blood. ^d

The pope re-
moves the in-
terdiction.

IN the year 1302, the king sent the most plaintive and supplicating letters to the pope intreating, that he would be pleased to remove his heavy curse, under which the kingdom had laboured for some years past, and receive himself and subjects again into the bosom of the church, allowing them the free use of the holy communion, from which they had so long been interdicted. His holiness, moved with his supplications, granted his request ; the interdiction was taken off, and the whole kingdom rung with joy, as if some very signal advantage had been obtained. Such was the ascendancy this politic and truly artful spiritual sovereignty had obtained over the minds of princes, rather ignorant than devout, rather superstitious than pious. ^e

War renewed
with Norway.

THIS year the war between *Norway* and *Denmark* was again renewed. Nothing, indeed, could be more irregular than the operations of both kingdoms ; for, although no peace had been concluded, hostilities frequently ceased for a year or two, and then were resumed by making a descent on each other's coasts. *Hacquin* fitted out a fleet, and ravaged the *Danish* islands ; while *Eric* laid siege to *Hunelsfrals*, *Warburg*, and other places on the sea-coast ; yet at the same time a convention was sitting for settling a peace. It would seem that *James* earl of *Halland* had attempted the relief of these garrisons ; but failing in his attempt, he surrendered all *North Halland* to *Hacquin*, and made it over to him in perpetuity, putting himself and children under that monarch's protection ; and making no other terms, than if it should happen that *Hacquin*, by any favourable turn, should ever procure a confirmation of this deed by *Eric*, he would then appoint his eldest son governor of the country. ^f

NEXT year nothing remarkable happened, besides that the king published another proclamation, citing the regicides to take their trial according to law. We have already seen that they were convicted, and their estates confiscated : to what purpose, then, this new proclamation was issued, we know not. Certain it is, that none of the conspirators obeyed the summons, and we hear of no new sentence passed upon them.

A. D. 1306.

IN the year 1306, *Eric* raised an army to support *Birger*, king of *Sweden*, his brother-in-law, who was driven out of his kingdom by his brothers. He led his troops to the fron- ^g

a tiers of *West Gotbland*, where he was met by the enemy. Both armies encamped within fight for some days; and at length a truce, for one year, was agreed to by *Eric* and the *Swedish* princes. Notwithstanding this, *Valdemar* duke of *Finland*, one of the brothers, passed into *Germany*, where, levying, a body of horse, he made a descent on *Schenen*, ravaged the country, and carried off *Christopher*, king *Eric's* brother. At the same time the *Norwegians* landed at *Tormburg*, which place they invested; but were repulsed, and driven to their ships.

Eric supports his brother-in-law Birger king of Sweden.

The following year *Eric* resolved to return the insult offered by the duke of *Finland*, in contempt of the late truce. For this purpose he raised an army, took with him *Valdemar* of *Sleswick* and his brother *Eric*, marched into the enemy's country, and came within b fight of their army; yet, after all, no battle ensued. The rigour of the winter was so great, that the soldiers could not handle their arms: besides, the *Swedes* on his approach sent to demand equitable terms of peace, to which they declared they would cheerfully subscribe. Accordingly a cessation of arms was agreed upon, and preliminaries to a peace settled, which were never kept. It was the same with respect to a truce established with *Norway*, after a very tedious negotiation. In truth, *Eric* wanted vigour; he was easily amused with any pretext that could keep him from entering upon action; his enemies perceived his weakness, and converted it to their own purposes.

Two years after the preceding truce, *Eric* again renewed the war with *Sweden*, in behalf of his brother-in-law, who had all this time lived an exile in *Denmark*. His army consisted of sixty thousand fighting men, commanded by himself in person, and under him the chief nobility of the kingdom. Five thousand horse were levied in *Germany*, and with these forces he entered *West Gotbland*, and laid siege to *Nicoping*. The enemy commanded by duke *Eric*, finding themselves unable to raise the siege by venturing a battle, were extremely diligent and alert in distressing the king, by cutting off all his convoys and forage. For three months *Eric* lay before the city; but carried on his operations slowly. His generals had quarrelled, military duty was relaxed, and disgrace and ruin approaching by large strides; when his majesty, despairing of success, broke up the siege, and entered upon a negotiation for a peace. Terms were settled, the treaty signed, and the care of the *Danish* army committed to *Christopher*, the king's brother, who was to conduct it into *Den-*

A. D. 1308.
The war renewed with Sweden.

d mark. In his march he set fire to a great number of villages, and committed many other disorders, contrary to the truce the king had just signed; upon which the *Swedes* lodged a complaint against him, and he was deprived of his commission, and likewise of the duchy of *Halland*, which the king had bestowed on him a little before. *Christopher* immediately quitted the army, and joined himself to the king's enemies. *Eric* drew up a charge against him, which he presented to the diet of the states; and *Christopher* put in his answer so clearly to every article of the impeachment, that the diet interested themselves in his behalf, beseeched the king that he would restore him to his favour, and at length procured not only his leave to return, but the duchy of *Halland*, upon the same terms he had held it before. Before this diet broke up, *Birger*, so long exiled from his own kingdom, was like-

Eric reduced to great straits.

Eric complains to the states of his brother Christopher.

e wise restored, and a peace concluded between him and his brothers. A remonstrance was lodged against king *Eric*, by *Hacquin* king of *Norway*, complaining that he had often refused the most equitable terms of accommodation, and broke off all conventions just when matters were on the point of being adjusted. But to this *Eric* replied, that no terms could be equitable, or indeed honourable to him, that included a pardon for the murderers of his predecessor. However, what this remonstrance could not effect was brought about by a difference which arose between *Hacquin*, and *Eric* duke of *Swedeland*. *Hacquin* demanded the restitution of *Congel*, *Warburg*, and other garrisons, committed in trust to duke *Eric*, which he refused, on being disappointed in his expectation of marrying the king of *Norway's* daughter. *Eric* of *Denmark* thought this the fairest opportunity of establishing f a firm and solid peace between the courts of *Denmark* and *Norway*. Accordingly he proposed a treaty of marriage between *Magnus*, son to *Birger*, king of *Sweden*, and *Ingeburga*, daughter to *Hacquin*. The terms were accepted, the marriage solemnized in *Haffnia*, *Ingeburga* declared queen of *Norway* in failure of the male line, and a solid peace concluded between the three northern powers, all brought into a strict union by this alliance.

Treaty of marriage concluded between the sons of Birger and daughter of Hacquin.

NEXT year *Eric* likewise spent in giving peace to his neighbours, and tranquility to his own subjects. The princes of *Holstein* were reconciled to *Denmark*, and a certain controversy with *Wratislau*, prince of *Rugen*, amicably terminated. Games and tournaments were instituted at *Rostock*, to celebrate this happy event; and *Denmark*, perhaps, never saw a more joyful occasion b.

A. D. 1310.

b Vid. Auct. citat. ibid.

A. D. 1311.

Rostock besieged by the king.

BUT this calm, so necessary and seasonable to a country exhausted with the continual storm of war, was not of long duration. The duke of *Mecklenburg* was desirous of solemnizing his nuptials at *Rostock*; but the citizens had denied him admittance. Incensed at this indignity, he complained to *Eric*, who wrote a peremptory order to the citizens to do honour to the duke; but they persisting in their refusal, he equipped a fleet, and sailed to the coasts of *Lower Saxony*. Towards the land the city was invested by the duke of *Mecklenburg*, *Valdemar* of *Brandenburg*, and the neighbouring princes, while the king's fleet blocked it up on the side of the gulph or mouth of the river *Warnow*. Here he sunk ships, laid booms across, and raised works on each, to guard which he left a slender garrison and returned home; but he was scarce gone when the besieged made a brisk sally, destroyed all his works, and opened the passage, building strong towers on each side to prevent his entering with the same ease a second time. Immediately after this they entered into a league with some neighbouring states, and, equipping a fleet, invaded *Denmark*, burning *Scanora*, *Falsterboe*, *Amagria*, *Elfinore*, and other rich cities, after carrying off a very rich booty.

The city taken.

THIS was an insult which *Eric* thirsted to revenge. He sailed directly for the *Warnow*, attacked the towers they had built in his absence, and, after several brisk attacks, which continued for three days, took them by assault. He next drew lines round the city, blocked it up by sea, and, through dint of perseverance, reduced the inhabitants to such distress, that they turned their resentment against the senate, and broke out into an open revolt. They affirmed, that their liberties were sold to the king, and that the mouth of the river was blocked up by their contrivance. Enraged at this notion, they flew like maniacs round the streets, seized and put to death several senators of the first distinction, tortured others, and, at length, tired with slaughter and barbarity, sent to king *Eric* to deprecate his wrath, ask pardon for the rebellion, and sue, in the most submissive terms, for peace. The king, whose temper was prone to mercy, heard their supplications, and pitied their condition; but the affairs of his kingdom requiring his immediate attendance, he referred the burghers to the duke of *Mecklenburg*, to whom he recommended the mildest treatment. A cessation of hostilities was granted, and commissioners were appointed to settle the preliminaries for a thorough agreement. The treaty was to be negotiated without the walls, but the duke determined otherwise; and being implacable against the citizens, he found means to convey a party of choice soldiers, in two covered waggons, that were entering the city. These seized upon the gates, and set them open. The duke with his whole army rushed in, and an obstinate battle ensued in the market-place, when the duke perceiving matters like to prove too hard for him, proclaimed the king's orders, that justice should be administered by law, without having recourse to the sword; and that his only motive for seizing the city was to provide his troops with better quarters during a negotiation that might prove tedious. The citizens no sooner heard this declaration than they drew off, and permitted the duke to quarter his troops without molestation. They were mulcted to pay at three installments, the sum of fourteen thousand marks in silver, or that value in scarlet cloth, and other merchandize, to indemnify the king, the duke, and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, for the expences of the war.

A. D. 1312.
A conspiracy discovered.

THIS year a conspiracy formed against the king's life was discovered by *Eric* of *Langland's* wife, after his death. She had found a letter in his cabinet, containing an account of the plot and the names of all the conspirators, and plainly shewing that her husband was deeply engaged in this villainous design. Weighing her duty to the king against the regard she ought to preserve for the memory of her husband, at length she determined to reveal the whole, which she did, by presenting the letter to king *Eric*. The affair was kept a profound secret, until the diet was assembled, and then the king ordered the paper, signed and sealed by the conspirators, to be produced. As soon as the astonishment of the people ceased, they requested that the conspirators might be seized and punished. Immediately *Andrew Hogby* and *Nicholas Ranno* were put in irons, and broke on the wheel, ending those lives in misery which they had spent in planning the most villainous and horrid designs. All the others, among whom were several bishops, particularly those of *Roschild*, *Otho*, *Wiburg*, and *Sleswick*, were pardoned on account of *Eric's* great regard for their sacred function, which it would seem was a protection for treason and the most nefarious crimes; only a new oath of allegiance was required of them, which they were at liberty to break as they had done the former, since they were tied down by no pledges or other security for their good conduct.

TOWARDS the close of this year a new congress was settled, at which *Eric*, *Hacquin*, *Birger*, duke *Christopher*, *Valdemar*, and *Eric*, dukes of *Swedeland*, with several other princes, presided in person. Here it was proposed to establish the late peace, concluded between these princes, upon a more solid basis, as difficulties occurred which had then been passed

c Vide PONTAN. l. vii.

d MEURS. l. iii.

a over unobserved. The congress sat for near a twelvemonth, and at last all particulars were adjusted to the satisfaction of every individual.

THIS year an insurrection appeared in *North Jutland*, excited by some of the nobility, who instigated the people against the government, and made them refuse payment of the taxes imposed by the king and diet. They soon broke out into acts of violence, murdering the steward of the household, whom the king had sent to appease them. Upon this the king put the army in motion, and was marching against them, when the insurgents thought it advisable to submit, and throw themselves upon his clemency. *Eric* pardoned them, but imposed a new tax, by way of fine, which was continued for a long time under the name of *Galdecorn*; and to awe them for the future, he erected four strong castles in the province, in which he placed numerous garrisons: but the nobility did not escape with the same favour. Four were proscribed and banished; and *Peter Porfus* pardoned, on condition that he took an oath at the high altar, to break off all correspondence with his late friends, the enemies of his country, and to remove with his whole household into *Zealand* within the year. A. D. 1313.
An insurrection in Jutland.

ABOUT the beginning of this year a dispute arose between *Eric* and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, about *Stralsunde* the inhabitants of which had made several incursions into the territories of the prince of *Rugen*, the king's vassal. These the prince retaliated, and was supported by the king, while the city of *Stralsunde* was protected by the marquis. Things were likely to terminate in an open rupture between the two courts, when the marquis, apprehensive of the consequences, made overtures which were accepted. The city of *Stralsunde* was forced to break off the alliance with *Brandenburg*: it was obliged to relinquish the forts built, and the encroachments made on the territory of *Rugen*; to acknowledge the sovereignty of prince *Witislav*; to restore all the prisoners, and to indemnify him in the expence of the war. But the next year the citizens of *Stralsunde* broke the first article of this treaty, by joining themselves to the marquis; and soon after they shewed how little they regarded all the others, by marching in an hostile manner into the territory of *Rugen*, plundering and destroying the country as they went. *Witislav* dispatched an account of this transaction to *Eric*, who, without delay, sent *Olaus*, a nobleman of distinction, to the marquis of *Brandenburg*, with remonstrances against his conduct, and insisting upon the execution of the late treaty; but *Olaus* returned with nothing more satisfactory than that the marquis had not attempted any thing against the crown of *Denmark*. *Witislav* was in the mean time pressing for a reinforcement, that he might be able to take the field against the enemy, which the king sent with all the expedition possible; but before the *Danes* arrived a peace was settled upon much the same terms as the former. A. D. 1314.
Dispute between Denmark and Brandenburg.

ERIC studied peace, and was laying the foundation of a plan for passing the rest of his life in tranquility, when *Esger Julius*, archbishop of *Lunden*, disturbed his repose. What the motives for this quarrel were, we are not informed. The difference was referred to the pope, and decided, contrary to the usual custom, against the prelate, who was mulcted to pay the king five thousand marks of silver in the space of ten years, and rigorously enjoined by his holiness, to attempt nothing either in his diocese or elsewhere, contrary to the will of his sovereign.

AGAIN the war broke out between *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*, *Christopher*, the king's brother, and several of the nobility, adhering to the latter. The allies fitted out a fleet at *Stralsunde*, and made a descent on *Fionia*, where they took by assault the city *Swenburg*, and defeated *Flepp*, governor of the island, who had collected a tumultuary army to oppose them. *Eric*, on the first notice, sent *Harman*, earl of *Glica*, with seven thousand men, to lay siege to *Stralsunde*, and soon after reinforced him with a strong body of *Swedes*, which *Birger* had sent to his assistance. On his arrival in *Germany*, *Harman* was joined by a great number of princes and noblemen, vassals to the crown of *Denmark*. The duke of *Saxe Lawenburg* had, in particular exerted himself to distinguish his loyalty, in which he was unfortunate; for encamping with his own troops near *Stralsunde*, before the *Danes* arrived, he was attacked by a body of the enemy, who sallied out of the town, defeated and taken prisoner. In a few days the rest of the army came up and invested the town. The siege was carried on with very little progress for several weeks, and finding that the king did not arrive as was expected with an army, *Harman* and the princes agreed to break up their camp. *Eric*, indeed, averse to war, resolved, if it could be effected, to accommodate matters. This disposition in him induced a number of the *German* princes to offer their mediation. Accordingly a peace was concluded, and all the places which the marquis of *Brandenburg* and his allies had seized, were restored. The marquis was tied down to a strict observance of the articles of the preceding treaty, and took an oath not only to abstain from all attempts against the district of *Rugen*, but to repel, with his whole power, any attempts that should be made by any other prince whatsoever. In a word, *Eric* acquitted himself so well in this negotiation, that notwithstanding the advantages the enemy gained in the war, thro' his War between Denmark and Brandenburg.

his inactivity, he had a peace upon the same terms he might have expected from the most vigorous and successful operations in the field. We have in our own time seen similar instances; and perhaps the treaties of *Utrecht* and *Aix-la Chapelle* will be transmitted to posterity as proofs of the superior utility of ministerial to military talents.

CHRISTOPHER, the king's brother, could not, however, obtain the terms he expected; and for that reason went over to *Sweden*, where he lived in exile until the year 1318. When the king was taken ill with that disorder which put an end to his life, he expressed his desire of being reconciled to him, and accordingly granted him a free pardon, without stipulating any terms; soon after which he died, appointing *Christopher* his successor, and earnestly recommending it to the nobility round him to support his claim (A) ^c.

His character. *ERIC* is greatly extolled for his piety, sound policy, and justice. None of the wars in which he was engaged were so important as to gain him the reputation of a great warrior; yet notwithstanding his pacific disposition, he seemed by no means wanting in valour and military talents. This at least we may affirm, that whatever his success was in the field, he always came off with honour and advantage in every peace which he made. He left behind him no children, though he had fourteen by his queen *Ingeburga*. This was the greater misfortune, as no part of *Eric's* character was more remarkable than his paternal affection ^f.

S E C T VIII.

Containing the Reigns of Christopher II. Eric IX. and Valdemar of Sleswick; the Expulsion and Restitution of Christopher, &c. to the Year 1337.

C H R I S T O P H E R II.

Christopher II.

A. D. 1320.
Christopher obtains the crown by corruption.

The oath administered to Christopher.

ERIC was dead before *Christopher* received advice of his pardon. Immediately he hastened to *Denmark*, and finding the throne vacant, he supplicated in the most abject manner, not only the nobility and clergy, but the very dregs and refuse of the people, for their interest at the ensuing election. He distributed presents, and dispersed promises among them with great liberality; in a word, he was the first king of *Denmark* we find mentioned in history, who obtained his crown by bribery, corruption, and arts unworthy of a prince. His half-brother *John* earl of *Wagria*, canvassed for votes in much the same manner, but with less success; for though the principal persons in the kingdom were disposed to elect *Eric* of *Sleswick*, in order to unite that duchy to the crown, yet the vulgar, and *Christopher's* party, prevailed. He was accordingly seated upon the throne, after a warmly contested election, towards the beginning of the year 1320, about two years after the late king's decease. It would seem that a particular oath was administered to him, and different in some respect to that taken by his predecessors; for we find it recited at large by *Pontanus*, containing in substance,

‘ That the bishops, clergy, and religious societies, of all orders, should be preserved in the full possession of all their liberties and immunities: that the sacerdotal function should be bestowed or permitted, to none but persons duly ordained according to the canons of the church: that foreigners, and those who were unacquainted with the vernacular language, should be excluded from all preferments in the church: that a clergyman should, on no account, be tried in a civil court, and subject only to the laws of the spiritual court: that the clergy pay no taxes: that monasteries should be under no obligation to maintain horses and dogs for the king's use; that knights and noblemen have the privilege of acquitting their vassals accused and convicted of crimes, on their paying a fine not exceeding four marks: that barons be not obliged to serve in the wars beyond the frontiers of the kingdom: that should they be taken prisoners, the king shall redeem them within the space of one year, otherwise they shall be exempted from serving a second time; nor shall it derogate from their honour, that they refuse their service: that the king shall neither proclaim war, nor conclude peace, without the consent of the bishops and nobility: that no *German*, or other foreigner, hold the government or command of any castle, citadel, city, town, or other fortrefs within the kingdom; nor occupy any posts or places of any kind or denomination: that all the garri- ^f

^c CRANTZ. 309.

^f PONTAN. & MEUR. *ibid*.

(A) *Pontanus* and *Meursius* both alledge, that he exhorted them not to elect his brother king, knowing well how unfit he was to govern a great kingdom; and indeed *Christopher's* conduct would seem to justify

this opinion of him. But we are inclined to believe, from the free pardon he granted him, and upon the authority of *Crantzius*, that he actually named him to the succession (1).

(1) *Pontan.* l. vii. *Meurs.* l. ii.

- a ' sons of *North Jutland*, except the fortresses of *Coldingen*, *Scandenburg*, and *Ripen*, be demolished: that a free pardon shall be granted to all outlaws, and their heirs: that no person be prosecuted on account of his attachment to the late king; on the contrary, the king shall, at his own cost, support all causes for the defendant carried on upon that account: that the king exert his utmost endeavours to quiet and heal up all differences and parties among his subjects: that merchants be free of all duties and entries in the ports of the kingdom: that no constraint or authority, not permitted by law, be laid upon the peasants by the king's officers: that an annual diet be held at *Neoburg*: that all the laws passed by *Valdemar* be preserved in their full force, and their defects supplied only with approbation of the diet: that no person be summoned to the king's court, before
- b ' his cause has first passed through an inferior court: that no person be condemned to death, or have his goods confiscated, but by public sentence and trial: that all taxes imposed since the death of *Valdemar*, and particularly the *plog-penning* be abolished: that all causes be first tried in the court of the particular diocese where the parties reside, next in the provincial court, afterwards in the king's council, and lastly, before the diet, provided such appeals be requisite, and the parties not obliged to come out of their own province: that all places belonging to the crown, pledged to the nobility, shall remain in their hands, unless redeemed at the stated price: that the king summon no subject to appear at any court beyond the limits of his own province: that he be liable to all the late king's debts: that he make not the least alteration in any of the laws or constitutions of the kingdom.' To these articles several others of less consideration were annexed, all of which the king solemnly signed and sealed, a great number of the chief clergy and nobility subscribing to it as witnesses^a.

FROM this oath, or rather instrument, to which the king assented by oath, it appears how limited the regal authority was at this early period; yet is probable, from many circumstances, that formerly the prerogative was more extended. The diet had scruples about the character of *Christopher*; and this induced the people to lay him under restrictions formerly unknown; perhaps his own method of applying for their votes had given them the first intimation of this fit opportunity of stretching the privilege of the subject. It is probable too that the clergy had a considerable share in *Christopher's* election, as we see their

d immunities secured in a very particular manner.

IMMEDIATELY the fortresses in *North Jutland* were demolished, agreeable to the oath, the people pretending that they served as strong holds for the factious, though in fact they looked upon them as the means whereby the crown retrenched their own licentious spirit.

THIS year the *Swedes* rebelled against *Magnus*, son to *Birger*, and drove the latter out of the kingdom, together with his queen *Margaret*. The old monarch sought protection in *Denmark*, and was received indeed by *Christopher*, tho' with less warmth and cordiality than he had formerly been by *Eric*, who had a soul capable of feeling the misfortunes of others. A. D. 1320.

- e IN the year 1322 the king called a diet, in order to settle the succession, as his health was extremely infirm. He had interest enough to have the crown settled in this his own family, and his son *Eric* declared presumptive heir, the partner of his authority, and associate in the throne; at the same time he had him crowned by the bishop of *Lunden*.

C H R I S T O P H E R II. and E R I C IX.

- f IT was not before the year 1323, that the public tranquillity began to be disturbed, by the king's neglect of the solemn engagement he had entered into at his accession. His brother's debts he refused to pay; at least he prevaricated in such a manner, that many of the creditors became bankrupt, on account of the large sums due to them from the crown, which obliged them to stop payment. Besides, he demanded large sums from the clergy, and took back by violence the places he had given in security for the payment of crown debts. This inflamed the nobility, who immediately flew to arms, and amongst the first *Nicholas Olajus*, formerly tribune of the knights, and *Canute Porfius*, lately created duke of *Halland*. To these the archbishop of *Lunden* joined his interest, together with that of several of the first nobility in *Schonen*, with all their friends and vassals. *Barnevin*, a duke and man of distinction in the *Vandal* country, assembled a number of adherents; in a word, a powerful confederacy was formed against *Christopher*.

- g *BARNEVIN* first entered upon hostilities, by making a descent on *Schonen*, and passing from thence into *Zealand*, where he destroyed all before him by fire and sword. The king raised a force to oppose him with all expedition; but *Barnevin* had made himself master of the strong citadel of *Hameren* near *Bornholm*, which he garrisoned, and then retreated in

Eric. IX.
elected an associate in the throne.

Christopher trespasses upon his coronation oath.
The people revolt.

^a PONTAN. l. vii. MEURS. l. iv.

good order, before the king could come up. It was not possible for *Christopher* to pursue him, for the winter came on with so rigorous a frost, that the *Baltic* was frozen over for forty days, and passengers walked from *Denmark* upon the ice to the neighbouring kingdoms, as if it had been firm land. He was eager, however, to regain the citadel of *Hammeren*, and ordered *Peter Wendell* to invest it with a body of troops. *Wendell* obeyed his master's orders, carrying on his operations with so much vigour, that the garrison surrendered prisoners of war in the space of a few days, in spite of all the endeavours of the archbishop of *Lunden*, who left no measures untried for its defence ^a.

A. D. 1324:
Lewis of
Brandenburg
marries *Chris-*
topher's
daughter.

Duke of *Sles-*
wick dies.

THIS year the king married his daughter, with a portion of twelve thousand marks in silver, to *Lewis Brandenburg*, son of *Lewis of Bavaria*, and gave in security for the payment of the money, certain crown lands in *Livonia*. By this means he hoped to strengthen his interest, and gain allies who might be useful in supporting him against his refractory vassals ^b.

THE following year died the duke of *Sleswick*, leaving behind a young son called *Valdemar*. The king believing that the guardianship of this minor belonged by right to him, entered the duchy with an army, and seized upon all the cities, towns, and fortresses, except *Gottorp*, which he invested: *Gerhard* earl of *Ransburg*, uncle to the young duke, assuming his right to the guardianship, was provoked at *Christopher's* conduct. He accordingly raised a body of forces in *Holstein*, gave battle to the king before *Gottorp*, defeated him, and raised the siege. To this was added fresh troubles, owing to the death of *Witi-slaw*, prince of *Rugen*, who held this territory of *Siralsunde* as fiefs of the crown of *Denmark*. He was however no sooner dead, than the country was over-run by the neighbouring *Vandal* princes, whom the king determined to expel by force. In order to support the expences of such a war, he levied a tax upon his subjects, by renewing the *plog-penning*, contrary to his oath. Next he raised an army, subdued the surrounding country, then invaded the island, soon reduced it, and punished those who had been instrumental in inviting the *Vandal* princes ^c.

The *plog-pen-*
ning tax re-
newed.

THE renewal of the *plog-penning* had a bad effect: it made the discontent more general; when a tax equally oppressive, but levied in a different manner, and under any other name, would have been tolerated. To this was added another piece of misconduct, which enraged the clergy, the most dangerous enemies to a prince, by reason of their influence with the people. Some alterations which he made in *Cnardenrope* monastery in *Zealand*, without consulting the bishops, was construed into a contempt of the whole order: the bishops began to fulminate, and the inferior clergy to preach against the government. *Christopher* was accused of perjury, of a design to extirpate the sacred function, and trample on the neck of liberty. The bishops cried out, that their privileges were grossly infringed; the nobles exclaimed, that he aimed at absolute power, the ruin of the nobility, by refusing to pay his brother's debts, and recovering by force the pledges they held in security of payment. The people murmured at the weight of taxes, and especially at *plog-penning*, the most grievous of all taxes, because it fell wholly on the poor labourer. Rebellion talked aloud, discontent appeared in every quarter, and soon a confederacy was formed to depose *Christopher* and his son *Eric*. The duke of *Holland*, *Canute Porcius*, the archbishop of *Lunden*, *Laurence Jonea*, *Lewis Everstein*, and a great number of nobility, published a proclamation, inviting all the friends of liberty to throw off the yoke, and oppose the rapid progress of tyranny and oppression. They declared the government of *Christopher* was no longer tolerable; they there- resolved to withdraw their allegiance, and use their utmost endeavours to depose him ^d.

CHRISTOPHER resided in the castle of *Wartemburg* when this proclamation appeared: he saw *Jutland*, *Schonen*, *Zealand*, and *Fionia*, united against him; but, instead of applying lenitives, he used force, and sent his son *Eric* against the rebels, proposing to follow him directly with a strong reinforcement. He advised him indeed to terminate matters, if possible, in an amicable manner, rather than hazard a battle; but it was now too late to heal the wound, which nothing less than extirpation could cure. *Eric* marched to *Torneburg*, and was there surrounded by the malcontents, who besieged him on every side, and in less than a week made him and his whole army prisoners. The news of this defeat soon reaching *Christopher*: he found himself unequal in strength to his subjects, seized on his treasure, and fled with it to *Germany*, accompanied by his sons *Valdemar* and *Otho*. Here he laid his circumstances before the *Vandal* princes, and his son-in-law *Lewis Brandenburg*, craving their assistance in restoring him to the throne ^e.

Christopher
abdicates the
crown.

IN the mean time the malcontents, perceiving that the crown was abdicated, entered into a strict league with *Valdemar* duke of *Sleswick*, then twelve years of age; whereby they engaged to stand by each other, and oppose all *Christopher's* attempts to recover his throne, and the guardianship of *Sleswick*. Nor was this league without grounds; for *Christopher*, collecting together a fleet, by means of his son-in-law and the *Vandals*, returned to *Denmark*, ^f

^a Aust. citat. ibid.

^a and made several unsuccessful attempts to recover the crown he had lost by his own imprudence. A. D. 1326.

V A L D E M A R of S L E S W I C K.

THE nobility, and principal persons concerned in the league resolved now to cut him off from all hopes of ever returning. With this view they assembled at *Neoburg*, and, with the consent of the people^a, publicly elected *Valdemar* of *Sleswick* king (A). In order to bind the clergy strongly to his interest, he began his reign by conferring favours on them. He confirmed the diocese of *Sleswick*, and all the churches, fees, and monasteries of the kingdom, in all the privileges and immunities which they ever enjoyed. The same he did with respect to a number of cities and corporations. He made over *South Jutland* to his uncle *Gerhard* of *Rendsburg*, and his heirs, to be held as a fief of the crown. He granted several other privileges to the nobility and people, the more firmly to attach them to his interest; yet, after all, his reign was so short, that he scarce deserves to be ranked among the kings. *Valdemar* had raised his warmest friends to so high a pitch of authority, as drew upon them the envy of others, who thought their services merited the same regard. His youth gave room for cabal and faction: each strove who should govern the young monarch, and of consequence the whole kingdom. Unfortunately no regent was appointed; but that power was lodged in the hands of the body of nobility, or rather in those of the king's chief favourites (B). The public repose was first disturbed by a difference between *Uffo* and the archbishop of *Lunden*. Next *Eric*, son of *Valdemar* king of *Sweden*, arrived in *Denmark* to lay claim to his mother's fortune. Several discontents appeared in *Schonen*, *Fionia*, *Zealand*, *Jutland*, and other parts of the kingdom. But what furnished the first opportunity for open rebellion was a tax imposed on the *Zealanders*, in order to redeem some of the crown-lands. The people refused to pay the tax: they took arms to support their refusal; but were soon crushed by the sudden arrival of a party of the king's troops. To this was added a contest between the duke of *Mecklenburg* and the children of *Vitislav*, prince of *Rugen*, about the district surrounding the island. The latter had recourse to king *Valdemar*, or rather to his uncle *Gerhard*, who sent a body of horse to their assistance, defeated the duke's troops, and then concluded a treaty with him, which was soon broke, after the departure of the *Danes*.

Valdemar of Sleswick elected king.

Disturbances in the kingdom.

^d ALL this while *Christopher* was busied in forming a plan for the recovery of his crown. He wrote to several of the bishops and nobility, who, he knew, were dissatisfied with the little share they had in the government of affairs. He used every possible endeavour to draw off his brother the earl of *Wagria* from his allegiance to the king: he engaged the bishop of *Cologne*, by a subsidy of twenty thousand marks in silver, to assist him with all his force in deposing *Valdemar*; he solicited the princes of the empire, and even the emperor himself, for succour. In these applications his son-in-law of *Brandenburg* exerted himself, having made a visit in person to the emperor to plead the cause of *Christopher*. He dispersed declarations through every part of *Denmark*, promising to redress all grievances, and never to undertake any public affair without consulting and obtaining the consent of a general diet.

A. D. 1328. Christopher takes measures for recovering his crown.

^e WHILE *Christopher* was employed in this manner, the marquiss of *Brandenburg* took his son *Valdemar* to his own court, in order to have him instructed in those arts becoming a prince. He obtained letters from the emperor, addressed to *Gerhard* and the other nobility of *Denmark*, recommending to them to chuse umpires, who should equitably adjust the differences between *Christopher* and his subjects, and the claims of the present and the late king. But the only answer returned to these letters was, that *Valdemar* possessed the crown by a regular and lawful election; therefore the proposed umpires were altogether unnecessary.

^f CHRISTOPHER could obtain nothing more than these letters of request from the emperor: however, he procured promises from the archbishop of *Lunden*, the bishops of *Arhusen* and *Ripen*, together with a number of the nobility, that their services should not be wanting, provided he appeared in *Denmark* with a proper force to support their rising.

ABOUT this time it was that *Canute Porcius* insolently seized some effects, the property of the inhabitants of *Werle*, who had always been the fast friends of *Christopher*. They had

A. D. 1329.

^a MEURS. l. iv. p. iii. p. 70. PONTAN. l. vii.

(A) We must observe that many objections were raised against the legality of this election. The king alone had power to convoke a diet; but here the league assumed to themselves a regal authority. *Pontanus* says, that *Valdemar* was elected by an assembly of the nobility, without once mentioning a general diet, or the votes of the different states. The event shews what the

general opinion was, for *Valdemar* enjoyed his new-acquired dignity but a short time.

(B) *Meursius* affirms, that *Gerhard*, the king's uncle, had all the authority of regent; yet we do not find his name mentioned in any of the public acts. On the contrary, they are all signed by a great number of different persons.

Several princes
take arms in
Christopher's
behalf.

now an opportunity of serving him, under the mask of defending their own rights; and for this purpose they formed an alliance with *Magnus*, king of *Sweden*. Then *Christopher*, assisted by their forces, and likewise the troops of *Mecklenburg*, together with a body of forces raised by the earl of *Vagria*, and some other noblemen in his interest, passed with a fleet to *Laaland* and *Falstre*, laying siege to the city *Nicoping*, which he took. Proceeding from thence to *Wartemburg*, he defeated a large body of peasants, assembled to oppose him. He then published a proclamation, promising a free pardon to all those who would, before a certain day, return to their duty and allegiance.

The Danes
seek a
change in the
government.

THE *Danes* were now tired of their new government: they saw that all places of trust and profit were possessed by *Germans*, and felt all the inconveniences and oppression in the minority of *Valdemar*, which they dreaded from *Christopher*. They began to reflect on the conduct of both reigns, and concluded in favour of the banished king. In effecting this change in their sentiments the bishops were greatly instrumental. Every fault in the administration of *Valdemar* was exaggerated, and all the errors of the former reign varnished over and forgot. The inhabitants of *Zealand*, *Falstre*, and *Laaland*, first openly espoused the king, together with the archbishop of *Lunden*, the bishops of *Ripen* and *Arhusen*, as well as a great body of the nobility of *Schonen*. Their first transaction was to make a sudden attack on *Haderslave*, where *Eric* was confined, and, after rescuing him, to dispatch a body of troops under his command to favour the motions in *Zealand*.

Eric rescued
out of prison.

AFTER this a diet was held at *Roschild*, where they were again taken into favour by *Christopher*; the king promising a full pardon on the one hand, and they the most faithful services on the other.

C H R I S T O P H E R restored.

Christopher
restored.

HAFFNIA was now surrendered by *Inquar Hiort* to the king; but some jealousies arose between him and the earl of *Wagria*, which had nearly blighted all his hopes, and destroyed his cause in this its promising situation. From some expressions, as well as the haughty conduct of the earl's officers, *Christopher* apprehended that he secretly aspired at the crown; all the steps he had seemingly taken in his favour being only blinds to throw a shade over some deeper design. Filled with this idea, he suddenly dropped his operations against *Valdemar*, and was contriving the means of countermining the earl, when the bishops and nobility, foreseeing the consequences of such a division, applied all their endeavours to close the breach. They succeeded: the parties met, and *Christopher* made over *Zealand*, *Laaland*, *Falstre*, and *Schonen*, as pledges for the payment of the expences he had been at in his service.

Conditions, by
which almost
all the crown-
lands were
mortgaged.

UNHAPPILY, this reunion could not be effected on the conditions stipulated, without depriving others of the king's best and most powerful friends of their rights. Almost all *Schonen* had been mortgaged to *Lewis Everstein*; other lands had already been given to others of the nobility, and in particular, both the *Hallands* to *Canute Porcius*. It was necessary then, that a new treaty should be framed, without the inconveniences which attended the present. Accordingly it was stipulated, that *Canute* should enjoy *Holland*, but give up *North Asbaen*, *Callemburg*, and *Samsoe*, to the *Werle* family, to which they belonged by a previous contract: that *Everstein* his heirs, and brother *Albert*, should resign all claim to *Elfsburg*, which was immediately to be put in the king's hands. Several lesser exchanges and alterations were made, which it would be unnecessary to recite, as they no ways affected the future transactions. Sufficient it is, that *Christopher's* party was again united; and that he published a declaration, that all differences between him and the earl of *Wagria* were removed; that *Femerer* was given to the earl, to be held as a fief; that *Laaland* and the fortress of *Alholm* were pledged to him, as security for two thousand marks of silver lent to the king; that he held *Schonen* and *Zealand*, until other loans to the crown were paid off; besides the city of *Callemburg*, which the king held only in trust for him, and for the present conveniency of affairs: that all those places specified in the treaty should belong to the duke of *Mecklenburg*, *Canute Porcius*, the archbishop of *Lunden*, and the other persons there mentioned, on the terms stipulated; and lastly, that the slightest infraction should be punished with the fines, forfeitures, and other penalties agreed upon.

THUS *Femerer* came into the hands of the earl of *Wagria*, who was at the same time declared potentate and superior of *Normer*, *Holstein*, *Laaland*, *Falstre*, *Schonen*, and governor of *Zealand*, all these jurisdictions being held under the crown.

Christopher's
misconduct.

VALDEMAR and his uncle *Gerhard* were now reduced to great necessities, their chief protection consisting in the severe and rigid conduct of *Christopher*, whose haughty asperity rendered him every day less popular. This infatuated prince was elated with the sudden revolution in his favour; he forgot all the consequences of his past misconduct; proposed

- a nothing besides the extension of the prerogative, and seemed intirely ignorant how delicate, how capricious are the humours and disposition of a free people, who enjoy the privilege of electing and deposing at pleasure. He considered himself as the king, not the servant of the public; and, intoxicated with this notion, treated with contempt, nay punished, his best friends, for having the affection and integrity to point out his errors, and advise him to different measures. An instance of this occurred in the case of the bishop of *Borgland*, an honest prelate, who took the king roundly to task, and was rewarded for his wholesome advice by imprisonment; from whence he escaped, fled to *Rome*, and proved a thorn ever after in *Christopher's* side, who he saw was incapable of reformation. On the bishop's first arrival in *Rome*, the whole kingdom felt the weight of his resentment; for it was immediately laid under an interdiction, which continued for the space of seven years, in spite of all endeavours to have it removed.

CHRISTOPHER having engaged the nobility of *Jutland* against *Valdemar*, he doubted not but they alone would be able to reduce him and his uncle *Gerhard*, while himself might enjoy the fruits of this sudden and unlooked-for prosperity in repose. Accordingly they laid siege to *Gottorp*, where *Valdemar* resided; but were forced to break up their camp with great precipitation, upon hearing that *Gerhard* advanced to give them battle.

- AFTER this transaction it was that the earl of *Wagria* set a treaty on foot for a general peace. He saw that *Denmark* would never be happy under two kings of opposite interests: he foresaw the bloodshed and civil wars that must ensue from such a rivalry, and unnatural partition. He therefore proposed to *Valdemar*, whose power was now in the wain, to accept of a certain yearly revenue, and resign his whole right to *Christopher*: but this could not be done without satisfying *Gerhard*, who claimed *Sleswick* as an hereditary fief. In exchange for this he received the island *Fionia*, on the same terms, with this condition only, that he should supply *Christopher* in all his wars with five hundred horse, at his own private expence. *Valdemar* laid aside the royal badges, accepted the annuity, and retired to his own duchy of *Sleswick*. In order to draw the knot of union the harder, *Eric*, *Christopher's* son, married *Gerhard's* sister, widow of the elder *Eric*; and thus *Christopher* was fully restored to the crown and sovereignty of *Denmark*, of which his conduct shewed him altogether unworthy.

- d THE joy that succeeded this happy end to civil feuds was allayed by the death of queen *Euphemia*, a daughter of the house of *Brandenburg*, and princess of excellent qualities. She left *Christopher* six children, two of whom afterwards succeeded to his throne.

- THIS year a controversy arose between *John* earl of *Wagria* and *Gerhard* earl of *Fionia*, the cause of which is not related. It is however of consequence, as it involved *Christopher* in a war, and obliged him to take the field in defence of *John*, to whom he owed his crown and kingdom, *Christopher* and *Eric* were busied in levying forces. *John* determined to join them near *Odslaw*. It was of the greatest importance to *Gerhard* to prevent this junction, as the combined forces would be too strong for him, and he exerted his endeavours with an application proportioned to the emergency. He sent to the diocese of *Bremen*, to *Westphalia*, and to the earls of *Brockburst*, his kinsmen, to meet him with certain auxiliaries at *Rendsburg*, giving them at the same time sufficient intimation of his design. After assembling his whole army, he marched towards *Gottorp*, met *Christopher* and *John* on the road, and engaged them. The battle continued for the whole day with unparalleled obstinacy and fury: *Gerhard* was like to be worsted; but finding means to disperse money among *Christopher's* troops, he soon retrieved his affairs, and gained a complete victory, the king and *Eric* escaping out of the field with great difficulty. *Otho*, *Christopher's* second son, with a great number of nobility and private officers, were made prisoners; but *Gerhard* himself was wounded, and near being trampled to death, when he was thrown from his horse, in the heat of the action.

- f GERHARD, on this victory, entered into an alliance with his nephew *Valdemar*, the late king, who now began to harbour thoughts of remounting the throne. Several of the chief nobility already declared for him; so ready are men, upon all occasions, to embrace the stronger party, and pay their court to prosperity. Even *Stigot*, a nobleman but lately favoured with considerable donations by *Christopher*, now fell off from his friendship and gratitude. His inclinations altered with that prince's fortune, as if nothing was due to a king who had nothing more to bestow. His views were however disappointed; for the earl of *Wagria* persuaded *Christopher* to make peace on the terms of the conqueror, which were moderate beyond expectation, no attempts having been made to deprive him of his crown. It would be endless, and indeed useless to the reader, to recite the articles which

^a MEURS. l. iv. PONTAN. l. vii.

composed this treaty of peace, as they consisted in the distribution and division of certain places and territories, no ways interesting at this distance of time. a

CHRISTOPHER was scarce arrived in *Zealand*, when he had advice of the death of his son *Eric*, from a bruise he received in the late battle. He ordered the corps to be brought to *Roschild*, where it was interred with great funeral pomp, and deposited among the remains of several kings of *Denmark* (A).

Disturbances
in *Schonen*.

ABOUT this time great disturbances arose in *Schonen*. The inhabitants complained loudly of the oppression of the foreign governors set over them; and particularly remonstrated to earl *John* against the conduct of *Eyger Brocktorp*, governor of *Helsenburg*. They took arms, assembled in a large body, and ranging the country in a riotous manner, put the *Holsteiners* to death wherever they found them. The *Holsteiners*, who were the foreigners so odious to the people, were consulting measures in the cathedral of *Lunden* for appeasing the tumult, when the discontented populace broke in and slew three hundred of them. Afterwards, when they perceived that their resistance only served to add weight to their yoke, *Christopher's* late defeat rendering him unable to assist them, they made an offer of the country to *Magnus* king of *Sweden*. This prince, glad of an opportunity of extending his dominions, graciously received their proposals, and met them at *Calmar* to adjust the conditions of this surrender. Here were present several of the nobility, who cheerfully ceded the sovereignty to the king, provided he would protect them in all their liberties, which he readily promised. b

The Swedes
join the rebels.

THIS news no sooner reached the *Holsteiners* than despairing of being able to maintain possession of the country by force, they quietly evacuated it; and earl *John* himself yielding to necessity, and the power of *Sweden*, ceded almost all the other places pledged to him, for the sum of seventy thousand marks, which *Magnus* agreed to pay against a certain time. Thus the *Danish* dominions were divided and sold to a foreign power, in consequence of that weak and ill-judged partition made at the restoration of *Christopher*.

A. D. 1333.
Christopher
made prisoner.

NEXT year proved fatal to the liberty and life of *Christopher*; for going to *Laaland* with a small retinue, he was seized by *Hennick Bred* and *John Ellemose*, favourites of *Gerhard*, and carried prisoner to the castle of *Allholm*. As this action however was done without consulting *Gerhard*, and only on a presumption that it would be agreeable to him, he ordered the king immediately to be set at liberty, after apologizing in the best manner he could for the indignity offered to his royal person: but he did not live long to enjoy his freedom. The shock he received with this sudden fall from the pinnacle of grandeur so much affected his constitution, that he fell ill and died in a few days at *Nicoping*, and was buried with his queen at *Sora*. d

His death and
character.

CHRISTOPHER left the reputation of a fickle, but headstrong prince, violent, but unsteady in all his pursuits. His pride, however, was what chiefly affected his interest. The arrogance with which he governed, lost him a crown he acquired by a servile humility. Twice driven from his throne, he died at last of grief, contracted rather from disappointed ambition, than contrition for the misconduct that occasioned his loss. Since his restoration he possessed none of the hereditary dominions of *Denmark*, besides *Scanderburg* of *Jutland*, and *Neoburg* of *Fionia*, all the rest being given as pledges of his gratitude to the instruments of his remounting the throne (B). *Halland*, *Holbec*, *Calemburg*, and *Samsøe*, were held by *Canute Porcius*; *Schonen Lystre*, and *Bleking*, by *Magnus* king of *Sweden*, to whom they were lately sold; *John* earl of *Wagria*, had the jurisdictions of *Zealand*, *Falstre*, *Laaland*, and *Femerer*; *Gerhard* of *Jutland* and *Fionia*, and *Lawrence Jonea* of *Langland* and *Arras*; the king only preserving the sovereignty, together with a few inconsiderable islands, and the cities we have mentioned. e

(A) *Pontanus* relates, that the body was embalmed in the *Egyptian* manner, and buried at *Sora*, in the ground allotted for the kings of *Denmark* (1). which were publicly recited round the country. He speaks as if he had seen some of these, without chusing to insert them, out of respect to the high dignity of this unfortunate prince (2). f

(B) *Pontanus* says, that he was so much hated, that his memory was stigmatized with very bitter lampoons,

(1) *Pont. l. vii. p. 454.*

(2) *Pontan. l. vii.*

S E C T IX.

In which the History is deduced to the Reign of Eric X. in the Year 1412.

I N T E R R E G N U M.

- a **U**PON the death of *Christopher* an interregnum for seven years ensued. The condition in which he left the kingdom was truly deplorable, parcelled out under different princes, who had all separate interests, designs upon each other, and no less jealous of encroachments on their own rights, than ambitious of extending them to the prejudice of the others. For the space of three years *Denmark*, however, enjoyed a profound peace; and the public repose was first disturbed in a manner very little expected, considering the present situation of affairs. State of Denmark during the interregnum.
- It was about the beginning of the year 1337, that *Otho*, second son to the late king, made a generous and noble attempt to recover the throne of his ancestors. He levied forces in *Laaland*, and the neighbouring continent, in hopes that could he drive *Gerhard* out of *Jutland*, he would easily make his way to the crown: but this veteran soldier and politician, was not to be taken in the snares laid by youth. He discovered *Otho's* intentions, surrounded him at *Jemptland*, and carried him prisoner to *Sedgburg* castle, where he was kept in close confinement until his brother *Valdemar* released him, on his accession to the throne. A. D. 1337.
- MAGNUS* king of *Sweden* having unexpectedly come to the possession of *Schonen*, thirsted ardently after all the rest of *Denmark*. He wrote to pope *Benedict XIII.* beseeching his holiness to confirm this province to him and his successors; and permit him at the same time to subdue the rest of the kingdom, now usurped and rendered miserable by the tyranny of a set of petty princes, who, unaccustomed to authority, knew not how to govern. To influence pope *Benedict* the more powerfully, he promised to hold his conquests of the holy see, and to pay him the usual tax collected for the church. *Benedict*, however, was so prudent and just as not to grant his request. The king of Sweden's designs on Denmark.
- NOR were there wanting other candidates for the crown. *Valdemar* of *Sleswick*, who had long laid aside all thoughts of remounting the throne to which he was once elected, now resumed ambitious views at the instigation of his uncle *Gerhard*. Several of the nobility cast their eyes towards young *Valdemar*, *Christopher's* son, now at the emperor's court. They sent him letters assuring him of their fidelity, and of the affection of the people in general, who were eager to be united under one prince, and earnestly exhorted him to make use of his interest in *Germany* to procure a sufficient force to cover their insurrection in his favour. While each of these princes were laying projects, and concerting the fit means of executing their designs, the unhappy *Danes* were miserably oppressed with exorbitant taxes, famine, and pestilence; the two latter in consequence of the former. The peasants neglected to cultivate lands which they held upon so precarious a tenure; this begot poverty, which co-operating with the peculiar disposition of the air, and the unwholesome diet on which they were forced to live, produced a direful plague, that more than half depopulated the face of the whole country. The poor dropped down dead in the streets with disease and hunger, the gentry themselves were reduced to a state of wretchedness; the whole kingdom was tumbling into ruin, and yet ambition, treason, plots and contrivances, employed the great, as if none of these objects were before their eyes. Valdemar of Sleswick resumes thoughts of reinstating himself on the throne.
- GERHARD* proposed to his nephew to exchange the duchy of *Sleswick* for *North Jutland*, which province he believed would more commodiously assist *Valdemar's* designs upon the crown. A treaty for this purpose was drawn up and signed; but the inhabitants so highly resented their being disposed of like cattle, from one master to another, that they refused to pay the usual taxes. *Gerhard* resolved to compel them to their duty, and led ten thousand men, which he levied in *Germany*, into the midst of the province. Providence interposed in favour of the poor inhabitants, and raised up an enemy to this tyrant, who determined to sacrifice his life, or rescue his country. *Nicholas Norevi*, a man in great esteem for his public spirit, his courage, prudence, and learning, beheld with sorrow the condition to which *Denmark* was reduced. He had long meditated a variety of projects for its relief; but circumstances were unfavourable, and his own interest and fortune too slender to effect such great designs. Things were at last in such a train, that he believed the whole depended on his single arm. Young *Valdemar*, *Christopher's* son, had a number of powerful adherents in the kingdom; his most dangerous enemy was *Gerhard*, and could he Ambitious designs of Gerhard.
- The noble attempts of Nicholas Norevi.

he be removed, the greatest difficulty of uniting the kingdom would be surmounted, at least the *Jutlanders* would be relieved from the oppression of a tyrant, who was now preparing for them the keenest scourge of oppression. *Nicholas* revolved this over in his mind, and after mature deliberation on the means, took the resolution to dispatch him, persuading himself that no method of ridding a whole kingdom from misery, could justly detract from the character of the deliverer. Could his purpose be effected by single combat, or open war, he would have chosen either, as the most fair and honourable; but these being impracticable, he had recourse to darker means. Collecting a body of forty chosen horse, he marched in the night to *Randerhusen*, where *Gerhard* had fixed his head-quarters, seized upon the centinels, and pushed on to *Gerhard's* lodging, which he forced open. *Gerhard* was awaked with the noise, and seeing *Nicholas* enter with a party of armed men, began to supplicate him in the most pathetic terms to save his life, offering to subscribe to any terms he thought fit to impose; but *Nicholas* was determined. He thought the life of the tyrant a just atonement of the injuries the people had suffered; he considered, that his death alone could deliver them from the schemes and artifices of a man, who had a head to contrive, and a hand to execute the most daring and ambitious designs. This, therefore, without farther deliberation he executed, by plunging his sword into his breast, and then making his retreat with all possible expedition, after giving the alarm to the whole army, by sounding horns and beating drums. *Nicholas* was pursued and overtaken by a party of *Gerhard's* army, through which he fought his way and escaped, after having encountered the greatest dangers; and *Gerhard's* sons hearing of his death, retired precipitately into *Holstein*, leaving the army, chiefly composed of *Holsteiners*, to be cut in pieces by the enraged peasants, who fell upon them from every quarter.

Gerhard
killed.

STILL, however, the *Holsteiners* kept possession of the citadels and fortified places, from which *Nicholas* resolved to dislodge them. He accordingly raised a body of forces, attacked and took *Landen*, a castle situated on the river *Scherne*; after which he laid siege to *Alberg*; but the garrison making an obstinate defence, he turned the siege into a blockade, by which he reduced them to great extremity. The governor sent an express to the sons of *Gerhard*, acquainting them with his condition, and the impossibility of holding out but a few days longer, which determined them to march with the utmost expedition to the relief of a place so important. They came up with *Nicholas* just as the governor was ready to surrender, gave him battle, and were defeated, though *Nicholas* was unfortunately killed before he reaped the fruits of his gallantry, and his country enjoyed that liberty to which he had so bravely led the way.

A. D. 1340.

JUTLAND having by this means recovered its freedom, all the rest of *Denmark* was fired with the same views. *Zealand* first openly declared itself and took arms: here *Henry Gerhard's* son maintained several garrisons and cities, which he resolved to defend in spite of all the power of the inhabitants. For this purpose he drew together an army; but in the mean time a tumult arose among the peasants on account of a *Danish* nobleman slain by the *Holsteiners*, which so irritated the people that they fell upon the *Holsteiners*, sword in hand; and, after slaying three hundred of them, drove the rest out of the island, and elected *Valdemar*, *Christopher's* son, for their sovereign.

VALDEMAR III. surnamed ATTEDAG:

Valdemar III.
surnamed At-
terdag, raised
to the throne.

To this prince's elevation the emperor *Lewis* greatly contributed, at whose court *Valdemar* was bred. He summoned a congress at *Spandow*, in the March of *Brandenburg*; at which were present *Lewis* of *Brandenburg*, *Barnim* of *Pomerania*, *Henry*, *John*, and *Nicholas*, sons of *Gerhard*, with several other princes and nobleman. With the three latter princes, and *Valdemar* of *Sleswick*, the marquis executed a treaty, that *Otho*, *Christopher's* son, should be set at liberty, provided he would resign his right to the crown to his brother *Valdemar*; that he should be put into the hands of the king his brother, or of the marquis; that the king *Valdemar* should marry the duke of *Sleswick's* sister, and receive for her portion eighty thousand marks, to be deducted from the sum for which *Fionia* and *Jutland* were pledged; that *Valdemar* should not protect the murderers of *Gerhard*, but openly declare against whoever should espouse them. A variety of other particulars were included; but what occasioned the greatest difficulties, and took up the most time, was the redemption of the lands pledged by the late king to those princes who had contributed to his restoration: but even this was settled in a satisfactory manner, both to the king and people; though not altogether so to the persons who held those lands, who were in hopes it would be out of the power of the crown to redeem them.

Valdemar con-
firms the privi-
leges of the peo-
ple.

A. D. 1351.

THE first act of *Valdemar's* reign was to confirm the nobles, clergy, and people, in the full use and possession of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, which had been

* Vid. PONT. MEURS. & CRANTZ. ibid.

greatly

- a greatly retrenched during the interregnum. An act of oblivion was likewise passed, and the remembrance of all such actions as would serve only to disturb the public tranquillity, cancelled. He next entered into a compact with *Henry* and *Nicholas*, sons to *Gerhard*, concerning *Fionia*. Here it was stipulated, that, provided the king died without issue, the island should remain unalienably their property; otherwise it should return to his family, whenever they found it convenient to redeem this and the neighbouring islands. It was further agreed, that if the brothers committed any infraction, or breach of the conventions of *Lubec* and *Halsenburg*, that his majesty should, in that case, have power to seize the royal garrisons in *Zealand*, and likewise the castles of *Neoburg*, *Orkela*, and *Hinnesgulleve*. We see how favourable all these treaties were to *Valdemar*, who seemed determined to make use of the first opportunity of reclaiming all the crown-lands, so iniquitously sold by the late king, or rather seized upon by those pretended friends who exalted him to an empty title, only to enjoy solid profits for themselves.

In the next place, the king turned his thoughts to the redemption of the remaining fortresses in the hands of the *Holsteiners*; and to enable him to affect this, the clergy granted him a silver cup from each church, which was melted down and coined, though never applied to the purpose intended. Long arrears were due to the army; they began to murmur, and it was thought expedient to pay them.

- THE following year a war lighted up, on the following account. *Valdemar* insisted, that *Callemburg* and *Samsøe* could not be ceded by his father to *Canute Porfius*, as a former grant had been made of them to *Eric*, duke of *Swedeland*, at the time he married *Ingeburga*. *Eric* was alive when this last grant was made, consequently it could not be valid; but as he was now dead, these places reverted to the crown as fiefs. On the contrary, the earl of *Wagria* maintained his right to *Callemburg*, which had been made over to him by *Canute Porfius*, in consideration of an equivalent. *Valdemar* invested the place, and *John* levied troops to relieve it, forming likewise an alliance with *Ingeburga*, the earl of *Holstein*, and the *Vandal* cities, who sent him strong reinforcements. He marched so suddenly upon the king, and was so seasonably supported by a brisk sally from the town, that the king was defeated, and obliged to raise the siege. Upon this a treaty was set on foot, and it was agreed, that the dispute should be left to the arbitration of four persons on each side, of probity and understanding, who should meet at *Roschild*, and determine either according to the rigour of the law, or by striking up such an accommodation as they saw would be for the mutual interest of the parties. It was farther stipulated, that if either party refused to accede to the verdict of the commissioners, these latter should be obliged to make oath they had decided according to the best of their judgment: but in case it should happen that the commissioners could come to no agreement, that then the archbishop of *Lunden* should take cognizance of the affair. As for other disputes between the king and the duke, they were submitted to the arbitration of an equal number of judges, in order to remove all cause of dissention between the two princes. We hear nothing more of the principal quarrel, and are only told that the king and *Ingeburga* amicably agreed, that the fortrets of *Callemburg* should remain in his hands, and the, in return, to hold during her life *North Halland* as an equivalent; which last clause was never executed, as we shall see in the sequel.

- THE *Danes* now began to resume their ancient courage, on seeing a legitimate prince seated on the throne, and the *Danish* dominions, so lately divided among a number of petty tyrants, united into one sovereignty. They more and more breathed out their resentment against all foreigners, who fattened upon the spoils of the land, and enjoyed the chief places of trust and profit. For a number of years *Denmark* was the theatre of continual domestic and foreign wars, which filled every place with confusion and dismay. One of the most powerful kingdoms on earth, after giving law to such a number of other nations, fell at length under the dominion of some insignificant vassals, who laid desolate her fairest provinces, ruined and oppressed her inhabitants. Now she began again to taste the sweets of liberty, and to resume her wonted freedom. Jealousy soon brought them to blows with those hated foreigners; and the son of that *Nicholas* who had shewn the first dawn of liberty, by putting count *Gerhard* to death, now led the way, says *Pontanus*, to the full exertion of its natural rights. This author relates, contrary to the testimony of some other historians, that this patriot assembling a small body of *Futlanders*, the inveterate enemies of the house of *Holstein*, marched to *Lundenes*, where he razed a fort which *Henry* of *Holstein* had built on the river *Scerne*. *Henry* flew to the protection of this place; a battle was fought, and the brave *Nicholas* died victorious, with his arms in his hands, after performing actions of astonishing valour^a.

ANOTHER remarkable battle was fought, on this occasion, between *Fredrick Laaben*, grand marechal of *Denmark*, and *Marchard*, lord of *Scandia*, and governor of the fortrets

^a Pontan. l. viii.

of *Wardenburg*. The action was obstinate and bloody; but victory at length declared for the marechal. With this, civil contention for a time subsided, on the king's promise to suffer the duke of *Holstein* to remain in possession of all the strong holds stipulated in the last convention. a

A. D. 1343.

Valdemar
forms schemes
for redeeming
the crown-
lands, and re-
covering
Schonen.

THE year following *Zealand* was ravaged, both by foreigners and the inhabitants of the island. *Coge*, one of the finest cities in the kingdom, was reduced to ashes, and several were miserably pillaged. It would seem that new disputes had arisen between the *Danes* and *Holsteiners* for they fought a bloody battle near *Flasmoll*, in which the *Danes* were defeated, and *Boic Folk*, one of their generals, and the king's favourite, was taken prisoner. The disgrace was sensibly felt by the *Danes*, and they omitted no opportunity of revenging it. b Wherever they met the *Holsteiners* they fell upon them, and massacred them without pity, or distinction of age or sex. In a word, the tumult was not appeased before they had satiated their revenge with the blood of three hundred of these foreigners.

BUT if *Valdemar* glowed with impatience to see *Jutland* in the hands of the *Holsteiners*, he was still more incensed that *Schonen* should have become a *Swedish* province, and the inhabitants daily more attached to their new sovereign, on account of the privileges and immunities he liberally and politicly heaped upon them. Yet was it impossible for him, in the present unsettled state of affairs, to attempt the recovery of this valuable province by arms: he thought it more adviseable to smother his resentment until he was more firmly established on the throne. Accordingly a treaty was signed between the two crowns, or rather the preliminaries to a treaty, in which it was stipulated, that the utmost endeavours of both parties should be exerted to terminate all differences between the king and the subjects of each, and to cut off all cause of future dissensions. c Such was the substance of the whole; nothing more than vague and general promises of friendship appeared without any other meaning probably, on either side, than to deceive and lull each other into security.

A. D. 1343.
The bishop of
Arhus arrest-
ed.

ABOUT this time *Swen* bishop of *Arhus*, and *Paul* deacon of *Roschild*, were arrested by the king's orders in the public streets, and conducted prisoners to *Padeborn*, a fortress in *Zealand*. We are not informed of *Valdemar's* reasons for committing such violence on the persons of two prelates of distinction; it is however agreed by all historians, that a council of the clergy met at *Wedel*, and laid the whole kingdom under a severe interdiction on account of this action. No body of men on earth are more jealous of their rights than the clergy of all nations; nor is there a more dangerous enemy where their influence is considerable, and the people ignorant. It does not appear that *Valdemar* was greatly disconcerted with this proceeding of the bishops; for we see him bestowing the same attention to the recovery of the hereditary domains of the crown, and the island of *Falstere*, and city of *Nicoping*, actually wrested out of the hands of the earl of *Wagria*, to whom they had been pledged by *Christopher*. d

A. D. 1344.
A young prince
born.

TOWARDS the beginning of next year, *Valdemar's* queen *Hedwigg* was delivered of a prince, whose birth annulled the cession that was made of *Fionia* in favour of the house of *Holstein*. A new treaty was concluded therefore between the two courts, in which *Valdemar* revoked the clause respecting *Fionia*; they mutually promised assistance against all enemies whatsoever, the king only excepting the king of *Sweden* and the duke of *Stetin*, with whom he was in strict alliance; and it was agreed, that if any unforeseen difference should arise, it might be referred to the arbitration of *Valdemar* duke of *Sleswick*. e

No sooner was this treaty signed, than *Valdemar* employed *Nicholas* of *Limbec*, whom he had just created marechal of *Denmark*, to negotiate with the princes of *Holstein* concerning the redemption of *Seburg*. The ransom was paid, and the two prelates of *Arhus* and *Roschild* were set at liberty; upon which the bishops took off the interdiction, about which *Valdemar* had given himself but little trouble, though the people began to express great uneasiness.

Callenburg
surrenders to
the king.

CALLENBURG was, in the mean while, surrendered to the king by *Ingeburga*, widow of *Canutte Porsius*, agreeable to the late convention; but the king of *Sweden* kept her out of possession of *Halland*, under pretence that this province was annexed to his crown by the same title as *Schonen*. This however was a mere pretext in order to cover more secret designs; for it is certain, that *Halland* had never been engaged to the earl of *Wagria*, having only been given under the name of a government to *Eric*, father to the present king of *Sweden*. *Valdemar* was incensed at this conduct, but he found it convenient still to suppress his resentment, while *Ingeburga* remained alone the sufferer, being equally deprived of *Callemburg* and *Halland*, its equivalent. f

The king
marches
against the
Frislanders.

ABOUT the close of the year a general diet was held at *Wiburg*, from whence the king marched directly against the *Frislanders*, who had refused, for a series of years, to pay a certain tribute imposed on them. He entered their country in an hostile manner, and g

- a found no great difficulty in reducing them to obedience. Having finished this expedition, he made another to the island of *Zealand*, and laid siege to a new fortress the *Holsteiners* had built near *Nestwed*, contrary to the late treaty. *Valdemar* insisted, that either it should be delivered up to him, or dismantled; and the princes of *Holstein* were strenuous in having the price it had cost in building paid to them, and liberty to carry off all their effects; both which the king refused. The siege was accordingly formed; but before any great progress was made, a negotiation was set on foot, and the affair amicably adjusted. About this time *Valdemar* likewise consented, that *Narva*, a city in *Esthonia*, which had been the occasion of numberless disputes, should remain in the hands of the *Teutonic* knights for the space of one year, they promising to defend it against all the attempts of the barbarians.
- b As the princes of *Holstein* were the most formidable enemies of *Valdemar*, because they possessed strong holds in almost every province of his dominions, he made it the chief object of his policy to rid himself of such irksome neighbours, by detaching the duke of *Sleswick* from their alliance, in which he succeeded. A treaty was concluded between the two *Valdemars*, the duke did homage to the king, and the latter, in case he should be the survivor, obliged himself to protect the duke's heirs and duchy against all enemies. It was likewise offensive and defensive; for they engaged mutually to defend each other with all their forces, and to declare the enemies of either to be the enemies of both powers. Such a proceeding could not fail of giving umbrage to the *Holstein* princes *Henry* and *Nicholas*. They formed a plan of revenge, which could never meet with countenance, except in the breasts of the base and dishonourable. They invited the duke to visit them in *Fionia*: one day, proposing a hunting party, they seized on the duke's person, and kept him prisoner, under a pretence that the treaty he signed with the king was contrary to his engagements with them. Nor did they stop here: they made incursions into *Zealand*, and pillaged the city *Ringstadt*. On the other hand, the *Danes* made themselves masters of *Nestwed*, *Gunderflabholm* and the citadel of *Padeborn*. A. D. 1345.
*A view of
Valdemar's
politics.*
- c *VALDEMAR* laboured hard to re-unite with the crown, several other places that had been pledged in the last unhappy reign. After redeeming from the princes *Henry* and *Nicholas*, the fortresses of *Korser* and *Petreborg*, he declared to them his inclination to pay into their hands the price of the government of *Laaland*. His proposal was rejected, and he gave orders to the grand marshal to pass with an army into that island, and lay siege to all the places that contained foreign garrisons. The princes hastened to the relief of the island, and daily skirmishes passed between the two armies. No decisive action, however, happened when the *Swedish* monarch offered his mediation, and effected an accommodation on no other conditions than, that *Laaland* should be delivered up to the king, on his paying the sum of eight thousand marks in silver (A). A. D. 1346;
- d FROM this time *Valdemar* began to make professions of a piety more rigorous and severe than prudence or policy dictated. While his dominions were pledged to strangers, nothing could be more unseasonable than expeditions against the infidels, and holy pilgrimages, dictated only by blind zeal and pious phrenzy. He passed to *Esthonia*, a province of *Sweden*, on the North of *Livonia*, where he made several regulations in the church. He founded several pious institutions, and built chapels at *Revel*, in which daily prayers were to be put up for himself and queen. He took the dean and canons of the cathedral under his immediate protection, and published divers edicts in their favour. In the end he returned to *Denmark*, and prepared for another expedition against the pagans of *Prussia*, with intention to oblige them to embrace the true religion: such was the devotion of princes in those ages of ignorance and barbarity. *Valdemar* was accompanied in this expedition by his brother *Otton*, whom he had forced into the *Teutonic* order, that his presence in *Denmark* might occasion no troubles. *Eric* duke of *Saxony* likewise attended him, the princes having met at *Lubec*; but before his arrival in *Prussia*, the barbarians had concluded a truce with the *Teutonic* knights. This rendered his presence in the country unnecessary; he therefore returned to *Livonia*, and sold the province of *Esthonia* to the *Teutonic* knights, for the sum of eighteen thousand marks in silver, contrary to the formal disposition made by his father, whereby this province was unalienably annexed to the crown. One remarkable circumstance attended this sale; it was, that only one of the senators, *Andrew Stigot*, signed the agreement; nor did a copy of it ever appear until the *Polish* ambassador produced one at the congress of *Stetin* in the year 1570. One moiety of the money was paid to the marquis of *Brandenburg*, married to *Valdemar's* sister. This was her portion, for the payment of which the king had pledged half the province of *Esthonia*. In return the marquis put into the king's hands an instrument, whereby he released him from the subsidy he had engaged for the defence of the marquisate.
- e
- f
- g

(A) According to *Pontanus*, the city of *Wardenburg* alone cost the king this sum (1); but *Meursius* and *Grantzius* (2) agree, that the whole island was ceded by the princes on the above condition.

(1) *Pont.* l. viii.

(2) *Meurs.* l. vi. *Grant.* p. 142.

A. D. 1346.

Valdemar
makes a pil-
grimage.

BEFORE the king quitted *Livonia*, he had sent orders to several *Danish* lords to meet him in *Brandenburg*, all of whom were arrested on the road by the earl of *Wagria*; an act of presumption that greatly incensed *Valdemar*; yet did he enter upon no measures for revenging the insult, or enlarging the prisoners. Instead of this he made all possible preparations for a romantic expedition to the Holy Land, which he had long meditated. Accordingly he set out, attended by *Eric* of *Saxony*, and a great number of the first nobility of his kingdom. On his arrival at *Jerusalem* he visited all the holy places, and entered himself in the fraternity of the knights-templars; an example that was followed by *Eric* and the rest of the lords of his court: for folly from the throne flows rapidly among the people as from its natural and most vigorous source. The courtiers of *Alexander* distorted themselves into the unhappy figure of that hero.

The Danes
murmur.

Nor to dwell on the encomiums passed by crafty priests on these instances of royal piety, the people began to murmur at the disposal of the fair province of *Esthonia*, without their consent, or indeed their knowledge; and the grievance was aggravated by the application of the money, one moiety of which went to the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the other to defray the expences of a *Quixote* expedition to *Palestine*. That piety which they beheld with reverence in former monarchs, began to be looked on as a madness in *Valdemar*.

A. D. 1347.

IN the year 1347 the queen was delivered of a princess, named *Ingeburga*; and the king, who was returned to his dominions, paid off the mortgage upon the city of *Rendsburg*. He redeemed likewise a number of other mortgages, and among these the island of *Zealand*, city of *Nicoping*, *Steke* in the island of *Mona*, and a variety of places in *Jutland*. After this he signed a fresh treaty with the princes of *Holstein*, in which it was stipulated, that *Neoburg* and part of the island of *Fionia* should be ceded to the king, in exchange for which they were to receive *Steke*, with a sum of money equivalent to the remainder of the purchase.

It was not before this year that duke *Valdemar* of *Sleswick* obtained his liberty, and then only upon condition, that he renounced the alliance he had formed with the king, contrary to the express letter of a prior treaty with the *Holstein* princes.

A. D. 1348.

Plague in
Denmark.

It would seem that numberless difficulties attended the redemption of the crown-lands; for, subsequent to the treaty of which we have just spoken, we find the king laying siege to *Skioldene* in *Zealand*. Neither *Pontanus*, *Meursius*, or *Krantzius*, give any account of the occasion of these hostilities, contenting themselves with observing, that the operations were no sooner begun than they were dropt, by reason of a plague that laid desolate the greater part of all *Europe*, and raged with particular violence in *Denmark*. Here whole towns were deserted, the country left waste for want of labourers; all commerce totally stagnated; even the *Greenland* trade, which a few years before began to be assiduously pursued, was now neglected; and nothing but terror and despair reigned in this miserable country.

Valdemar
gains the con-
fidence of his
subjects.

A. D. 1349.

To these unhappy circumstances were added others equally oppressive and unavoidable. The great number of crown-lands that were mortgaged rendered a heavy tax necessary; the more grievous to the people, because the means of payment had failed, in consequence of the cessation of industry. *Valdemar* determined by all means to gain the affections of his subjects, the more easily to effect his purpose. Assembling a diet at *Ringstat*, he set forth, in presence of an infinity of nobles, clergy, and commons, that he had redeemed out of the hands of the mortgagees a great number of cities, towns, and castles, at the expence of three hundred thousand marks, levied upon the people; and that now there remained a saving of ten thousand marks of silver, which he requested the people would dispose of as they saw proper, as it originally belonged to them. Such condescension in the monarch was truly politic: it intirely gained the affection of his subjects, as well as their confidence: they submitted every thing to him, and assured him of their readiness to lay down their lives and fortunes at his feet.

Negotiation
with Magnus
of Sweden.

VALDEMAR, having succeeded in this important point, passed over to *Holland*, and demanded an interview with *Magnus* king of *Sweden*, from whom he was desirous of redeeming *Schonen*. He offered *Magnus* the sum for which it was first mortgaged to the earl of *Wagria*, and represented to him, that the earl had no right to dispose of a province held upon such a tenure. Unanswerable as these arguments were, *Magnus* refused to surrender it; and the congress broke up with menaces from *Valdemar*, that he would claim his right by force of arms: menaces which were not attended with the proposed effect, the troubles arising in *Germany* having prevented *Valdemar* from pursuing his design. As this extraordinary affair is strongly connected with our history, we shall relate it with all possible brevity from the diffuse and perplexed account of *Pontanus*.

- a AN impostor, by name *Muller Maineken*, appeared about this time in *Brandenburg*, assuming the name of the late margrave *Valdemar*, and claiming his dominions; which he said were usurped, in prejudice of his right, by *Lewis of Brandenburg*. In his person he exactly resembled *Valdemar*; and he found no difficulty in imitating his voice and manner, having been many years gentleman usher to the margrave. He affirmed, that the margrave was not dead as had been long reported, but had made a pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. Now on his return, he expected *Lewis of Bavaria* would restore those dominions to their natural lord. Bold and impudent assertions never fail to meet with credit from the vulgar. Here humanity and justice seemed to call aloud for their assistance, which combined with the novelty of the scene, soon gained *Muller* a great number of adherents. With these many of the neighbouring princes, interested in supporting the imposture, joined. Among these were the dukes of *Saxe Anbalt* and *Mecklenburg*; and *Crantzius* affirms, that the emperor *Charles IV.* not only espoused, but first excited *Muller* to this bold attempt. By these he was supported with all the dignity of a prince, he kept a court, and even eclipsed in pomp the real margrave.

An impostor
lays claim to
the marquise
of Branden-
burg.

- b KING *Valdemar*, who sincerely loved his brother-in-law *Lewis*, heard this news with concern. He pitied his sister, foresaw the distraction that would ensue, and determined to use all his power to support his brother-in-law, and punish the presumptuous *Muller*. A diet was convoked at *Roschild*, and sufficient supplies were granted to enable him to equip a fleet, with which he invaded *Mecklenburg*, destroying the country before him with fire and sword. The duke of *Mecklenburg* raised forces to oppose the king, whom he reduced to great danger, having besieged him in *Sturgart*. *Valdemar* soon perceived the error of which he had been guilty, in enclosing himself in a city so easily forced; but his endeavours to extricate himself would have been fruitless, had not *Romulus*, brother to *Lewis of Brandenburg*, arrived seasonably to his relief. Immediately the duke raised the siege, took a compass, and attacked *Romulus* in the rear. The battle was bloody and obstinate, the duke victorious, and near four hundred *Brandenburghers* were made prisoners; but still *Romulus* had the honour of raising the siege, relieving the king, and of saving himself by his bravery from falling into the enemy's hands.

- c *VALDEMAR* was no sooner at liberty than he marched out of the city, which had almost proved fatal to him, and made fresh incursions into the duke's territories, where he laid siege to several towns, that made but a faint resistance. At length, reinforced with a body of troops from *Pomerania*, he invested *Berlin*, which city had declared in favour of the impostor. The duke hastened to the relief of the besieged; and the king drew out his army to give him battle. Things were coming to a crisis, and both parties waiting for the signal to engage, when some of the more moderate nobility in each army, dreading the effusion of christian blood, proposed an accommodation. A conference was held, in which it was determined to submit the affair to the arbitration of his *Swedish* majesty. Accordingly it was determined by this monarch, that *Romulus*, brother to *Lewis of Brandenburg*, should set all his prisoners at liberty; that, as an equivalent, he should receive an oath of allegiance from certain cities in the duchy of *Mecklenburg*, to which he claimed a right; and, lastly, that he should espouse the daughter of the duke. King *Valdemar* likewise effected a reconciliation between his brother-in-law the margrave and the duke of *Stetin*; also between the dukes of *Mecklenburg* and *Saxony*.

- d THESE troubles in *Germany* being thus appeased, *Valdemar* was on the brink of entering into another dispute of more consequence, if the emperor's affairs had not prevented him from pursuing the dictates of his resentment. His imperial majesty was extremely enraged at *Valdemar's* marching foreign troops into the empire, and making his dominions the theatre of a war. He was still more incensed at his checking the progress of the pretended margrave, as it was notorious that the emperor had an interest in the success of this impostor, out of pique to the margrave *Lewis*, it being a main object of his policy to distress the affairs of the house of *Bavaria*. However, whether out of shame, or dread of pushing matters to an excess, he dissembled his resentment, and granted a passport to the king and several princes of the North, to attend a diet which he convoked at *Sprenberg*, in order to decide the claim of the impostor *Muller*. The king carried with him *Eric* duke of *Saxony*, and *Romulus*, now become margrave of *Brandenburg*, which his brother ceded to him, reserving to himself only the dominions of the house of *Bavaria*. At this congress (for it was not properly a diet of the empire) the northern princes complained loudly of the emperor's endeavours to supplant the natural heir of the house of *Brandenburg*, by forcing in his room an impostor, who had long been a menial in the family. To this charge the emperor replied, that he had done nothing of which he could repent. Neither temerity, prejudice, or passion, had excited him against the house of *Bavaria*, or at all influenced his conduct; justice alone was the motive of his actions: that if he was at all blameable, it was for giving credit to the assurances of the archbishop of *Magdeburg*, *Rodolph* of *Saxony*,
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A. D. 1350.

the duke of *Mecklenburg*, and the prince of *Anbalt*, all of whom had solemnly made oath, that he was the true *Valdemar*, the lawful heir of the house of *Brandenburg*. Upon this the king stood up, and spoke in the name of the other princes: "We too are ready to swear, but with more truth, that this person is an impostor; and we oblige ourselves to convict of perjury whoever has sworn to the contrary: we therefore beseech your imperial majesty to revoke the decree you have passed in favour of a man, who has no other preteritions to his present dignity than what he derives from an unparalleled impudence, dissimulation, and talents to impose on your imperial majesty." Not caring to urge matters to extremities, *Charles* at length openly acknowledged *Romulus* the legitimate heir and possessor of *Brandenburg*, and published an imperial decree to this purpose. From henceforth the impostor was abandoned by all his adherents, and forced to retreat into *Anbalt*, where he passed the remainder of his days in that obscurity to which he was born^a; and thus ended an affair which had spread the flames of war in several parts of *Germany*, almost proved fatal to the liberty and life of *Valdemar*, and made a great noise in every corner of *Europe*. It properly belongs to another part of our history; but from the share which *Valdemar* had in it, we could not avoid mentioning it here.

THE congress having broke up, the princes returned each to his own dominions, except *Valdemar*, who laboured hard to set the affair he just concluded upon a solid footing, before he went back to *Denmark*. After having established repose and tranquillity, he spent some days at *Lubec* in mirth and festivity, and then passed over to his own dominions, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy, the people being highly satisfied with the result of this last negotiation.

Soon after this he concluded a treaty with *Casimir*, king of *Poland*, by which that prince engaged to supply him with one hundred lances, provided they were not to be employed against any power specified in the treaty. Before the end of the year the public joy received considerable augmentation from the birth of a second son; it was however of short duration; for the young prince lived but a few days. By the death of the two sons of *Canute Porcius*, the title of dukes of *Holland* became extinct, and the king did not think proper to confer it in a collateral branch of the family, thinking it more adviseable to annex the duchy to the crown.

A. D. 1351.
A revolt of
the king's sub-
jects.

IN the year 1351 a quarrel, the grounds for which are unknown, arose between *Valdemar* and his grand-marechal *Limbeck*. It was carried so high, that his majesty besieged him in the castle of *Dorning*. The princes of *Holstein*, the nobility of *Jutland*, and the maritime towns, all took arms at the same time. The princes pretended an infraction of the treaty subsisting between them and the king, while the nobility and maritime towns complained of some trespasses upon their rights and privileges. On the first rumour of these commotions, the king put garrisons in all the places he thought necessary, and sent a strong body of forces for the protection of the duchy of *Sleswick*, agreeable to the late treaty. This last measure proved fruitless; for the duke had sided with the princes of *Holstein*, and the auxiliaries were constrained to return. At the same time, the *Swedes* having deposed *Magnus* for his debaucheries, which had rendered him odious to the people, raised his son *Eric* to the throne. *Magnus*, retiring to *Schonen*, assembled the states of the province, to deliberate on the necessary measures in this deplorable situation of his affairs. From hence he solicited *Valdemar's* assistance to restore him; but met with a repulse, because he had refused to cede that province. Again the negotiation was resumed; but the unwillingness which *Magnus* expressed to surrender *Schonen*, rendered it fruitless.

The affairs of
Jutland.

ALL this while *Valdemar* was not unemployed on the other side. He invited the nobility of *North Jutland* to a conference, with a view to detach them from the alliance of *Holstein*; and one *Bugæus* was sent to *Callenburg*, to treat with the king in their name. Nothing was concluded at this interview; and *Bugæus* with the other deputies were hardly returned to *Jutland*, when the nobility, forming a new alliance with the princes of *Holstein*, seized upon several of his majesty's garrisons in those parts. The king dreaded the horrors of a civil war, and laboured assiduously to remove the cause of so terrible an evil. He offered to submit the difference to the decision of the earl of *Wagria*; yet because he suspected that nobleman partial in favour of the princes of *Holstein*, the issue of his determination was procrastinated. In the mean while he levied troops, which, after passing in review at *Stagel*, he embarked for *Fionia*; but contrary winds prevented the transports from sailing. This afforded him an opportunity of holding a conference with *Magnus* of *Sweden*; but this interview, like all the other negotiations between them, broke off without concluding any thing.

As soon as the wind permitted, *Valdemar* put to sea; and was met on his landing by numbers of the nobility of *Fionia*, who assured him of their fidelity, and made offer of

a their services. By their advice it was that umpires were chosen to determine all differences between him, the princes of *Holstein*, and the *Jutland* nobility. At the same the *Swedes* held an assembly at *Helsingburg*, to negotiate an accommodation between the two crowns; but as nothing was determined, it produced a particular interview between *Valdemar* and *Magnus*, at which their differences were amicably adjusted, after repeated fruitless negotiations had been set on foot.

b In the spring of the year fresh conferences were held on the subject of the dispute between his majesty and the princes of *Holstein* and nobility of *Jutland*; but every proposal from either side was rejected, as if they both had met to decide just nothing at all. But the unsettled state of his own affairs did not prevent *Valdemar's* assisting the duke of *Mecklenburg* against the duke of *Stetin*, who had declared war against him; and, indeed, it seems to be one of the shining parts of this prince's character, that he adhered strictly to his engagements, and never deserted his allies, but on the most pressing emergencies, and for the strongest reasons: and however politics may in these times be altered, firmness and fidelity are no less respectable qualities in a monarch than in a private citizen. On this occasion he resolved to go in person to *Germany*, which he did; after appointing a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence. He was no sooner arrived than he set negotiations on foot for reuniting the belligerent powers; and accordingly produced a treaty of peace, and even alliance, between the dukes of *Mecklenburg*, *Stetin*, and *Pomerania*. Having some cause of discontent against the princes of *Sclavia* and *Werle*, he no sooner ended the negotiations than he entered their country in a hostile manner, carrying desolation wherever he marched, and destroying every thing profane and sacred before him. He is reproached on this occasion with betraying a cruel and barbarous disposition, in ordering the noses and ears of the prisoners to be cut off in cool blood, and otherwise mangling their bodies in a manner little consistent with a religious pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This expedition ended, the causes of which are unknown, he spent some time at *Wardenburg* in feasts and diversions.

A. D. 1352.

d THE year 1353 was ushered in, and distinguished in the annals of *Denmark*, by the birth of the glorious princess *Margaret*, who succeeded to the crowns of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, after the death of her father *Valdemar*, and merited by her prudence and manly courage, the title of *Semiramis of the North*. The king had for some years past shut up his queen in the castle of *Seburg*, upon some suspicion of her incontinence. Chance led him one day thither as he returned from hunting, and proposing to spend the night with one of the queen's women, he was carried by the address of that lady into the arms of his lawful wife *Heddeveg*, where he enjoyed all those blessings annexed to stolen love, and which the depraved appetite finds in intrigue, without discovering his mistake before the morning. The queen conceived in consequence of the embraces of this night, and in the space of nine months was delivered of princess *Margaret*, the fruit of this legitimate amour.

Princess Margaret born.

e THIS year likewise it was, that fresh measures were taken to terminate all differences with the princes of *Holstein*, which were submitted to the arbitration of the duke of *Saxony* and the earl of *Hoja*, by whose award all parties agreed to stand. It was farther stipulated, that hostilities should cease while this affair was in agitation. The king and the princes produced their pretensions, and laid open their grievances to the umpires. First it was agreed, that for the sum of two thousand marks of silver, the king should redeem out of the hands of the duke of *Saxony*, the fortress of *Pilwerder*, to be given in trust to the earl of *Wagria* till payment of the said sum, which must be made within the space of three years, certain revenues in *Fionia* being mortgaged for security of the interest. On the other hand, the earl was to yield up to the king all his mother's portion in *Denmark*, excepting only those lands sold by his father to *Gerbard*.

Convention with the princes of Holstein.

f WITH respect to the *Holstein* princes, the king published a declaration, whereby he acknowledged, in consideration of the cession made by the princes of a moiety of *Fionia*, and of fifteen hundred marks in silver, that he gave up all other pretensions, and set all the prisoners at liberty which he had taken since the beginning of the war. In a word, the tedious disputes and quarrels between the king, the sons of *Gerbard*, and the duke of *Sleswick*, were at length terminated amicably; though they were again renewed a short time after.

g DURING these transactions it was, that *Magnus* king of *Sweden* gave the investiture of *Halland* and *Schonen* to a *Swedish* lord, called *Bennet Algotb*, his favourite, with the title of duke; and some historians relate, that not satisfied with bestowing these marks of distinction, he made him absolute master of his whole kingdom. This investiture gave umbrage to *Valdemar*; but his resentment was absorbed in the acts of devotion he was now meditating. Some constitutions are naturally disposed to superstition; such was that of *Valdemar*. His piety consisted in exterior acts and expences, the load of which fell entirely upon his subjects; and indeed this is a species of immoral piety, that favours more of vain-glory than

A. D. 1353.

than of warm sentiments of true religion and the dictates of a good heart. In no other view can we regard the pilgrimage he made this year to *Avignon*, to visit *Innocent VI.* which cost the people an immense sum of money (A).

On his return from *Avignon*, he made an expedition to *Friseland*, to extinguish some sparks of sedition that had broke out in that country; but the inhabitants having recourse to supplications, he contented himself with punishing a few of the ringleaders, by fining them in certain sums of money and carrying off hostages.

A general diet
assembles.

NEXT he called a general assembly of the states at *Neoburg*, at which assisted the duke and bishop of *Sleswick*. Here he publicly declared a general pardon to all his subjects guilty of treason, or rather offences against the crown, and drew up an instrument to this purpose; which the bishop of *Ripen* read aloud in the diet. It contained in substance, that his people should henceforward enjoy the full exertion of all the privileges and immunities conferred on them by his ancestors, and particularly by *Valdemar II.* that a general amnesty should be granted of what was passed; that his majesty should take care to protect them against all their enemies; that all those guilty of capital crimes, such as murder, theft, &c. should obtain pardon, on making satisfaction to the injured, at least as far as lay in their power, in the manner most agreeable to the laws of the country; that no subject, whether layman or ecclesiastic, should be constrained to part with his goods and chattels, to religious purposes; that no one be suffered to seize on the effects of an ecclesiastic who has died without heirs, but that they be left to the king's disposal, or to the society to which they belonged; lastly, that a general diet be summoned yearly, according to the antient custom of the realm, at *Neoburg*, about the festival of *St. John*. These regulations were plausible and pleasing; but we shall see in the sequel how they were observed.

Interview be-
tween the kings
of Denmark
and Sweden.

THIS diet was succeeded by an interview between the kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* at *Helsingburg*. *Pontanus* indeed relates, that it was only a congress composed of deputies, three bishops being sent with an archbishop from each side to end the differences between the two crowns. The first point handled was the restitution of *Schonen*, upon which the *Danish* deputies had instructions to insist. It was urged, that the earl of *Wagria* had no right to dispose of a province, of which he was only the simple mortgagee; and that the inhabitants of *Schonen* were guilty of rebellion, in acknowledging the sovereignty of *Magnus*. They then proved, that neither *North* nor *South Halland* had ever been mortgaged; but only made over during pleasure, under the title of a government. These two important points occasioned so many difficulties, which unavoidably rose from the nature of the subject, that his *Swedish* majesty requested *Valdemar* to come in person to *Helsingburg*. He accordingly went, and now it was that the kings met; but without the proposed effect: for, after several warm debates, the congress broke up, leaving all the differences just as they found them.

ANOTHER conference was appointed about the same time, to which were invited the *German* princes, to regulate certain commercial affairs. The princes and sea-ports sent deputies; but *Valdemar* proposed attending in person, and was preparing for his journey to *Lubec*, when he was given to understand, by the diet, that no more than an escorte of an hundred persons would be allowed him. *Valdemar* loved pomp, and thinking such a retinue insufficient to appear with regal magnificence, he postponed his journey, and appointed deputies.

A. D. 1355.
Valdemar's
domestic con-
duct.

LAYING aside for a time the care of foreign affairs, *Valdemar* applied himself to the administration of justice. He presided in person at the tribunals, and punished a great number of usurpers, who had violently possessed themselves of estates, during the civil wars immediately preceding his accession. These lands he returned to the legitimate owners; or, if no lawful heirs could be found, annexed them to the crown. He summoned before him one *Nicholas Rond*, of the order of knights, accused of seditious expressions against the government, and disrespectful language towards the king's person. *Rond* disobeyed the summons, and made so stout a resistance, that those who were sent to bring him by force, were constrained to put him to death.

THE king held this head-court at *Ripen*; whence he passed to *Helsingburg*, where *Magnus* of *Sweden* demanded another interview. From thence he proceeded to *Wrangsterp*, at which place he held a diet, and passed an edict, whereby all fines on criminal actions were

^b PONT. l. viii.

(A) *Pontanus*, led by some false authority, says, that this visit was made to *Urban V.* The year is the same, and yet *Urban* was not raised to the dignity of pope till eight years after. It follows necessarily, therefore, that *Innocent VI.* was then at the head of the church, if it be true, as all the *Danish* historians assert, that this pilgrimage was made in the year 1354 (1).

(1) *Vid. Pont. l. viii p 483.*

a doubled. At length he returned to *Roschild*, where he received advice that the duke of *Sleswick* and *Bennet Aldfeldt* had determined to decide their quarrel by arms. *Valdemar*, out of resentment to the duke for his late conduct, sent supplies to *Aldfeldt*, by means of which he became master of the fortress of *Trankiar*, and ravaged a great part of the duke's country, particularly the island of *Langland*. The duke flew to the relief of his people: he landed a strong body of troops; but was forced to abandon the island, on finding the king in person at the head of an army to oppose him. Thus *Valdemar* became master of *Langland*; but he again ceded it to the duke, in consequence of a negotiation set on foot.

b THIS year arrived from *France* a magnificent embassy. *John II.* proposed a double marriage between the children of the two kings, and *Valdemar* instantly dispatched ambassadors to *France* with similar instructions; but *John* being at that time made prisoner by the English, and conducted to *London* the treaty was brought to no conclusion. To this succeeded advices from *Sweden*, which gave the king uneasiness. Although the civil wars in that country were terminated by the partition of power made between *Magnus* and his son *Eric*; yet *Bookal Folk*, a Danish lord, sent by *Valdemar* to *Schonen*, with certain instructions for *Magnus*, was arrested on the road by *Eric's* order. *Joannes Gotbus*, a Swedish historian, assigns the following motives for *Eric's* conduct. Queen *Blanche*, wife to *Magnus*, was no less fond of *Bennet Algotb* than her husband. He was the prime favourite of both; and the queen despairing to see *Magnus* reinstated in the throne, neglected nothing to preserve the fortune of this minion. She made a secret offer to king *Valdemar* of the province of *Schonen*, provided he would confirm to *Algotb* the late investiture and title granted by *Magnus*; and the king, eager to reunite so fine a province to his crown, listened to her overtures. *Eric* had intelligence of this secret correspondence, and gave instructions for arresting *Folk*.

An ambassador from France.

c ACCORDING to the Danish historians, *Valdemar* was so enraged at the insult committed on his agent, that he instantly began to levy soldiers. He was prevented however from pursuing his revenge, by the rigour of the approaching winter, and by a revolt that broke out in *Jutland*. His whole attention was required to appease this tumult. Great diligence was used, and it succeeded; certain lords having engaged to prevail on the king to summon a diet at *Callenburg*, for the redress of the people's grievances. This accordingly was done on the twenty-fifth of *March* following.

A. D. 1356.

d BUT the facility with which *Valdemar* had hitherto quashed all seeds of rebellion, made him the more careless about removing the cause. This appeared from his behaviour immediately after the above diet; for he imposed a heavy tax upon all the inhabitants of *Jutland* without distinction, probably as a punishment for their late offence. It was to the last degree unreasonable and impolitic, thus to irritate the minds of the people so lately in rebellion. The duke of *Sleswick* and princes of *Holstein* joined in the clamours against this conduct, and stimulated the nobility of *Jutland* to take up arms. Yet after all, this was only a collateral inducement to the people to revolt; the principal and original cause of their conduct being founded on a particular quarrel between certain natives of *Holstein* and the family of *Himniken-Limbeck*, whom *Cunigunde*, widow to *Eric* duke of *Sleswick*, protected. The princes of *Holstein* took part with their own subjects, entered the duchy of *Sleswick*, and made themselves masters of the cities of *Tunderen* and *Haderslaben*. Both sides solicited the *Jutland* nobility for assistance, and the princes prevailed; but king *Valdemar*, whose interest it was that these towns should not remain in the hands of the princes, levied troops and drove them out of the duchy. Thus the *Jutlanders* were engaged against their own sovereign, and by their endeavours the *Holsteiners* again got possession of their conquests in the duchy. *Valdemar* saw *Randersen* besieged and taken within view of his army, without being able to relieve the garrison. He afterwards gave battle to the enemy, and was defeated. Flushed with victory, they passed over to *Fionia*, where they took by assault the strong town of *Odensee*, and laid siege to *Gamberg*, another strong hold in its neighbourhood.

Jutland revolts.

f VALDEMAR was not discouraged by these disgraces; he rather exerted all his ability to wipe them off. Troops were levied, and several suspected lords put under an arrest. Among others, *Peter Laurentius*, his brother *John*, *James Oulofson*, and his brother *Olaus* were secured. Some he released at a high ransom, after depriving them of the means of injuring him; but these four were not only imprisoned, but their estates confiscated, and places given to persons of approved affection and fidelity. Though the season was far advanced, he marched boldly to the relief of *Gamberg*. On his arrival he created a great number of nobility, the more strongly to engage their affection, and draw forth their courage on so important an occasion. As soon as he perceived his officers eager to engage, he gave the signal, and led his army on with such fury, that the *Holsteiners* and malcontents, unable to resist his impetuosity, broke up the siege and retired precipitately with great loss.

Valdemar's preparations to subdue them.

The Jutlanders defeated.

lois. All their officers of distinction were killed or taken. * *John* of *Holstein* was left dead a on the field; and his brother *Nicholas*, after losing an eye, fell into the hands of the *Danes*, who were bringing him prisoner to the king, when his brother *Henry* flew to his relief, attacked the party, and procured his liberty. In consequence of this important victory, all the garrisons belonging to the princes in *Fionia*, surrendered to the king, and he immediately gave orders for razing *Gamberg* to the ground, in order to reinforce his army with the garrison a.

FROM hence he passed into *Zealand*, laden with plunder: and here he received advice from his emissaries, that a great number of the *Holstein* nobility were invited to attend the last obsequies of *Bennet Aldfeldt's* wife, who died in *Fionia*. Thither he passed so secretly and suddenly, that he seized upon many persons of the first rank, whom he carried prisoner b into *Zealand*.

A. D. 1358.

THIS year was ushered in with a rumour that the king of *Sweden* and duke of *Mecklenburg* were preparing to declare war against *Denmark*. Though no certain advices had been received of their intentions, *Valdemar* ordered his army into the field, in the depth of winter. He also sent orders to all the governors of towns and castles, to put the fortifications and garrisons in the best state of defence. Next he reviewed his troops at *Stagel*, and augmented them considerably, taking every precaution that was necessary to guard against an invasion. It is remarkable, however, that a maritime power like *Denmark* should not have confided more in a strong fleet, and committed the care of her coasts to a well-appointed navy; yet we hear of no other naval preparations made on this occasion, than taking up a c few transports, on board of which he embarked a part of his army for *Langland*. Here he took the important fortress of *Trankiar*, and in a short time subdued all the other places on the island that had not acknowledged his sovereignty. From hence he set sail with intention to besiege *Heingavel*; but most of his fleet being dispersed, and separated from him in a thick fog, he relinquished the design.

Valdemar's operations.

STRENGTHENED before the spring with fresh levies, he again put to sea, and attempted the reduction of *Alsen*. *Hordburg* had already surrendered, after a siege of three days; *Sonderberg* was likely to make but a faint resistance: in a word, the whole island must have sunk under the weight of his victorious arm; had not *Rigitz*, duchess of *Sleswick* taken the prudent resolution of suing to her sovereign for peace. She came in person to his d majesty, who was so charmed with her eloquence and address, that he freely granted her all his conquests in *Alsen*, on condition that she would harbour or countenance none of his enemies, and that the duke her husband should come attended by no more than twenty servants, and stay no longer than three days at his court.

VALDEMAR's liberality was certainly the cause of the duke's visit a short time after. That prince desired permission to wait on his majesty, which was granted. He made several overtures for accommodating all their differences; but they were rejected at the persuasion of certain courtiers, who were violently prejudiced against the duke. After his departure the king set sail for the island of *Femerer*, where the inhabitants were well provided to receive him, having had some previous intimation of his design. They endeavoured to oppose his landing; but were repulsed and forced to give way to superior force. e After losing a great number of their men in several skirmishes, they submitted to pay a tribute of four thousand marks in silver. On his return *Valdemar* exacted contributions on several cities of *Sleswick*, and laid waste all the country round, that had refused to comply with his demand. Some of his ships had orders to plunder the neighbourhood of *Wismar*, f which the seamen executed with great alacrity and success; but being detained in port by adverse winds, the peasants assembled and attacked the crews with great fury. Perceiving that all their endeavours were foiled by the courage of the *Danes*, they filled several small boats with combustibles, which they sent with a fair wind into the middle of the king's squadron. The terror and dread of fire effected what all the power *Wismar* could not; for the seamen immediately threw down their arms, and suffered themselves to be conducted prisoners to the city, and among them their admiral *Jernskeg*, the great favourite of *Valdemar*.

Valdemar's Squadron taken at Wismar.

THIS expedition being ended the king passed into *Zealand*, where he lived but a short time at his ease, when advice was received that the duke of *Mecklenburg* meditated to invade the island. The report was true; but the duke hearing that *Valdemar* was provided with a numerous squadron, and well-appointed garrisons, relinquished his design, and solicited the duke of *Stetin* to mediate a peace between him and his allies the princes of *Holstein* and the king. *Bornim* of *Stetin* undertook the business and succeeded. He prevailed on *Valdemar* to come to *Stralsunde*, in order the more commodiously to negotiate the peace. g Here the parties met, each accompanied by numerous trains of nobility, who greatly assisted in concluding their differences. It was stipulated that the king should hencefor-

* MONT. l. iv. PONTAN. l. vii.

- a ward live in peace with the allied princes, who engaged a mutual friendship among themselves; and that the prisoners on all sides should be set at liberty. They likewise took under consideration the disturbances of *Jutland*; and it was agreed, that the nobility and commons should send deputies to the king of *Neoburg*, to finish their differences amicably.

- A PEACE being signed, and writs issued for convoking the diet, his majesty put to sea; but in proceeding to *Neoburg* he steered for *Zealand*, contenting himself with sending his son and certain senators to treat with the *Jutland* deputies at the diet, and reserving to himself the ultimate decision of that affair. This induced the deputies to demand a safe conduct to attend the king at *Stagel*; but the terms on which the passports were granted, appeared so insolent, and couched in words so imperious, that nothing was concluded, and they departed more incensed than ever against *Valdemar*. Soon after, however, a truce was granted, and the negotiation renewed.

FROM *Stagel* the king went to *Roschild*, where he expected to have met the king and queen of *Sweden*, to put the last hand to the affair of *Schonen*. On his arrival he found they had sent an apology, *Magnus* having always expressed great unwillingness to part with that province.

- IT was about this time that three of the *Jutland* nobility, men of the first quality, were assassinated on their return home. The suspicion lay upon the king, as if it had been done by his order; yet was it never clearly proved, and many reasons concurred to render it probable that this horrid action was committed by some secret enemy to them, or at least to the king, who fell upon this method of rendering him odious.

ABOUT the beginning of the ensuing year, the brothers *Barntrims* and *Wratislaus* obtained the investiture of *Rugen* from the king for which they did homage, promising him likewise the most constant fidelity, and certain auxiliary troops and succours against all his enemies. This renders it probable, that *Christopher* had not mortgaged the island of *Rugen*, but only that part of *Pomerania* called *Pomerania Cismarina*.

- IT was this year that queen *Blanche* prevailed on *Magnus* to visit *Valdemar* at *Copenhagen* (A), the issue of which interview was the ceremony of betrothing the princess *Margaret*, third daughter to *Valdemar*, to the king of *Norway*. On this occasion the affair of *Schonen* was again brought on the carpet; for this was one of the circumstances which produced a fresh quarrel between *Magnus* and his son *Eric*. The pretext which they published was in fact too trivial to occasion a war; for it appeared that *Magnus* complained of the inhabitants of *Schonen*'s expressing a stronger attachment to their duke than to him, who was their king. In fact, this approaching rupture was one great motive for his visit to *Denmark*, where he solicited *Valdemar*'s assistance against his son, promising him in return the full restitution of *Helsingburg* and *Schonen*. It was an overture which *Valdemar* could not resist; he had long panted after this province, and now found it voluntarily offered. Not to lose the favourable minute, he passed suddenly with an army into *Schonen*, seized upon several fortresses, and among other places made himself master of *Solliczsborg*; but provisions failing he returned to *Zealand*, carrying along with him prisoner a nobleman of rank called *Peter Daa*.

VALDEMAR's progress in *Schonen*, and above all, the reproaches of his people for tamely suffering a fair province, which for some years they looked upon as a dependence on the crown, to be wrested out of his hands, made an extraordinary change in the councils of *Magnus*. Suddenly he compromised matters with his son, and both agreed to drive the *Danes* out of *Schonen*, which they found no difficult task in *Valdemar*'s abience. In the treaty between the father and the son, *Magnus* not only revoked the promise he gave to the king of *Denmark*, respecting the restitution of *Schonen*, but likewise renounced his alliance and the contract of marriage made between the princess *Margaret* and the king of *Norway*. Nay, they farther agreed to marry the *Norwegian* monarch to the princess *Elizabeth*, sister to the dukes of *Holstein*. It was added, that if king *Magnus* should violate the conditions of this treaty, his subjects should be absolved from their allegiance. However, the death of *Eric*, which intervened, wrought a total alteration in these measures.

- IN the mean time a variety of cross circumstances concurred to prevent *Valdemar*'s return to *Schonen*. The assassination of the three deputies made a great noise; the suspicion lay upon him: it rendered his character despicable, and he found it absolutely necessary to vindicate his innocence, and bring the whole affair to light. His enemies were already numerous among his own subjects, and this greatly augmented the number of disaffected in *Jutland*. His first step was to affirm publicly, on oath, before *Canute*, son to one of the

(A) *Meursius* is certainly mistaken in giving this city the appellation of *Copenhagen* at so early a period; for at this time it was called *Hafnia*, and did not obtain

the other name till many years after, as we have remarked in the general account of *Denmark*.

Valdemar purges himself by oath of an accusation of murder.

murdered deputies, that the crime was committed without his orders, consent, and knowledge. He next vowed to use all possible endeavours to discover the criminals, and treat them with all the rigour that injured majesty, as well as the heinousness of the offence, required or would allow. Duke *Christopher* likewise engaged to regard *Canute* as his brother, and every possible means was used to obliterate his resentment, and remove all suspicion from the king. Gained over by these assurances, *Canute* promised, on his part, to use all his endeavours to bring the nobility and people of *Jutland* to a right sense of their duty and obedience to the king.

VALDEMAR found it more difficult to persuade the father of *Ulfen Stigot*, another of the assassinated deputies, of his innocence. This nobleman had other causes of discontent, and used this pretext to pursue the dictates of his resentment, and spirit up the *Jutlanders* to revolt. Finding him inexorable, the king took different measures. He confiscated his estate in *Zealand*, and annexed it to the crown, reducing *Stigot* to the necessity of living upon the small fortune he possessed in *Jutland*.

Origin of the troubles in Jutland.

Thus begun the troubles in *Jutland*, which diverted the king from pursuing the conquest of *Schonen*. Under pretence of public festivals, the *Jutlanders* covered secret conferences they held with several neighbouring princes, whom they engaged to support them: among these were the princes of *Holstein* and the duke of *Mecklenburg*. The latter equipped a squadron, embarked some land-forces, and sailed for *Fionia*, on which he made a descent. His success was equal to the terror which so sudden an invasion occasioned; for after taking a number of towns, and ruining almost all the villages, he returned accompanied by a variety of prisoners of distinction, whom he kept as hostages to secure the submission of the inhabitants.

NOR was *Jutland* in more tranquility. The king and many of the inhabitants were disposed to pacific measures; but a number of courtiers represented to his majesty, that it would redound more to his glory if he reduced the malcontents by force of arms: besides, this was the least punishment the nature of their offence merited. On the other hand, there were not wanting a number of seditious persons in *Jutland*, who represented to the people their deplorable situation, exaggerated every false measure of the court, and encouraged them to hazard all rather than surrender their liberties.

In this manner it was that both sides were determined to decide their differences by the sword. *Valdemar* detached before him a body of troops, who without waiting for a reinforcement began the siege of *Randersen*; but it was not long before they suffered the reward of their temerity. The besieged made so brisk a salley, that after great slaughter they put the whole body of *Danes* to flight: however, as they were soon joined by a fresh supply of troops from the king, they found themselves in a condition to attempt several other fortresses, some of which they carried sword in hand.

THIS was the issue of the *Jutland* expedition, the ill success of which it pleased Providence to augment by other unexpected misfortunes. *Peter Jernskeg*, made prisoner by the inhabitants of *Wisnar*, had indeed recovered his liberty, to the great joy of *Valdemar*; a circumstance which the king valued above the conquest of the whole province. He was truly an experienced officer and faithful subject, and his majesty much wanted the good offices of such a servant, as new revolts every day appeared in different quarters of his dominions; but *Calff Erland*, governor of *Ripen*, had surrendered that city to the princes of *Holstein*, receiving from them as the price of his fidelity, the investiture of two governments. Moreover, the inhabitants no sooner perceived the king's troops embarked for *Zealand*, than they drove his garrisons out of the towns he possessed. To this was subjoined another misfortune; his fleet was overtaken in a storm, in which one of the ships with her whole crew perished.

Valdemar enters Schonen.

VALDEMAR, on his return to *Zealand*, says *Pontanus*, created his son *Christopher*, duke of *Laaland*: hence it appears that the king made this expedition in person, though no historian directly affirms it. The young prince, on taking possession of his new dignity, conferred several privileges on the clergy, the better to gain their affections, the strongest tie by which he could blind the inclinations of the people. After this he accompanied his father, who passed with a powerful army to *Schonen*, with a resolution to effect the final conquest of that province: a measure that must appear extraordinary, if we reflect on the situation in which he left *Jutland*. *Helsingburg* was closely besieged, and the attack pushed with such vigour, that *Magnus*, who came to its relief, despairing of success, embraced that opportunity of reconciling himself to *Valdemar*. He offered not only to put him in possession of *Helsingburg*, but to restore the rest of the province, on condition that the ancient treaty should be renewed; that the two crowns should mutually assist each other upon all occasions; and that the contract between the princess *Margaret* and the king of *Norway* should

a again be signed. His proposals were accepted; and both parties having confirmed the agreement by oath, *Valdemar* made his public entry into *Helsingburg*, and received the allegiance of the inhabitants. He next proceeded to reduce all the towns and castles in possession of the nobility of the province, who refused to acknowledge his sovereignty; and at length succeeded by threats, promises, and force.

This expedition was followed by a peace. The duke of *Mecklenburg*, and cities of *Pomerania*, made peace separately with *Valdemar*, to which all who had any differences with the king, were invited to accede. *Erland Calff* accepted the invitation, made his peace with the king, and brought over with him not only the town of *Ripen*, but the two prefectures given him by the princes of *Holstein*; upon which the king pleasantly observed, b that the surname *Calff* should now be given to the prince of *Holstein*, for suffering himself to be thus outwitted. He likewise told the person who first brought him the news, "Ay, my calf was strayed, but my cow is returned, and that cow has produced two calves;" a joke, that is wholly lost in the translation, and indeed but very indifferent in the original.

It was specified in the king's writs that this diet was to meet at *Neoburg*: how it came A. D. 1360. to be translated to *Callenburg*, we know not; but here the king met the dukes of *Laaland*, *Sleswick*, and the deputies of *Holstein*. It was unanimously determined, that the laws and constitutions of the realm, as modelled by *Valdemar II.* should be restored to their former vigour. That the duke of *Sleswick*, his children, heirs, and subjects, should enjoy the same rights and privileges as their ancestors. That the rights of the clergy should be put on the c antient footing, and preserved in their full extent. That the absent bishops should be obliged to subscribe to these articles, in order to be entitled to the benefit of the laws. That all the subjects of *Denmark*, protected by her laws, should subscribe to support them. That the knights, gentlemen, burgers, and peasants, should be maintained in all their privileges. That the diet of the states, which, according to law, ought to be held at *Neoburg*, should, for the three following years, be held at *Callenburg*; after which time it should be translated to *Neoburg*. Lastly, that whoever should presume to act otherwise than he is directed by the laws, should be punished with their utmost rigour, and suffer all the penalties expressed in them.

It was soon after this diet, that his majesty was pleased to exempt the citizens of *Lunden* d and *Malmogen*, from all duties and imposts in all the ports of *Denmark*. After this he endeavoured, with the consent of *Magnus*, to gain the entire possession of *Schonen* and *Bleking*. He had restored to him the original contract with the earl of *Wagria*, and the act whereby the inhabitants put themselves under the *Swedish* government^b.

ON the other hand the *Swedes* murmured at their king's proceedings, and the facility with which he surrendered so fine a province. In derision they gave him the surname of *Smeek*, because he laid himself so open to the smooth adulation of *Valdemar*, who knew how to make his advantage of this disposition. It must be owned, that instances of such moderation are uncommon. Princes are generally most tenacious of possessions they have unjustly usurped, and few there are but would chuse rather to extend their dominions than e their reputation, as all their virtues are weighed in the scale of power. *Magnus* did no more than strict justice required; and were the *Swedish* historians impartial, they would have exclaimed with less violence against the easy temper of their king. When first he promised restitution of *Schonen*, it was to engage the alliance of *Valdemar* against his son; and when he performed his promise, it was only surrendering voluntarily what he found he could not maintain by arms. Thus, on whatever side we view the transaction, the restitution of *Schonen* seemed to be necessary, and it certainly was equitable.

NOTWITHSTANDING the harmony between *Valdemar* and *Magnus*, it was not long before A. D. 1361. the two kingdoms came to a rupture. *Magnus* had resolved to punish his subjects for raising his son *Eric* to the throne; and likewise to put it out of their power again to divide f the sovereign authority. For this purpose he studied to render himself absolute, by abolishing the senate. His subjects, jealous of their liberties, watched all his motions, and prepared to sap his projects; particularly the inhabitants of the islands of *Gothland* and *Oeland*, who, puffed up with riches, despised the empty title of king. In this perplexity *Magnus* engaged his ally, the king of *Denmark*, to take arms to chastise his insolent subjects. This was the real cause of the rupture, which made *Sweden*, for a number of years, the theatre of blood, tumult, and all the horrors of a domestic and foreign war; though some writers scruple not to affirm, it had its birth from delaying the marriage between the princess *Margaret* and the king of *Norway*.

VALDEMAR begun his operations by ravaging the isle of *Oeland*, where he cut in g pieces fifteen hundred of the inhabitants who opposed him. Thence he made a descent

^b MEURS. lib. iv.

Rupture between Denmark and Sweden.

Wisby plundered.

The hanse-towns declare war on Valdemar.

A. D. 1362.

Peace concluded.

The king of Norway breaks his engagements to the princess Margaret.

on the island of *Gothland*, and engaged the enemy in three different battles, which cost them the lives of near two thousand men. These advantages having rendered him master of the open country, he approached the fortified towns, and particularly *Wisby*, capital of the island, with intention to invest it; but the inhabitants, intimidated by the presence of an army, flushed with repeated victory, opened their gates, and offered honourable proposals. *Valdemar* giving no ear to them, ordered a part of the walls to be demolished, made his army enter by the breach, pillaged the immense wealth of the city, and embarked with the richest booty, that had for many years been brought into *Denmark*. One of his ships, laden with gold and silver vessels, and all the rich ornaments of the cathedral, was shipwrecked on the island of *Carlsen*. *Pontanus* relates, that before *Valdemar*'s departure from *Wisby*, he entered into an alliance with the inhabitants, whom he confirmed in all their privileges; but this probably relates to another voyage which he made thither. Among other immunities he granted them the same freedom of trade in his ports as the subjects of *Denmark*, suffering them likewise to coin money, a privilege which had been denied them by their natural sovereigns.

As some of the merchants of those maritime towns, which now began to take the appellation of *hanse*, had been treated with the same rigour as the citizens of *Wisby*, they determined to seek their revenge. Their first step was to seize upon all the *Danish* ships in their ports, and to confiscate the effects of the *Danish* merchants; after which they declared open war upon the kings. Such was their policy, that they drew into their alliance the king of *Norway*, the dukes of *Mecklenburg* and *Holstein*, with several other princes to whom they gave the command of their squadrons. The regency of *Lubec* armed a squadron at its own expence, of which *John Wittenburg* their consul was appointed admiral.

MATTERS being thus disposed, the allies put to sea, attacked *Haffnia*, took the citadel, and plundered the city. Thence they steered for *Helsingburg*, which they besieged with great vigour; but while the land-forces were employed in carrying on their approaches, *Valdemar* attacked the squadron of *Lubec*, took six ships, burnt several others, and forced the enemy to raise the siege. *Crantzius* alledges, that the *Danish* fleet was commanded by *Christopher*, who received a wound in the engagement, while the king his father put himself at the head of a numerous land-army (A). The regency of *Lubec* were so incensed at this defeat, that, accusing the admiral of neglect of duty, they ordered his head to be struck off.

HENRY of *Holstein*, to wipe off the disgrace his troops sustained before *Helsingburg*, laid siege to *Wardenburg*; but with no better success; for the garrison made a furious sally, that he was compelled to break up the siege, with prodigious loss. This he did on condition that the governor would set his prisoners at liberty; but receiving a reinforcement, he broke the capitulation, returned to the siege, and pushed it with redoubled vigour. His conduct irritated the governor so much, that he determined on his revenge. Feigning that he was reduced to the last extremity, he desired the duke would send some officers, into whose hands he might put the keys of the town he could no longer defend. *Henry*, falling into the snare, sent several of his principal officers, whom the governor committed to prison, after having first delivered the keys to them, to avoid forfeiting his word. Stung with the severity of this rebuke of his own perfidy, *Henry* broke up the siege a second time, and retired.

Not long after peace was concluded; but we are neither informed of the circumstances nor conditions. Writers only relate, that the king of *Denmark*, the duke of *Mecklenburg*, and his three sons, *Henry*, *Albert*, and *Magnus*, had an interview; at which the king undertook to pay a thousand marks in silver, which he had promised for the portion of his daughter *Ingeburga*; to restore the isle of *Bornholm* to the archbishop of *Lunden*, on condition that the prelate would enter into no engagements contrary to the interest of the crown, and would put the island and all its fortresses into the hands of *Valdemar*, or his successors, whenever it should be thought convenient for the security of *Denmark*.

ABOUT the same time a treaty was concluded between the king and the hanse-towns; to wit, *Lubeck*, *Stralsund*, *Gripswald*, and *Hamburg*. Others say it was only a truce, whereby the prisoners on each side were set at liberty, and the merchants of either party allowed mutually to trade for a certain term of years, without molestation.

WE have seen the king of *Norway* was contracted to the princess *Margaret*; yet to oblige the *Swedish* nation, who insisted on his renouncing the alliance with *Denmark*, he con-

c PONTAN. l. viii.

(A) To the consequence of this wound *Crantzius* ascribes the death of *Christopher*, which happened according to him about this time: yet no *Danish* writer takes any notice of his wound; and all affirm, that he died two years after at *Haffnia*, of an ardent fever (1).

(1) Meurf. l. iv. Pontan. l. viii.

ented

a sented to demand in marriage the princess *Elizabeth* of *Holstein*. Every circumstance seemed favourable to the conclusion of this alliance, as both the *Swedes* and *Holsteiners* were equally desirous of it. Already *Horman*, the *Swedish* ambassador, had espoused the princess in the name of his master. She had been publicly declared the wife of *Hacquin*, and saluted queen of *Norway*. She was now embarked on the *Trave* to pass over to *Sweden*; but heaven A. D. 1363. disposed events otherwise, and prevented the effects of all these laboured intrigues. A violent storm drove the ship on the coast of *Denmark*: *Valdemar* received the princess with all the honours due to her rank; but still he kept her under a gentle constraint, until the nuptials of his daughter *Margaret* with the king of *Sweden* were celebrated, which happened on the first *Sunday* after *Rogation-day*, in the year 1365-6.

b THE public joy consequent on this transaction was interrupted by the death of *Christopher*, and his mother the queen, both possessed of the affections of the people; and the former a prince of great and promising expectation.

TOWARDS the end of this year a treaty was concluded between *Denmark* and the cities of *Vandalia*, the particulars of which are not very material to the design of our history. Foreign authors likewise take notice of a journey to *Ghent* which *Valdemar* performed this year, though we are not told what were his motives. Here, it is said, he was met by *Lusignan* king of *Cyprus*, who came to solicit his aid against the *Saracens*. It is remarkable that no *Danish* historian takes any notice of this circumstance, though they all relate an interview he had the following year with the emperor *Charles IV.* at *Prague*.

c EARL *John* of *Wagria* dying this year, *Valdemar* concluded a treaty with his son *Adolphus*, to whom he ceded the island of *Femeren*, on the same conditions his father had held it. A few clauses however were added, prohibiting *Adolphus* from interfering in the dispute between *Denmark*, *Holstein*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, about the marriage of the princess *Margaret*. It was likewise subjoined, that the king should act in quality of umpire, should any differences arise between the dukes of *Saxony*, *Mecklenburg*, *Stetin*, and bishop *Canute*, who, in their turn, should decide any future disputes between the king and the earl. A. D. 1394.

d THIS treaty was succeeded by a renewal of the truce with the cities of *Vandalia*; for these cities being in league with the hanse-towns of *Germany*, complained, like them, of the violence committed on the hanse-merchants at *Wisby*. They also sent deputies to the general assembly held by these towns at *Cologne*, to provide for the security of their commerce. The final determination of this assembly, at which the deputies of above eighty cities attended, was to declare war upon *Denmark*. At first *Valdemar* despised such enemies, imagining he had nothing to fear from the confederacy of so many cities removed at so great a distance from each other, and swayed by particular and contrary interests; yet the event prevented his remaining long in his error, and proved to what a height of power industry and commerce are capable of raising the most insignificant corporations. The formidable fleet they equipped at *Campen*, and the strong squadron fitted out at the same time by the *Vandal* cities, evinced him of the danger that impended, opened his eyes to their strength, and induced him to apply to the duke of *Stetin* to negotiate a peace, and make the first overtures. Resolution of the hanse-cities to declare war on Valdemar.

e BARNIM's endeavours were not fruitless. He managed matters with such address, that a truce was concluded with the cities of *Lubec*, *Rostock*, *Wismar*, *Stralsund*, *Gripswald*, *Colbërg*, *Stetin*, *Anclam*, and *Keil*, beginning with the *Feast of St. John* this year, and continuing for the space of three years; during which time the merchants on each side should trade freely; pursue the herring and other fisheries; cultivate every branch of commerce as usual on the high seas, in each other's ports; mutually send judges to *Schonen*, to decide all differences which should happen to arise between the subjects of each, excepting capital crimes. It was likewise stipulated, that the prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty; and that if any of the cities included in this truce, should in the mean time take part with the enemies of *Denmark*, the rest should send the stipulated succours to the king; otherwise the f truce should be void, and this contract of no effect. A number of princes were named as guaranties of this truce, all of whom solemnly sealed it, swearing to the observance of the several articles. Valdemar obtains peace.

DURING this negotiation it was that *Valdemar* went to *Prague*, whither the emperor invited him, to honour by his presence his nuptials with *Elizabeth*, daughter to the duke of *Pomerania* ^d. While he resided at this court, the irruption of the *Bavarians* into *Nuremberg* and *Stiria*, furnished him with an opportunity of performing signal services to the empire; in acknowledgment of which *Charles* ordered the sum of sixteen thousand silver marks to be paid to the king of *Denmark*, and the usual tribute levied on the city of *Lubec*, to be mortgaged to him until the complete payment of the above sum. This, indeed,

^d Hist. Eccles. l. xcvi. c. viii.

was no more than a confirmation of a deed made by *Eric of Saxony* fourteen years before, a
when he received the investiture of *Brandenburg* from his brother.

A. D. 1365. *VALDEMAR's* first business, on returning from *Germany*, was to ratify the truce concluded with the *Vandal* cities by the mediation of the duke of *Stetin*. But as the truce finally determined nothing, and the parties were at liberty to recommence hostilities at the end of three years, it was resolved to convert it into a solid and durable peace, which was done without loss of time.

Magnus of Sweden deposed. *VALDEMAR's* absence proved fatal to *Magnus*; for while he was amusing himself at the emperor's court, the *Swedish* monarch lost his crown; the people having elected in his room *Albert*, second son to the duke of *Mecklenburg*, and nephew to *Magnus*, in prejudice of the rights of *Hacquin* of *Norway*, and *Henry*, the elder brother of *Albert*. *Magnus*, however, was still acknowledged king in part of his dominions: several lords of the first quality followed his fortune, and he resolved to make vigorous efforts for the recovery of his throne. With this view he solicited succour from *Valdemar*, and his son *Haquin* king of *Norway*. The former sent him a body of auxiliaries, and the latter marched at the head of an army to his father's assistance. *Magnus* took the field, gave battle, was defeated, and conducted prisoner to *Stockholm*, where he was confined for the space of seven years, and at length delivered by his son *Hacquin*. b

Valdemar deposes Magnus, and obtains Schonen as a recompence. A. D. 1366. *ALBERT*, dreading lest *Valdemar* should engage as a principal in this quarrel, and join his forces to *Hacquin's*, to procure the old king's liberty, set every engine at work to effect a peace between the two crowns. He proposed, with the consent of the senate, to yield in perpetuity to *Valdemar* the island of *Gothland*, with the city of *Wisby*, *Verandia*, *Windovia*, *Marcia*, the fortrefs of *Elburg*, a moiety of *Helsingia*, with the territory of *Helsingburg*, excepting only *Laddehus*. This cession was made on condition that *Valdemar* would leave *Albert* in the quiet possession of the crown, and renounce all pretensions to the duchy of *Mecklenburg*, the county of *Schwerin*, and the lordship of *Rostock*, which were to remain whole and intire, unalienably in the family of *Mecklenburg*. By the same treaty king *Albert*, the duke his father, and his brothers, consented that the fortrefs of *Wardberg* should inseparably be annexed to the crown of *Denmark*, and the province of *Halland*, promising never to give the *Danes* any disturbance on that account. They besides obliged themselves not to set *Magnus* at liberty, until he had ratified what they had here contracted; nor to make peace with *Hacquin* until he acceded to the grants specified in the above treaty, and gave security for performing his agreement. *Albert* moreover bound himself, both in his own, and in the senate and people of *Sweden's* name, to remain in perpetual amity with *Valdemar* and his heirs, submitting all differences, which in course of time might arise, to the arbitration of a certain number of the nobility of both kingdoms. Thus we see *Valdemar*, like a true politician, profiting by the misfortune of a neighbouring king, the injuries done to his son-in-law, and the violences committed against faith, the laws of nature and of nations. For the addition of some inconsiderable territories to his dominions, he falsified his engagements to *Magnus*, relinquish the rights of his son-in-law, contracted a strict friendship with an usurper, and countenanced a whole nation in the horrid crime of rebellion: but what will not ambition, and the lust of power, effect! c

A. D. 1367. In consequence of this treaty, *Denmark* passed the following year in profound tranquillity. Neither the people nor the neighbouring states murmured, and *Valdemar* resigned his whole attention to the regulation of domestic affairs. But this calm was of no long duration. In the year 1368, the nobility of *Jutland* revolted, and seduced a great part of the people to their interest. This would, however, have given *Valdemar* but little trouble, had not the princes of *Holstein*, in their usual manner, taken up arms in behalf of the rebels. Their example was followed by the *Vandal* cities, and a formidable league formed, before *Valdemar* was scarce apprised of the insurrection. They had mutually contracted to afford the duke of *Sleswick* all manner of assistance, and that none of the powers should make peace with *Denmark*, but by the joint consent of all. In the next place, the princes of *Holstein* engaged to the duke of *Sleswick* to labour with all their power to re-establish the nobility of *Jutland* in all the privileges which they ever enjoyed, and to maintain in full force the laws passed by *Valdemar* II. d

A formidable league against Denmark. *INSENSIBLY* all the enemies of *Valdemar* acceded to this treaty. The old duke of *Mecklenburg*, and his sons *Henry* and *Magnus* under pretence of several infractions of the late treaty, formed a league offensive and defensive with the powers already named, on the same conditions we have mentioned, promising likewise to draw *Albert* king of *Sweden* into the alliance. In effect, that prince readily embraced their proposals; and it was stipulated, that the conquests which might be made in the course of the war, should be divided in the manner following: King *Albert* was to possess all the conquests in *Schonen*, and the island of *Gothland*. *Zealand*, and the island of *Falstre*, were destined to the duke of *Mecklenburg*. *Jutland*, *Fionia*, and *Langland*, were to be divided between the princes of *Holstein*, e

A. D. 1369. f

a *stein*, with this proviso, that they should make no change in the laws and customs of the people. To such excess had these princes and cities carried their perfidy, as to renounce the oaths they had so lately taken to preserve perpetual amity with *Denmark*; and such was *Valdemar's* reward for that unnatural treaty he had formed with *Albert*.

b For the more certain execution of their project, the allies concluded a treaty of peace with *Hartwick of Ravensdorp*, whereby they granted him free leave to trade wherever he thought fit, provided he would obstruct none of their conquests the meditated. The treaty being signed, each prepared to act his part. The *Vandal* cities infested *Valdemar's* coasts with a considerable fleet. King *Albert* entered *Schonen* with an army, and reduced *Teste*, *Falsterbo*, *Scanor*, and some other places. The princes of *Holstein*, assisted by the *Jutland* nobility, at-

c At the sight of a league so formidable, *Valdemar's* courage and presence of mind for-look him. Finding himself unable to resist such a cloud of enemies, he determined to abandon all, and make a journey to *Rome*, under pretence of a vow he had taken. He flattered himself, that his absence would abate the fury of his enemies; and that his senate, on which he conferred full powers to transact a peace on any terms, would find means to accommodate matters. His resolution was weak and pusillanimous; but it answered his expectations. *Hemming Podersberish*, grand-mareschal of *Denmark*, engaged the *Vandal* cities to send deputies to *Stralsund*, to deliberate in conjunction with certain *Danish* noblemen, on the means of ending a destructive war, to their mutual advantage. A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded, on condition that the *Vandal* cities should, for the term of fifteen years, hold the towns of *Helsingburg*, *Melmogen*, *Scanor*, and *Falsterbo*; but that the subjects of *Denmark* should have free liberty to trade into these ports during this period. This treaty the *Danish* deputies engaged to have ratified by the king within the space of six months.

d *VALDEMAR* in the mean time resided at the emperor's court. Here he stopt in his way to *Rome*, and so pathetically represented to his imperial majesty the deplorable condition to which he was reduced by the revolt of his subjects, and the powerful league formed against him, that this prince moved with his distress, wrote to his uncles the margraves of *Misnia*, the duke of *Stetin*, and *Adolphus* of *Holstein*, to arm all their forces in his defence, and to aid and assist him by all possible means in reducing his rebellious subjects.

e WHETHER *Valdemar's* fears had quite blinded his understanding, or whether he placed but little confidence in these succours, or, lastly, whether he chose to unite policy with force, certain it is, that he pursued his intention of engaging the pope's interest. For this purpose he sent an embassy, laden with rich presents, to *Gregory XI.* beseeching him to interpose his authority to quiet the disturbances in his dominions. He laid aside the thoughts of going in person thither, and he soon had reason to congratulate himself on this resolution; for his ambassadors found this father of the faithful but little disposed to acts of compassion. In a word, *Gregory* refused to intermeddle, under pretence of being able to form no judgment from the relation of only one party. He offered, however, to give his opinion as soon as he should be acquainted with what the king's subjects, and the united powers, had to advance in their own vindication.

f THE *Jutland* nobility were no sooner informed of the pope's answer, than they dispatched proper persons to explain the nature of their grievances, and the motives of their conduct, both to the emperor and his holiness. They complained to the pope of the heavy taxes which he obstinately imposed on all his subjects, and of the frequent wars which his turbulent disposition drew upon him with the neighbouring states. In short, the deputies found means to make the pope comprehend the full weight of their reasoning, in consequence of which he wrote to *Valdemar*, exhorting him to alter his turbulence into tranquility, and violence into gentle measures, threatening to excommunicate him if he did not immediately obey. The king was naturally passionate, and too lively to contain his temper within the bounds of moderation. Without a moment's reflection he sat down, and answered the pope's letter in the following terms:

'*VALDEMAR*, king, &c. to the pope of *Rome*, sends health. Our life we owe to *Valdemar's* God, our kingdom to our subjects; our wealth we inherit from our parents, and our faith from your ancestors, which we return to you by these presents, should you think the obligation too considerable.'

AN answer that is related of *Valdemar I.* and more suitable to the greatness of his soul (A). Imperious and disrespectful as it was, it did not surprise his holiness. He knew that *Val-*

(A) *Saxo Grammaticus* relates the same story of *Valdemar I.* and it is probably true of him only; for how should the historian come to the knowledge of what happened in *Valdemar* the third's reign, centuries after

his death? *Pontanns* mentions it in both reigns, without taking notice of the repetition; and he is copied by *Meursius* and other writers.

Valdemar's courage deserts him, and he flies the kingdom.

A. D. 1370.
The league broken.

He applies to the pope, who refuses to intermeddle in the affair.

demar had received his education at the court of the emperor *Lewis*, who was eternally a involved in disputes with the Holy See. He was well acquainted with the haughtiness and impetuosity of the king's disposition: it was therefore judged not advisable to employ his spiritual thunder against a prince, who respected his authority so little, that its terror, founded in superstitious reverence, would be lost. Yet was *Valdemar* bigotted in a high degree: we have seen him make unseasonable pilgrimages and expeditions from motives of religion; but his piety was by fits, and, like all his other passions, violent. Lately he had been immersed in a sea of politics and intrigue, which afforded no leisure for devotion; and his respect for the head of the church vanished with his religion.

THE peace which the grand-mareschal concluded with the *Vandal* cities, was a decisive blow to the league. It was no sooner perceived that they detached themselves from the alliance, than the rest of the parties distrusting each other, and perhaps intimidated by the emperor's menaces, left *Denmark* in tranquility, and *Valdemar* leave to return. Immediately he confirmed the treaty of *Stralsund*, and procured an instrument from the hanse-towns, whereby they promised restitution of the places put into their hands from the term of fifteen years. Thus ended this formidable war, which had driven *Valdemar* from his own dominions, and marked his character with an indelible stain.

A. D. 1375.
Valdemar's
death and
character.

SOME writers take notice of a body of auxiliaries he lent *Hacquin* to attempt the recovery of his father's liberty, and of a kind of war which he carried on in *Friesland*; but the particulars we find no where related. What we know for certain is, that *Valdemar*, terrified with the remembrance of the late combination, studied to pass the remainder of his days in tranquility. He dreaded losing a crown in his old age, which he had acquired and maintained with so much toil and labour. Some years before he had built a beautiful country-seat in the neighbourhood of *Helsingburg*, called *Gurrea*; here it was that he breathed his last, after a tedious illness, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign. From the time of his return from the emperor's court, he was constantly afflicted with the gout; recourse was had to a variety of medicines, without effect. At last an empiric offered his infallible specific, the dose was administered, the king left to his repose, and found dead in his bed a few hours after (B). Thus ended the life of *Valdemar*, a prince greatly celebrated by the *Danish* historians, as the restorer of their monarchy, which had so long been divided among a number of petty usurpers and tyrants. He attempted the re-union of his dominions, and pursued it with a perseverance that insured success; but more by the justice of his schemes, by his vigilance and constancy, than by force of arms. In this alone indeed was he consistent, all the rest of his conduct betrayed an unsteady, flighty, and warm imagination, strong passions, and violent prejudices, which absorbed every ray of judgment and understanding. He was at the same time a strange medley of impiety and religious enthusiasm, of incontinence with respect to women, and temperance in what regarded his palate; in a word, his vices were extraordinary; they proceeded from caprice: his virtues were noble, and the genuine offspring of his mind. His spirited answer to *Gregory* drew upon him the malice of the writers of his days; in ours it will be deemed noble, firm, sensible, and the most striking circumstance in his character.

O L A U S V.

Olaus V.

The reasons
which swayed
the diet in that
election.

VALDEMAR left no male issue. Two sons, and the same number of daughters died before them. *Ingeburga*, the eldest surviving daughter, married the duke of *Mecklenburg*, and *Margaret* the younger, was queen-dowager of *Norway*, the king her husband having resigned his last breath the year before. The diet met for the election of a successor, and were perplexed in their choice. One party declared for *Olaus* king of *Norway*, and grandson to *Valdemar*. He was the son of the younger daughter, and consequently his right very doubtful; but being already in possession of *Norway*, and having claims on the crown of *Sweden*, as the younger son of *Magnus*, the states were in hopes of one day seeing the two crowns united on the same head. Another party urged, on the contrary, that it was shameful for *Denmark* to receive a king from *Norway*: that it was absurd to unite two kingdoms, opposite in many of their laws and customs, the one being elective, and the other hereditary. There were nobles in the kingdom worthy of the throne; and the exertion of the privilege to elect out of their own number, was a duty incumbent on the states. A third faction fixed their eyes on *Albert* of *Mecklenburg*, son of *Ingeburga*, the eldest daughter of *Valdemar*. His right was uncontested; but this was a point not very material in the *Danish* form of government, though it was always regarded as a collateral

* Vid. PONTAN. MEURS. CRANTZ. ibid.

(B) It is remarkable that the very same circumstance founded the actions of these two princes. is related of *Valdemar* I. as if historians purposely con-

inducement

a inducement in the choice of a king. Disputes run high, and the diet broke up without coming to any determination. One remarkable act however passed; it was the restitution of certain lands to the widow of *Peter-Wid*, from whom it was said *Valdemar* had unjustly extorted them. The reason given for this decree was, that *Valdemar's* soul might not be tormented in the next world for an act of injustice and oppression committed in this.

b THE diet broke up without accomplishing the intention of their meeting; it was not long, however, before that important affair was determined. The bishops, nobility, and commons of *Jutland*, led the way; they resolved to place *Olaus* on the throne; and, as if all the rest of the kingdom had watched the signal from them, faction was dropt, and the different islands, provinces, and districts of *Denmark*, unanimous in approving their choice. The terms in which the inhabitants of *Schonen* couched their assent, may be seen in *Pontanus*, and will serve as a specimen of the form used on this occasion ^f. This election was esteemed the work of queen *Margaret*, and the first stroke of her masterly genius for the cabinet, and link of that chain of intrigue, which founded the reputation of this great princess.

c *OLAUS* was but eleven years of age on his accession to the throne: *Margaret* therefore assembled the states to ratify publicly what had only received the concurrence of the several provinces, and to declare her regent during the minority of her son. Here he was again proclaimed, and solemnly crowned, *Margaret* likewise obtaining her end of holding the reins of authority until he arrived at age. Before this assembly broke up, the king swore to observe the laws of *Valdemar II.* in their full force, and made several additions to them, whereby the liberties of the people in general, and particularly of the clergy, were enlarged.

Margaret declared regent.

IMMEDIATELY after the ceremony of the coronation was performed, *Bugislaus* duke of *Stetin* and *Pomerania*, and the prince of *Rugen*, did homage to the young king. The latter acknowledged that he held his dominions as a fief of the crown of *Denmark*, and solemnly engaged to serve the king, whenever he was called upon against all his enemies.

d SCARCE was *Olaus* firmly seated on the throne, before *Albert* the old duke of *Mecklenburg* made great preparations against *Denmark*, to vindicate the right of his grandson to the crown. His *Swedish* majesty took arms likewise in behalf of his nephew, and a terrible storm threatened *Olaus* on every side. Providence however interposed; the *Swedish* fleet was dispersed and shattered in a hard gale; the king was discouraged from pursuing his designs, and *Albert* finding himself alone too weak to combat with the whole force of *Denmark*, listened to terms of accommodation. A treaty was concluded, in which due regard was shewn to the rights of both princes, and the people of *Denmark* confirmed in the full privilege of election. Thus *Olaus* was continued king, in consequence of the people's choice, without injuring *Albert's* birthright.

The Swedes turn against Denmark, and their fleet is lost in a storm.

e THIS year the *Vandal* cities demanded a renewal of the treaty concluded with *Valdemar*; their example was followed by all the hanse-towns; and the queen-regent granted their request, not chusing to engage in disputes with a body of merchants so formidable for their wealth and alliances.

A. D. 1376.

f NEXT year was ushered in by the convocation of a general diet, at which the king and queen-regent renewed their oaths to maintain the laws, and preserve the privilege of each particular order of the people. To this oath the nobility acceded, swearing to hold as enemies to their country whoever should violate it. All these protestations were taken by the bishops, who profited by the favourable conjuncture for augmenting their own privileges and influence. The archbishop of *Lunden* was not forgetful of his particular interest and the good of the church. He procured a grant of the fourth part of the revenues of *Lunden*, under pretence that one of his ancestors had enjoyed it. The popes were the first in stimulating the bishops not to labour in the vineyard of *Christ*, but to preserve as the apple of the eye all those advantages which the disturbed condition of the kingdom threw in their way. Their votes were numerous, their influence extensive; they were therefore advised to sell both to the highest bidder, and put their own price on their favour. Thus corruption flowed from the fountain of religion; and those who ought to reform the manners of the people, led the way to venality the source of every disorder and vice in a nation. The clergy were exhorted to bring within the pale of the church all the subjects of *Denmark*, and rather to resign them over to Satan, than yield the least title of their privileges. Such was the substance of *Gregory* the second's letters to the archbishop *Nicholas*, and such indeed the purport of all the bulls of the Holy See. It was not possible g but that such conduct in the clergy would excite differences between them and the court. In fact it did so, and on the following occasion. Queen *Margaret* held her court at *Lind-*

A. D. 1377.

Conduct of the clergy.

^f PONTAN. l. viii. p. 503.

holm; and the chapter of *Lunden* possessed some lands there. The subjects of the chapter complained of some oppressions consequent on the vicinity of the court, and the archbishop and chapter to part in their complaints. The affair became serious; but *Margaret*, to avoid disputes which might be attended with fatal consequences, ordered a redress of their grievances, punished the offenders, and took measures for preventing the subjects of the chapter from suffering for the future any inconvenience from the court (A).

A. D. 1379.
Margaret's
policy.

MARGARET was queen-regent of *Denmark* and *Norway*, some writers alledging that *Hacquin* her husband died before *Valdemar*; while others relate with the same confidence, that he was greatly instrumental in raising his son to the crown of *Denmark*. Be that as it will, she had now the supreme authority in both kingdoms, and begun planning the outlines of that great scheme she afterwards effected, of uniting the three northern crowns. It was necessary first to unite *Denmark* and *Norway*, with the mutual consent of both kingdoms. She spoke of it to the principal noblemen, and enlarged on the advantages that would necessarily result from such an union, with so much eloquence and refinement, that they seemed to relish the proposal, though it was not put in execution till five years after, when the three crowns were united by the celebrated treaty of *Calmar*.

A. D. 1381.

WHILE *Olaus* was busy in magnificent preparations for the funeral obsequies of his father in *Norway*, the king of *Sweden* embraced that opportunity of making an irruption into *Schonen*; a circumstance which proves that *Hacquin* died later than the æra related by the *Danish* historians in general. Notwithstanding a truce which he signed with the archbishop of *Lunden*, the governor, and principal nobility, he attacked and forced the residence of *Tbuon Gatten* the governor. Yet we cannot positively affirm whether these hostilities proceeded originally from the *Swedes*, or were the consequence of domestic faction. Certain we are, that at the expiration of the truce, *Albert* entered the country openly with a powerful army, took by assault the fortress of *Labolm*, and retreated on the approach of *Margaret* and the grand-mareschal, who determined to give him battle.

A. D. 1385.
Olaus arrives
at full age.

IN the year 1385, *Olaus* passed from *Norway* to *Schonen*, attended with a numerous retinue of the nobility of both kingdoms. Here he received the allegiance of all the inhabitants of the province; a ceremony that was thought necessary, as the term for which several of the cities had been pledged to the *Vandals* was now expired. The only transaction of importance in this reign was, however, of a nature that greatly derogates from the king's character, who was now of age, and appears extremely inconsistent with the known prudence and policy of *Margaret*. *Henry* duke of *Sleswick* dying without issue, the duchy reverted in full right to the crown of *Denmark*. Yet did *Olaus*, with his mother's approbation and the consent of the states, grant the investiture of it to *Gerhard*, son to *Henry* of *Holstein*, the inveterate enemy of his crown and family. His generosity could never be shewn more unseasonably, or conferred on a more improper object; for by this grant the keys of *Jutland* were put into the hands of his enemy, and a road opened into his dominions, to a power he ought the most cautiously to exclude. Perhaps he wanted to gain over the *Holstein* princes by such an act of liberality; but surely the hazard was great, and the means he took impolitic in itself, and injurious to his people. The gratitude of princes seldom extends beyond the advantages resulting from this emotion of the soul; with them all the generous passions are subjected to interest and selfish considerations.

The policy of
the Danish
bishops.

AT the diet of *Neoburg*, the two archbishops of *Lunden* and *Drontheim*, and the bishops of *Ripen*, *Alburg*, *Wiburg*, and *Sleswick*, granted a multitude of indulgences to those who should found monasteries, or any ways endow the church. The king ordained public prayers for the prosperity of the kingdom, the preservation of his own and the queen's health, and a happy issue to all their undertakings. Her majesty in particular engaged to leave at her death, to the cathedral of *Lunden*, the fortress of *Tbustrapsee*, which she had purchased of *Tbuon Gatten*; but on condition that the walls and fortifications should be destroyed, if the king thought proper.

Olaus dies.

SOON after *Olaus* died, at the age of twenty-two years. He was a prince of excellent qualities of the heart, of great liberality and devotion; what his understanding was, we may form some judgment from the affair of *Sleswick*. Age and experience might however have ripened his intellect; nor would it be candid to lay on him the whole blame of a transaction in which the queen and the diet were equally concerned. *Olaus* died at *Falsterbo*, A. D. 1387; his bowels were buried in the church of *St. Laurence* in *Lunden*, and his body deposited in a private manner in the monastery of *Soora*.

(A) The *Danish* historians make the first mention of gunpowder, among the transactions of the year 1378, although *Erfrold Lindeburg* (1) says, that it was known and manufactured twenty years before *Lubeck*, where a powder-mill took fire and greatly damaged the city.

Pontanus (2) has accurately inquired into the first discovery and use of this dreadful combustible in the North, and quotes *Achilles Gassar*, an accurate historian, in proof that the *Danes* knew the use of powder and canon as early as the year 1354.

(1) Page 104.

(2) *Pontan.* l. viii.

M A R G A R E T.

a

WITH *Olaus* the male line of the three northern crowns was extinct, and custom had Margaret not yet authorised the election of a female. *Sweden* had chosen a king from *Germany*, and *queen*. the public waited impatiently for the determination of the states of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

Margaret, who to the natural ambition of her sex, joined a depth of understanding, a firmness and penetration seldom met with in the fairer part of the creation, omitted nothing that could forward her pretensions. Her competitor was *Henry* of *Mecklenburgh*, brother to the king of *Sweden*. *Henry* flattered himself that by his personal qualities, and the advantage of being son-in-law to *Valdemar*, he should easily carry the crown from a woman; but *Margaret's* genius for intrigue, her well placed liberality, won over the bishops and clergy, which in effect was gaining the greater part of the people. The election was not made in a general diet, but an assembly of the provincial states, as had before been done at the election of *Olaus*. On this occasion the inhabitants of *Jutland* gave the signal, by declaring *Margaret* queen of *Denmark*, protesting that they would acknowledge no other sovereign. All the other provinces acceded to their choice. A declaration was drawn up at *Lunden*, signed by the archbishop, *Podesbunk* the grand-mareschal, a great number of bishops, and the principal nobility. The states of *Zealand* assembled at *Ringstat*, and solemnly declared *Margaret* sovereign of *Denmark*; those of *Jutland*, *Fionia*, and other islands and provinces did the same. *Her genius for politics.*

MARGARET received the crown at the solicitation of the clergy, who flattered themselves that now their reign was come, under the government of a woman, who would probably be directed in every thing by her council. As they had the keeping of her conscience, they doubted not but they would find opportunities of influencing, and even of dictating all her measures. The sensible queen saw their design, and artfully flattered their hopes, while she stood in want of their interest.

BUT *Margaret's* ambition was not satisfied with the crown of *Denmark* alone; she grasped at *Norway*; sent deputies to solicit the states of that kingdom, and by her policy succeeded. The chief persons in the government were gained over by money; she found means to render herself mistress of the army and garrisons; so that had the nation in general been otherwise disposed, she could not fail of carrying her point. Thus from regent she became queen of *Norway*, with the same facility she had acquired the crown of *Denmark*. *She unites Norway to Denmark,*

THE *Norwegians*, perceiving that the succession was again in danger of being extinct, entreated their queen to secure it by an advantageous marriage, which might at the same time augment her power and dominions; but she received the proposal coldly. Jealous of her sovereign authority, she could not think of sharing it with a husband: however, to satisfy the earnest desire of her subjects, she consented to appoint a successor; but made choice of one so young as to allow herself full time to satiate her ambition before he should be of age to take any share in the government; at the same time she contrived matters in such a manner, that this choice seemed to proceed more from the states than from her inclination. Having opened the diet, she demanded to know the nearest heir of blood to the crown, and whether his elevation to the succession would be agreeable to the states. Being answered, that the children of *Wratislaus VII.* and *Mary* of *Mecklenburg*, daughter to *Henry* of *Mecklenburg* and *Ingeburga* of *Denmark*, were the nearest a-kin, and perfectly agreeable to the people, she immediately fixed the succession in this family, and named the young *Henry* from that time, called *Eric*, the presumptive heir to the crown. *and appoints a successor.*

MATTERS being thus adjusted, it was imagined the public tranquillity might receive some disturbance from the pretensions of one *Hacquin*, who deduced his pedigree from the kings of *Norway*, and had acquired immense wealth and influence in *Sweden*. The fears of the people were, however, quieted in a short time by the prudence of their queen. She had found means to prevail on *Hacquin* publicly to renounce his pretensions, which he did by an instrument lodged in the hands of the archbishop of *Drontheim*, swearing at the same time before the senate, that henceforward he claimed no right to the throne. *A. D. 1388.*

HENRY of *Mecklenburg* could not see *Margaret* elevated to the throne, in prejudice to her elder sister *Ingeburga*, without expressing emotions of envy. The accession of the crown of *Norway* added fuel to his jealousy; and the thoughts of her one day uniting the three northern crowns, was altogether insupportable. *Albert* of *Sweden* was no less emulous of her success; he formed an alliance with his brother *Henry*, resolved on declaring war against *Margaret*, and assumed to himself the arms of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*. He spoke of *Margaret* in the most contemptuous and disrespectful terms; called her 'king without breeches'; passed some gross pleasantries on her regard for the clergy, and particular at- *Preparations for war between Sweden and Denmark.*

b PONT. I. ix. MEURS. I. v.

tachment to a certain abbot of *Soora*, who was her spiritual director. It is indeed true, that her intimacy with this man gave room for suspicion that all her privacies with him were not employed about the care of her soul.

ALBERT made great preparations; besides the *Swedish* army, he relied upon powerful succours from *Henry* and other *German* princes in his alliance. *Margaret* was not more backward in her own defence; and besides the troops of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and those furnished by the duke of *Pomerania*, she was sure of a considerable party in her favour in *Sweden*. All those noblemen who had supported the election of her husband *Hacquin*, in opposition to *Albert*, were her strenuous friends. The nation was likewise filled with disaffected persons. *Albert* had disposed of all places of trust to foreigners; he imposed taxes without consulting the senate; he obliged the widows and daughters of the first nobility to espouse upstart foreigners, to give weight to the latter by such connections: in a word, he became unpopular, and even odious to one half of his subjects, by his pride, insolence, and from their rivetted dislike to foreigners. In particular, the clergy were incensed against him, for having sequestered many of the church-lands, and annexed to the crown a number of strong holds they had held for time immemorial. *Margaret* prudently fomented these divisions, and rendered herself no less beloved than *Albert* was detested. The *Swedes* only waited for the signal to revolt; they had fixed their eyes on *Margaret* for their queen, and resolved to drive *Albert* out of the kingdom. They perceived her good sense would set bounds to her ambition, and prevent her infringing the rights of the people; should she attempt it, the states of the three kingdoms would mutually oppose her, and receive additional strength and security from a strict union of interests.

The crown offered to Margaret.

THE first measure taken by the *Swedish* malcontents was secretly to depute certain lords of the first rank, to make *Margaret* an offer of the crown. She received the proposition with joy, and promised to defend the people in all their rights and privileges: however, she demanded that the crown should be made hereditary, with a view for ever to unite the three kingdoms. She met with some difficulties in gaining this point; at last she surmounted them, and obtained all she required.

Resolution taken by the Dalecarlians.

WHILE these matters were in agitation, the governor of the fortresses of *Oberstein* and *Orestein* surrendered those places to the queen; she immediately took possession, and continued him in the same command. It was specified in his commission, that he held his authority of *Margaret* queen of *Sweden* and *Norway*, and the legitimate sovereign of *Denmark*. A great number of lords followed the example of *Algoth Magnus*, for that was the governor's name. All acknowledged *Margaret* for their queen; an instrument was drawn up, whereby they renounced their oath of allegiance to *Albert*, declared they would never more acknowledge him, and henceforward attempt nothing but with the consent and by the order of *Margaret*. They likewise added, that her heirs should be their sovereign, and that they would never accept of any other at her death, but such a successor as she should think fit to appoint. Among other strong holds, the fortresses of *Abo*, *Favest*, *Razeburg*, *Castholm*, *Crytzburg*, all *Helsingia*, together with the copper and iron mines of *Dalecarlia*, were put into the queen's hands. In a word, the *Dalecarlians* had positively acknowledged her sovereignty by an act passed this year, in which they consented; in the name of the whole kingdom of *Sweden*, that the revenues of the copper mines should be put into her hands, although they were mortgaged to the princes of *Holstein*.

ON the *Wednesday* preceding *Pentecost*, the *Swedish* senate wrote to the queen a ratification of the treaty she had concluded with the deputies, and accordingly acknowledged her queen of *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Norway*. This oath of the senate was like a thunder-bolt to *Albert*. He perceived that he could no longer depend on the *Swedish* army, and therefore cast about for foreign succours. Among his firm allies he reckoned the duke of *Mecklenburg*, the princes of *Holstein*, the duke of *Sturgard*, and for a sum of money he engaged *Conrad Jungingen*, grand-master of the *Teutonic* order, and the island of *Gotbland*. By means of these allies, he soon made up a considerable army, with which he was preparing to take the field.

Albert is defeated.

MARGARET marched an army to the assistance of the malcontents, under the conduct of four generals, *Eric Lucke*, *Henry Parow*, *Winchen Norby*, and *Lothario Cabolt*. They joined the disaffected *Swedes*, and both together marched against *Albert*. Coming up with him at *Falkoping*, a furious battle was fought, in which victory for a long while stood in suspense. The fate of a kingdom depended on the event, and both sides behaved with that courage and perseverance which an affair of so much importance merited; but *Margaret's* good fortune prevailed: *Albert* was routed, and his army cut in pieces. He was afterwards taken prisoner in the pursuit, together with his son *Eric Gerbard* prince of *Holstein*, and a great number of lords of the first distinction. *Albert* and his son were conducted first to *Babus*, a fortress on the confines of *Norway* and *West-Gotland*, and from

a thence to *Sabohm*, where they were confined for the space of seven years. As to the other prisoners, they were imprisoned in several parts of the kingdom^c.

Few victories had ever been so productive of glory to the *Danes* as this last; for besides A. D. 1389. the royal prisoners, no less than nineteen general officers were left dead on the field by the vanquished. On *Margaret's* side the loss was inconsiderable, except that *Henry Parow* died of his wounds, greatly regretted. Yet though the battle was decisive, the *Swedes* were still undetermined with respect to the conduct they were to observe. *Margaret's* coronation was deferred, because a great part of the nation thought it dishonourable to dispose of the crown while their king was a prisoner. As the people were divided, they now looked upon the *Danes* as foreigners, and grudged them a victory over the *Swedes*, tho' b in fact *Margaret* had on her side the greater number of *Swedish* forces. The German princes accused the *Swedes* of perfidy and cowardice, attributing the defeat and imprisonment of *Albert* to their pusillanimous conduct. On the other hand, they justified themselves, by retorting on the *Germans*, who they affirmed were the cause of the war, and the king's misfortunes^f.

DURING these debates and mutual recriminations, the princes of the house of *Mecklenburg*, and the towns of *Rostock* and *Wismar* began to raise fresh levies, in favour of the unfortunate *Albert*. His friends in *Sweden* likewise became masters of *Stockholm*, and several fortified places, and *John* of *Mecklenburg* put to sea at the head of a well-appointed squadron, which was dispersed by a storm. *Margaret's* forces were, in the mean while, laying siege c to *Stockholm*; and *John*, after collecting his squadron, determined to relieve it. Accordingly he landed his forces, drove the besiegers from their works, and after supplying the city with ammunition and provision, again set sail. Afterwards, making descents on different parts of the coast, he put all to fire and sword, which so enraged the peasants, that assembling tumultuously, they attacked him near *Tilling*, and were cut in pieces, having no officer of ability to lead them on and direct their fury.

THE *Germans* were not satisfied with the ravages committed by this squadron; a shoal of privateers were licensed by the duke of *Mecklenburg*; the sea was covered with pirates, and the most terrible disorders were committed on the ocean and the sea-coasts. Some of them ventured an attack on the island of *Gothland*, took it, and made it the repository of their d plunder, and the rendezvous for the whole piratical fleet. Notwithstanding all this, the cause of *Albert* was but little forwarded, and his opponent every day gained ground. Among many other places of consideration, the important city of *Calmar* declared for the queen, and surrendered it with its appendages into her hands. *Bugislaus*, prince of *Stetin* (A), likewise declared in her favour, and his example was followed by the prince of *Rugen*, both attending her majesty at *Falsterbo*, where they did homage to her as their sovereign^g.

MARGARET spent the two following years in *Norway* and *Sweden*. In the former she renewed the act by which young *Eric* was declared the successor to her crown; and in the latter she laboured to appease the civil divisions by which the kingdom was reduced to the most deplorable state of misery. Foreigners and natives seemed to unite their endeavours in ruining the country, and in this alone were they consistent. Even in *Stockholm* c faction reigned, and the German garrison, who apprehended the citizens were inclined to side with the queen, lived in a continual state of hostility with the civil magistrates, which every day produced murder and bloodshed. At length an union of interests was agreed upon; but this was no more than a stratagem formed by the *Germans* to be revenged on the burghers. Under cover of this false reconciliation they seized upon the principal citizens, put many of them to the torture, and conveyed them in the night to the island of *Chepling*, where, after putting them to the most excruciating torments, under pretence that they carried on a clandestine correspondence with the queen, they enclosed them in a large house filled with wood, to which they set fire.

f HER majesty meeting with little success in her endeavours to heal the intestine commotions in *Sweden*, determined to return to *Denmark*, and change her measures. She now laboured to effect a peace with the duke of *Sleswick* and the princes of *Holstein*. At length she compassed her design, and paved the way to a general accommodation. The peace between these princes was a fatal blow to the pirates, who immediately abandoned the *Baltic*, and launched forth in the ocean, to make one last effort. The town of *Bergue*, one of the richest ports in the North, felt the first effects of their desperate rage. It was taken and miserably pillaged, but not without impunity; for some of their ships fell into the hands of the *Danes*, who ordered the crews to be hanged upon gibbets, without form

Levies raised in Germany to support Albert.

The duke of Mecklenburgh's privateers take the isle of Gothland.

A. D. 1391. Margaret is established in the sovereignty of the three kingdoms.

A. D. 1392.

The pirates suppressed.

g ^c Vid. supra ibid. ^f MEURS. l. v. ^g PONTAN. ibid.

(A) *Bugislaus* was uncle to *Eric* of *Pomerania*, declared successor to the thrones of *Denmark* and *Norway*, as we have seen.

of

of trial. This severity had salutary consequences; it broke the confederacy, struck terror into the whole, and obliged some to renounce the profession, others to incorporate with the queen's seamen, and others more obstinate to retire to *Frieseland* and live in remote creeks, from whence they sallied out on the commercial fleets of the *Flemings*, *English*, *French* and *Spaniards*.

A. D. 1393. NOTHING remarkable occurs this year besides the donation the queen made of a moiety of the fortress and prefecture of *Wiburg* to the cathedral of that name, for which she was recompensed by the daily prayers of the bishop and prebendaries.

THE following year she became more general in her bounties to the clergy, by confirming the privileges and immunities of the cathedral of *Lunden* and other churches and bishoprics. She resided for some time at *Helsingburg*, and there received deputies from several *Vandal* cities, exhausted by a tedious war, and desirous of coming to terms with respect to *Albert's* liberty, who had now been prisoner for near six years. Just as a treaty was on the point of execution, an accident broke off the negotiation, which was resumed the succeeding year with a happier event. One of the deputies was slain in a tumult that happened in the city, and the others, imagining their lives were in danger, fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving matters just as unsettled as they found them. *Margaret* soon convinced their constituents, that the murder was not premeditated, by bringing all the delinquents to strict justice. To this contributed the little success they met with in their military operations. A second time the *Vandal* deputies waited on the queen; and it was at length agreed, that *Albert* and his son *Eric* should be released, on condition that he paid *Margaret* the sum of sixty thousand silver marks, renounced all his pretensions to the *Swedish* crown, withdrew his garrison from *Stockholm*, and all the other fortresses, and engaged the *Vandal* cities to guaranty the treaty.

A. D. 1395. As soon as the two princes were delivered to the deputies, they solemnly swore to a strict observance of every article stipulated. *Barnim* of *Pomerania*, *John* of *Mecklenburg*, and several other princes, joined themselves to the *Vandal* cities as guarantees; and this addition was made to the treaty, that neither part should for the term of three years erect any new fortresses, but that liberty should be granted mutually to repair the old; and with respect to the island of *Gotland*, it was agreed that each party should retain what they at present possessed.

THIS treaty restored tranquillity to the three kingdoms; and *Margaret*, imagining she would best prove her gratitude to heaven, by pouring her favours on its ministers, made several considerable donations to the sees of *Lunden*, *Roschild*, and *Odensee*. Still she found the services of the clergy necessary, and she neglected no opportunity of binding them to her interest. Towards the close of the year she passed over to *Sweden*, and was there solemnly crowned queen, with all the solemnities observed on her accession to the thrones of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

IMMEDIATELY after this ceremony she observed, that as she was considerably advanced in years, it would be a great satisfaction to her to see the succession confirmed; she hinted her grand-nephew as a proper person, and met with all the obedience she could require from her subjects, who immediately passed an act to that purpose. Pleased with their complaisance, her majesty studied to gain the affections of her new subjects, by applying proper remedies to all the evils occasioned by the late tumults, and establishing matters on the best footing. With this view it was that she convoked a diet of the states at *Nicoping*; at which were present the archbishop of *Upsal*, and all the bishops and senators of the kingdom. Here it was agreed, that all the crown-lands and fortresses alienated by *Albert*, should be forthwith redeemed; that the new fortresses erected during the civil wars should be dismantled; that all those enjoying the privileges of *Swedish* subjects, and the benefit of the laws, immediately take an oath of allegiance to the queen and her successor *Eric*; that the sovereign restore to all the vassals of the crown whatever they possessed before the civil war, and lost by their adherence to *Albert*; that the lawful proprietors enter into possession of all that had been usurped by others during the late commotions; that the states should assemble at the pleasure of the queen and young king, wherever their majesties should appoint, in order to deliberate with the states of *Denmark* and *Norway* for the joint interest of the three kingdoms, and in particular to declare *Eric* sovereign of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Sweden*. To these were added some particular regulations; after which the queen and young king departed for *Denmark*.

HER majesty's principal care was now to visit the different provinces, to administer justice, and redress grievances of every nature, which she did with admirable prudence. While she was in *Jutland* all the exiles were summoned to appear, and take their trial according to law. All men were forbid, under severe penalties, to screen criminals; but

a if they submitted to justice, her majesty always inclined to mercy. Here she enacted, that no new fortresses should be raised; that those belonging to the crown should be restored if usurped, and redeemed if mortgaged; and that all those who had not sworn allegiance to king *Eric*, should perform that duty within the space of fourteen days.

b AMONG other salutary regulations, the affairs of commerce were not forgot. It was decreed, that all ports lately opened to the prejudice of established marts, should be shut up; that no duties should be exacted but where they were imposed by law; that all manner of assistance should be given to foreign merchants and sailors, particularly in case of shipwreck and misfortune, without expectation of reward, except what was provided for by law: in a word, that every circumstance enjoined by humanity and sound policy should be strictly observed with respect to strangers. Such was the wise conduct of this glorious princess. *Pontanus* relates, that the antient laws neglected during the late commotions were renewed in their full force; that pirates were treated with great rigour, in order to deter them from that dishonourable profession; and that a perfect and sovereign judge were appointed in *Jutland*, for the more easy and effectual execution of the laws. The same writer relates, that she likewise rectified an abuse which had immediately before her accession crept into the *Swedish* government. Several of the gentlemen of that country had seized the opportunity of extending their power, and of exempting their lands from all taxes. Many of them acknowledged no fealty to the crown, and claimed an absolute jurisdiction within their own estates. c This was an abuse that greatly diminished the power of the sovereign and the strength of the government; *Margaret* therefore, with the consent of the senate, ordained that all jurisdictions should be put on the antient footing, and every man contribute his proportion towards the support of that government by which he was protected.

BUT while we are enlarging upon the many excellent regulations made by *Margaret*, we must not forget that she was not infallible. Notwithstanding her prudence, policy, and other shining virtues, her government was not without error. During the reign of *Olaus*, she had consented that *Gerhard* of *Holstein* should be invested for life in the duchy of *Sleswick*; the war in *Sweden* had proved the weakness of that measure, and yet she now granted the perpetuity of *Sleswick* to the princes of that house, on no other condition d than that they acknowledged the sovereignty of *Denmark*. Happily, indeed, these princes preferred a pecuniary subsidy, as appears by an act passed in *Fionia*, whither *Margaret* convoked the *Holstein* princes; but this we are not to ascribe to her policy, but to their necessity. It is true, her conduct admits of some palliation, if we consider that the chief aim of all her pretensions was to unite the three crowns, every obstruction to which she resolved to remove at all events. The *Holstein* princes were the great sticklers for *Albert*, and against this union; and their friendship she endeavoured to win by so important a grant. At present the three northern crowns were actually united upon her head; but she laboured to render this act perpetual. Besides the advantages which she proposed drawing from the joint strength of these kingdoms, a variety of other reasons occurred to induce her to wish e that a fundamental law was established for the perpetual union of the three crowns. Such a law would transmit her name with admiration and glory to posterity, would render her absolute mistress of the North, and one of the greatest sovereigns in *Europe*. She therefore laboured to gain a sufficient party in each kingdom to answer her purpose; and when she believed she had accomplished this, she convoked the states general of each kingdom to meet at *Calmar*, and forty deputies from each attended the assembly.

HER majesty opened the congress, by introducing the young king *Eric* to the deputies one by one, whom she requested to confirm his election to the succession. She then represented to them, with abundance of address and eloquence, the advantages that would necessarily result from their having but one monarch, which would intirely abolish the cause f of all those wars that had had so often been fatal to each of the kingdoms; render them entire masters of the commerce of the *Baltic*; keep in awe the hanse-towns, grown powerful by the divisions of her people; and, in a word, consolidate them into one nation, with all the conveniencies which flow from a perfect uniformity of customs, laws, and interests. The majesty of the queen's person, the strength of her arguments, and the sweetness of her eloquence, together with the applauses bestowed by her creatures, gained over the deputies. They approved and confirmed the election of *Eric*, and established a fundamental law, which was received by the three kingdoms, and solemnly confirmed by oath. This was the law so celebrated in the North, under the name of the *Union of Calmar*, and which afterwards gave birth to wars that lasted for an age between *Sweden* and *Denmark*. g It consisted of three principal articles, which were established for the security of each nation. The first imported, that the three kingdoms, which were in a manner elective, should henceforward have but one and the same king, who should be chosen successively by each

Her speech to the assembly.

A. D. 1397.
The union of Calmar concluded.

^a Vid. PONTAN. & MEURS. in locis citat.

^b MEURS. l. v.

of the kingdoms, and then approved by a general assembly of the whole. The second article consisted in the obligation upon the sovereign to divide his time equally in the three kingdoms, and to spend in each the revenues arising to him from each crown, without being able to apply the savings but for the good of that particular kingdom. The third and most important was, that each kingdom should retain its own laws, customs, senate, and privileges of every kind; and that the garrisons of every kingdom should be maintained at the expence of that particular state, and defended by its forces; and that the subjects of one kingdom should not be raised to posts of profit and power in the other, but should be reputed foreigners, except in their own native country.

Albert resigns
all thoughts of
recovering his
crown.

WHILE the congress sat at *Calmar*, *Albert's* son *Eric* died; a melancholy accident that made such an impression on the unhappy king, as to make him give up all hopes of remounting the throne of *Sweden*; for notwithstanding the conditions on which he obtained his liberty, he never despaired till now of recovering his crown. *Stockholm* was not given up agreeable to the treaty; but he now wrote to his garrison to yield to the necessity of the times, and surrender themselves to *Margaret*. The example of *Stockholm* was followed by all the strong holds, possessed by *Albert* in *Sweden*; but still the queen could not recover *Gotbland*, this island being retained by the grand-master of the *Teutonic* order, who pretended to hold it by right of conquest, as he had driven the pirates from thence. First it was mortgaged to him by *Albert* for a sum of money; but he refused to deliver it to that prince, when he offered to redeem it. *Margaret* determined to recover it by force of arms. She sent an army thither under these experienced officers *Algot Magnus* and *Abraham Broder*. *Wisby* the capital was immediately besieged; the *Danes* pushed the attack with ardour, and the knights defended the city with intrepidity, when the emperor interposed, in quality of protector of the *Teutonic* order, and offered his mediation to accommodate all differences. He called a congress at *Helsingburgh*, whither he invited the queen's deputies. Here it was at length stipulated, that the island should be surrendered to *Margaret*, on her paying a certain sum of money to the knights: but as the money was not paid for some time, the knights kept possession, which however did not prevent the queen from renewing her old alliance with them.

A. D. 1398.

A. D. 1399.

THE following year deputies from the *Vandal* cities, which had exercised piracies during the late disturbances, came to *Nicoping* in the island of *Falstere*. A treaty was concluded between her majesty on the one part, and the deputies on the other, in which it was stipulated, that a general pardon should be granted for all disorders committed during the late troubles, and that the preceding treaties between the contracting parties should subsist in full force; particularly that treaty by which the *Vandal* cities engaged to guaranty the promises made by *Albert* in obtaining his liberty.

Margaret's designs in gaining over the clergy.

FOR the four succeeding years the three kingdoms enjoyed profound tranquillity, *Margaret* applied her mind to works of piety, or rather of policy. She was well acquainted with the natural disposition of her people: accustomed to an extreme of liberty, she knew they would with difficulty bear the restraint of authority, which, however, was necessary to carry on government, and suppress perpetual insurrections. To establish herself firmly, she gained over, by affability and liberality, the principal persons in each kingdom; made them her creatures, and opposed their influence to all factions formed against the court. The clergy were especially essential to her views, on account of their wealth, their power, and their credit with the people. In these days all devotion consisted in donations to the church, and piety was estimated by the will and ability to enrich the clergy. *Margaret* was aware of this: she founded monasteries, endowed churches, augmented the power and privileges of the bishops, admitted them to a great share in the administration, and intirely won their hearts by her largesses. Filled with gratitude for the numberless marks of favour and distinction shewn them, the bishops fell into all her views, and were followed by the inferior order of the clergy, who found their interest consisted in coinciding with the sentiments of their superiors, both on account of their dependence on them, and because the protection of the court, and the queen's recommendation, were the surest means of obtaining bishopricks, and other dignities.

The nobility and gentry jealous of the clergy.

THE nobility and gentry, already jealous of the high power and credit of the church, beheld with chagrin this addition to the authority of the bishops: they, however, durst not express their resentment. Equally politic and powerful, *Margaret* had her creatures concealed among the discontented, who gave her notice of all their proceedings, broke and disconcerted their measures.

ONE remarkable occurrence is mentioned by historians to have fallen out about this time. A report prevailed that *Olaus*, the queen's son, was not dead: it was propagated by them,

an order to punish *Margaret* for her liberality to the clergy. The impostor laboured to pass for the king, and every day gained credit, by making discoveries which could possibly have been known only to *Olaus* and his mother. *Margaret*, however, was too many for him: she proved him to be the son to the nurse of *Olaus*, and to have got these secrets from his mother, whom she had made her confidant. She next proved that *Olaus* had a large wart between his shoulders, which mark did not appear on the impostor. Lastly, she farther proved, by a cloud of witnesses, that the king actually died upon a certain day, and was buried at *Scora*. In fine, the impostor was seized, put to the torture, and publicly burnt at a place between *Falsterbo* and *Scanora* ².

An impostor claims the crown of Denmark.

MARGARET was not happy enough to rid herself so easily of the continual inquietudes excited by the house of *Holstein*. All her munificence to this family could not extinguish ancient animosity, or engage their gratitude. She could not depend on treaties concluded with them, though solemnly sworn to, nor in their fealty, nor fidelity. In one word, she severely felt the imprudence of that act, whereby she confirmed strangers in the possession of a duchy so important to her dominions as *Sleswick*. Count *Gerhard* of *Holstein* fell in a battle fought with some of his neighbours in the year 1404, leaving a widow and three young children; *Henry*, the oldest of whom, was no more than seven years of age; *Adolphus*, the second but three; and *Gerhard* the youngest, then in the cradle. Several guardians were appointed in his will; but *Henry*, bishop of *Osnabrug*, uncle to the young princes, excited great troubles, by claiming a right to the administration of *Sleswick*, till his nephews arrived at a proper age. He found means to raise a faction, by means of *Sedgeburg* and *Rendsburg*.

A. D. 1404.

Fresh disputes with the house of Holstein.

On the other hand, *Margaret* beheld with uneasiness those commotions excited in a duchy which had been a fief of *Denmark*. With a view to apply healing remedies, as well as to profit by the present situation of affairs, she tampered with the widow *Elizabeth*, who she knew was in want of money. Thus she obtained possession of certain fortresses in *Holstein*, and likewise of the strong citadel of *Oppenrade*, by marrying *Elizabeth*, widow of count *Nicholas*, who possessed this place, to *Eric* duke of *Saxony*, paying her portion, and keeping in her own hands the fortress. She likewise, by a stroke of policy, got *Grotisbach* into her hands; but this she dismantled, and presented to the cathedral of *Sleswick*. In a word, she at length disposed of every thing in the duchy according to her own pleasure. The oldest of duke *Gerhard*'s sons was carried to *Denmark*, and had three of the principal nobility appointed his guardians: *Adolphus*, his second brother, lived with his uncle, who conceived a strong affection for the boy, and had him at length raised to a high place at the emperor's court (A). Some writers alledge, that the dutchess *Elizabeth*, and all the great of lords *Sleswick*, put themselves voluntarily under the queen's protection, acknowledged her sovereignty, and did homage to her as superior of the duchy. They add, that she divided between the dutchess, the young duke's guardians, and the chief nobility, all places of honour and profit in the duchy, with certain yearly salaries, with which they became in a short time dissatisfied. What however is certain, and agreed upon by all historians, is, that peace was at this time proclaimed between *Denmark* and *Sleswick*, and that neither the queen nor king pretended to any other rights within the duchy, besides those of superior and sovereigns merely nominal, without power to enact laws, or impose taxes.

In the following year *Margaret* annexed several places to the crown, which had either been mortgaged or usurped during the last reign. This year had almost proved fatal to *Denmark*. The summer, and especially the autumn season, had been so rainy, that the fruits of the earth were destroyed, and the air corrupted, insomuch that above a tenth of the inhabitants of *Denmark* perished of famine and pestilence. Yet, amidst these afflictions, there occurred two events which afforded some consolation to the court and people. *Albert* of *Mecklenburg*, formerly king of *Sweden*, published a writing, whereby he renounced all claim to the crown of *Sweden*, and engaged never to take arms against *Eric*, or his successors; but to live upon a footing of the strictest amity with them. The next circumstance was the marriage of king *Eric* with the daughter of *Henry IV.* king of

A. D. 1405.

A dearth and pestilence in Denmark.

² PONTAN. l. ix.

(A) *Crantzius* relates a circumstance of this young prince that merits notice. *Margaret*, when he was an infant, gave him a mark of her friendship, by adorning his cap with a string of fine pearls, which the child rejecting, she offered to tie them round his arm, but to this he was equally averse; she then attempted to suspend the pearls round his neck; but *Adolphus* struggled so hard, that the jewels were broke against the wall. Hence, says our author, the sage *Margaret* drew an omen that the young prince would one day prove a bitter enemy to *Denmark* (1).

(1) *Vide Crantz. p. 125.*

Faint

A. D. 1406. *England*, which was celebrated at *Lunden* on the twenty-fifth of *October* this year. This princeſs, if we may credit the *Daniſh* hiſtorians, brought the king an immenſe fortune. a

NOTWITHSTANDING peace had been proclaimed between *Denmark* and *Sleſwick*, the *Danes* and *Holſteiners* were continually in arms, and committing perpetual ravages upon each other's frontiers. Wearied with theſe diſorders, king *Eric* reſolved to apply effectual remedies. He invited *Henry*, biſhop of *Oſnabrug*, the chief author of theſe diſturbances, amicably to terminate them by an interview at *Kolding*; but this conference breaking off abruptly, a ſecond interview was appointed in *Fionia*. Here it was agreed, that eleven thouſand marks in ſilver ſhould be paid to *Denmark*, to indemnify the loſſes ſuſtained by the inſults of the *Holſteiners*; that the towns of *Flensburg* and *Menhus* be put into the king's hands, until payment of the above ſum; or, at leaſt, until the biſhop proved that the *Holſteiners* had been equal ſufferers by the incuſſions of the *Danes*. Some writers indeed alledge, that *Elizabeth*, dutcheſs dowager of *Holſtein*, put theſe towns into *Eric*'s hands, without ſtipulating any conditions. b

Peace between
Holſtein and
Denmark.

A. D. 1409. SOME differences aroſe this year between the queen and dutcheſs dowager. Women ſeldom agree long, where they are rivals in beauty or power. *Margaret*, imagining that the dutcheſs wanted to prevaricate about the promiſe of ſurrendering *Gottorp*, advanced to take poſſeſſion of that city; but whether it was that ſhe dreaded a body of armed men, reported to have been lodged in a certain tower, or apprehended ſome ſecret deſigns upon her perſon, certain it is that ſhe immediately abandoned the town, and threw out ſome ſevere reflections upon the dutcheſs. A miſunderſtanding ſo ſlight ſoon broke out into a war, and the pretext was, that *Eric* by fortifying *Flensburg*, lately put into his hands, gave ſuſpicions of having deſigns upon the whole duchy. Nor did the conduct of four *Holſtein* gentlemen, in the queen's ſervice, contribute a little towards accelerating the rupture. Theſe officers, withdrawing themſelves ſuddenly, perſuaded *Henry* biſhop of *Oſnabrug* that the duchy of *Sleſwick* would ſpeedily be annexed to the crown of *Denmark*, if proper meaſures were not taken to ſubvert the deſigns of *Margaret* and *Eric*. *Elizabeth* began her operations by a ſtroke of policy, which may well be deemed treacherous. She found means to draw the conſuls of *Flensburg* into her power, and then detained them priſoners, till they engaged the citizens to put the town into the hands of the *Holſteiners*. Her ſcheme ſucceeded; the gates were opened to her forces, and every inhabitant revoked the oath of allegiance ſworn to *Eric*. Hoſtilities were now commenced, ſeveral places were ſurpriſed, and among others the fortreſs of *Swabeſtede*, and the citadel belonging to the biſhop of *Sleſwick*, the uſual place of his reſidence. c

Differences be-
tween Mar-
garet and the
dutchefs dowa-
ger of Sleſ-
wick.

The Danes de-
feated by
Adolphus.
A. D. 1410.

No ſooner had *Eric* notice of thoſe tranſactions, than he reſolved to make retriſa's. Accordingly he invaded the iſlands of *Arrohe* and *Alſen*, of both which he ſoon became maſter. Next he concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the inhabitants of *Dithmarſh*, and immediately ſent a body of troops againſt the *Friſons*, under the conduct of general *Monk*, who had for lieutenants three very experienced officers. *John Scarpenberg*, *Nicholas Thuon*, and *Henry Cabolt*. This corps, amounting to eight thouſand men, without cavalry, had orders to march to *Tanderen*, *Eric* being deſirous of ſubduing the country round. They came loaded with booty to the neighbourhood of *Huſum* and *Bredſtedt*, where they were ſuddenly attacked by *Adolphus* of *Schawemburg*, and cut in pieces. *Monk* the general, and *Nicholas Thuon*, were left dead on the field, together with fourteen hundred inferior officers and private men. *Scarpenberg* was taken priſoner, and at length obtained his liberty at a ranſom of eight thouſand marks, in ſilver. It was reckoned that this unfortunate expedition had coſt *Eric* two hundred thouſand marks, beſides the loſs of ſo many brave ſoldiers (A.) e

The princeſs
Sophia of
Denmark
marries John
of Bavaria.

AFTER this defeat *Eric* followed the advice of his ſenate, and made overtures to accommodate differences with the *Holſtein* princes. His propoſals were embraced by the dutcheſs *Elizabeth*, who conſented to refer the matter to arbitration. A certain number were appointed by each ſide, but no concluſion was formed till two years after. f

THE tumult of arms gave place for ſome time to public rejoicings and festivals on account of the marriage of the princeſs *Sophia*, or according to ſome writers *Catherine*, ſiſter to *Eric*, to *John* duke of *Bavaria* and *Newburg*, ſon to the emperor *Rupert*. The marriage

^a MEURS, l. v.

(A) *Crantzius* differs conſiderably from the *Daniſh* hiſtorians in his relation of this action. According to him the *Danes* amounted to fifteen hundred cavaliers; but no mention is made of the number of foot ſoldiers. *Schawemburg*'s army did not exceed eight hundred men, raiſed in a hurry about *Lunenburg*, in the

diocēſe of *Bremen* and *Weſtphalia*. He adds, that about this time *Eric Crummedick* ſurpriſed *Flensburg*; that the king's troops, however, defended the citadel; and that the *Daniſh* fleet laid ſiege to the town, but were not able to force the garrifon, which, in ſpite of all hardſhips, remained firm to the young duke (1).

(1) *Vid. p. 129.*

was

a was celebrated at *Ripen*, and forty thousand florins given for the princess's fortune. Provided she survived her husband, a jointure of an equal sum was settled on her; four weeks were allowed her before consummation, and in the mean time her fortune was to be paid into the hands of her husband.

NOTWITHSTANDING the propositions for peace, and the conferences held for terminating the differences between *Denmark*, and the house of *Holstein*, both sides did not fail to commit numberless hostilities. It was neither perfect peace nor declared war, yet each side bore the most inveterate hatred to the other. Some gentlemen of *Holstein*, to whom the king had committed certain towns in trust, upon their taking an oath of fidelity to him, perfidiously surrendered them to the dutcheſs, and took all opportunities of insulting the king's garrisons in these parts. Enraged with these disorders, *Eric* was forced to come to the last extremity, and declare to the dutcheſs, that unless they were speedily redressed, he would employ all the force of *Denmark* to reunite the duchy of *Sleswick* to the crown. His menaces had the desired effect: the dutcheſs and princes declared publicly, that they would endeavour all in their power to accommodate matters to his satisfaction; for which purpose a new congress was held at *Kolding*, where a truce for five years was concluded, during which time the umpires were to give their verdict, and final decision, respecting the fortresses raised or taken by either party, as well as all other grievances. Immediately several treaties of little consequence, were concluded between queen *Margaret* and the dutcheſs. They served, however, to distinguish the ability, the moderation, the solid judgment, and active disposition of *Margaret*. All the *Danish* historians are full of her praises upon this occasion; but they neglect the relation of those circumstances which alone could form our judgment of her conduct. It was soon after these transactions that she was carried off by a sudden death, in the fifty-ninth year of her age, and thirty-sixth of her reign, if we include the time of her regency.

A. D. 1411.

A truce concluded between Denmark and the dutcheſs of Sleswick.

Margaret's death and character.

THE characters drawn by the *Danish* and *Swedish* historians are very different. According to the first, *Margaret* was possessed of every virtue belonging to a sovereign: steady, penetrating, active, and bold, she gained the love of her subjects, commanded the respect of her neighbours, and was the terror of her enemies. According to the latter, she was so ambitious as to endeavour the extension of her power at the expence of public liberty. d She was pious from policy, moderate from interest, affable and familiar only with her creatures, proud to all besides; rigid and inflexible in the administration of private justice; but regardless of oaths and treaties, when placed in competition with her interest or ambition. In a word, a woman of great ability, but little integrity; of a sound head, but a corrupted heart. It is probable, that too much prejudice prevails in both these characters. The *Swedes* flattered themselves, that the union of *Calmar* would have extended their liberties, and they found them retrenched by *Margaret*. She was too ambitious, too powerful, to rest satisfied with limited authority. No sooner was she declared queen of *Sweden*, than she formed schemes for extending the prerogative: she recovered, by degrees, the chief fortresses out of the hands of the gentry, by reasonable grants to them of another nature, which did not render them independent on the court. Most of the *Swedish* governments she disposed of to the *Danish* nobility, contrary to the express words of the treaty of *Calmar*; removing, insensibly, the native nobility from all places of trust and profit. e *Abraham Broderſon* was the only favourite among all the *Swedes*. He was a young nobleman of fine address and handsome person; but otherwise of little consideration, either in influence or ability. On him she bestowed the government of *Halland*, honoured him with a great share of her confidence, and heaped favours upon his family; a conduct that increased the discontent of the *Swedes*, and gave room for suspicion, that her majesty regarded only the personal attractions of *Broderſon*. It furnished them with fresh causes of complaint against the queen, and additional reasons for lamenting the union, which occasioned the loss of their liberties, at least of their own weight and influence in the scale of government. f They presented themselves in a body to her majesty, with a remonstrance of their rights, and a copy of the treaty of *Calmar*, the infraction of which was the subject of their complaints. All the answer they received was, that they might guard those rights with the same diligence she would maintain the fortresses of the kingdom. Thus the ambitious and haughty princess reigned with an almost despotic authority in *Sweden*. She imposed taxes before unheard-of in that country, and strengthened her own power by removing the nobility from public affairs, and reducing the people to so low a condition, as deprived them of the ability of redressing themselves, or seeking a change in the government.

g *MARGARET* has likewise been reproached with exerting excessive cruelty against certain *Danish* lords, whom she persecuted out of resentment, until she took away their lives in a manner the most ignominious and excruciating. But these are the malicious suggestions of envy and calumny. The three lords were justly put to death for crimes of

the worst complexion : she even would have interposed her clemency ; but justice, and the public good, required that they should suffer. In a word, if *Margaret* was inferior in some of the qualities of the heart, which gained a few of her predecessors the glorious title of Father of their People, she was exceeded by none in prudence, in policy, justice, and true magnanimity ; qualities which distinguished themselves so early in this princess, that her father *Valdemar* said on a certain occasion, “ That Nature had erred in producing her a woman, since she was originally intended for a man ”.

S E C T. X.

Containing the public Transactions until the Reign of Christopher III.

Eric X.
surnamed of
Pomerania.

DENMARK lost a great princess at the death of *Margaret* ; but it was generally believed that this loss, great as it was, would be happily repaired in the person of *Eric*, formed to reign by the counsels and example of a mistress so skilled in the art of government. No prince ever ascended the throne with greater applause and expectations from the people than *Eric*. The *Danes* flattered themselves they should experience in him the same qualities they admired in the queen : the *Swedes* and *Norwegians*, especially the former, hoped for the recovery of those privileges, the loss of which had occasioned all the murmurings in the preceding reign. *Eric* succeeded to the crown and dominions of *Margaret* ; but he inherited neither her power nor policy. Far from recovering their liberties the *Swedes* found the yoke of oppression rendered more grievous. He did not, however, run immediately into excess ; but suffered himself to glide gently into the measures of despotism and tyranny.

ON his accession we see him promising to conform to all the treaties made with *Margaret*, to confirm her donations to the church and clergy, to preserve the people in their rights, and to see all wills duly executed agreeable to the intention of the deceased. We see him aggrandizing the city *Seby* in *Schonen*, and endowing it with the same privileges and immunities as *Lunden* and *Malmogen*. In a word, we behold him pursuing the steps marked out by his predecessor of glorious memory, the interest of his people, and the true conduct of a politic prince. At this time *Eric* resided at *Stockholm*, and the *Swedes*, sensible of the advantages resulting to them from the presence of the court, strove to give him new proofs of their attachment. Jealous however of their liberties, they did not omit seizing the favourable opportunity of confirming them. The nobility, bishops, and senate, all endeavoured to obtain a general diet of the states ; but in vain : for *Eric* apprehended lest measures contrary to his designs might here be concerted. He therefore returned to *Denmark*, without granting this ardent request of the whole nation ^b.

Congress for
establishing a
solid peace
with Hol-
stein.

ERIC found full employment in this kingdom. The truce between *Margaret* and the house of *Holstein* had for a time suspended hostilities ; but yet the cause of their mutual animosity subsisted. The umpires were to give judgment within five years after the date of the truce, and now there was no time to lose. Accordingly *Wratislaus* duke of *Pomerania* and *Stetin* appeared for *Eric*, and *Henry* duke of *Brunswick-Lunenbourg*, on the part of the dutchess *Elizabeth*. They met to give final sentence at *Flensburg*, and the first thing determined was mutually to release all prisoners made since the peace mediated by *Ulric* of *Mecklenburg*. This far was perfectly consistent with the measures taken in the life-time of *Margaret* ; but the posture of affairs was greatly altered. The king was no longer in the humour to compromise pretensions which he was in a condition to enforce by arms. He likewise held it dishonourable to treat and negotiate with vassals, nay, with rebels, who had taken arms against him, neglected their oath, and contrary to the respect due to their sovereign, had presumed to demand, within the space of a year, the investiture of *Sleswick*, vacant by the death of *Gerhard*. Such were this prince's notions of the royal prerogative. Thus, instead of submitting the difference to umpires, *Eric* took a method totally different ; but agreeable, as he imagined, to his dignity. He cited the duke of *Lunenbourg*, the dutchess *Elizabeth*, and the princes of *Holstein*, *Henry*, *Adolphus*, and *Gerhard*, to appear at the next diet to be assembled at *Neoburg*, in order to terminate matters before that high tribunal.

Eric's conduct
at the congress.

THE parties met on the day appointed, attended by the dukes of *Pomerania*, *Mecklenburg*, *Stetin*, *Saxony*, and *Brunswick* ; this last taking an oath in quality of uncle and guardian to *Gerhard*, the deceased duke of *Sleswick*. He represented, that *Gerhard* received the investiture of the duchy as a voluntary bounty of the king and kingdom, and that his children now claimed the same favour. To this *Eric* replied, that *Margaret* had indeed formerly granted that duchy to the house of *Holstein*, as a fief of the crown ; but that the

^a PONT. I. ix. MEURS. I. v. JOHN GOTH. p. 109.

^b PONTAN. I. ix.

a princes had refused to accept it under that title. *Henry* denied this fact; and the king made answer, that it was to no purpose to deny facts that could be proved by authentic documents. It was notorious, he said, that the duke had preferred the function of a soldier during the wars, to the possession of *Sleswick* as a fief. He then ordered the proofs to be produced; to which *Henry* having nothing to oppose, he had recourse to intreaties and prayers, that the affair might be submitted to arbitrators, promising solemnly to stand by their award, or by the articles of the last treaty, whereby it was agreed, that all conquests made on either side should be restored, and matters put on the ancient footing.

b As this proposal was not agreeable to *Eric*, he again cited before the diet all the princes of the house of *Holstein*. They appeared, and the king from his throne opened the assembly with a full explication of the circumstances of the dispute. When he had finished his speech, he ordered the archbishop of *Roschild*, chancellor of *Denmark*, to deliver his sentiments, and what the laws of the kingdom required. The archbishop made a laboured harangue, in which he insisted chiefly on that statute which ordains, that all subjects of the crown, who have connected themselves with foreigners and joined against their sovereign, made incursions into the country, or otherwise disturbed or infringed the laws, should be punished with the loss of their effects and estates, and be deemed guilty of high treason. He then pronounced the following sentence, as president of the diet; that the princess *Elizabeth* and duke *Henry* of *Brunswick*, as tutors and counsellors to *Eric*'s children, had forfeited all right to the duchy of *Sleswick*, in consequence of having taken arms against their lawful sovereign; that all expences occasioned by the late tumults should be indemnified to the crown by the house of *Holstein*; and lastly, that the duchy in question reverted in full right, and should hereby be annexed to the crown of *Denmark*.^b

The sentence passed with respect to *Sleswick*.

c SCARCE had the chancellor pronounced sentence, when the young *Henry* threw himself at the king's feet, and besought him to grant the investiture of the duchy as a fief; but the king only replied, that he must first gain possession, that he might then have full power to grant it upon the terms he might think proper. As this method of bestowing fiefs was new to the *German* princes, it appeared unjust, and confirmed them all strenuous defenders of the *Holstein* family. An alliance was formed between *Balthasar* prince of *Vandalia*, *Henry* of *Brunswick*, the uncles and guardians of the young princes, d and *Albert* of *Mecklenburg*, who was ravished with the opportunity of revenging on the person of her successor the affront put on him by *Margaret*, in driving him out of the throne of *Sweden*. On the other hand, *Eric Kronandeck*, *Otton Sifted*, and several other nobility of rank and power, deserted the *Holstein* family, and went over to *Eric*. This was a considerable loss; but not sufficient to divert their intention of seriously preparing for war.

e THIS year the celebrated council of *Constance* sat, during which time the emperor *Sigismund* wrote to *Eric*, requesting him to employ all his interest and power to induce the city of *Lubec* to re-establish their senate, which they had abolished about seven years before. To oblige the emperor, *Eric* used all his endeavours to restore the senate; but finding the *Lubeckers* obstinate, he declined using force, not chusing to increase the number of his enemies. He contented himself with sending *Sigismund* an account of his proceedings, and requesting that he would not protect the house of *Holstein*. Pleased with *Eric*'s compliance, the emperor confirmed the sentence passed against the *Holstein* princes, declaring, that all the proceedings of the diet were perfectly regular, and consistent with equity and law. This letter bears date the fourteenth of *June*, 1415.

A. D. 1414.

f SURE of *Sigismund*'s countenance, *Eric* did not long deliberate in what method he was to act. Immediately he took the field, and entered the duchy of *Sleswick* with a numerous army. Perceiving that all the *Holstein* forces were assembled round the cities of *Sleswick* and *Gottorp*, while the rest of the country was left defenceless, he hastily erected two fortresses at the mouth of the *Sley*, the one called *Sleymand*, and the other *Conigsburg*. The same he did on the western side of the duchy, where the fortresses of *Fresenberg* and *Wildspanz* were built on the banks of the *Trè*, a method which he took to possess himself the more easily of the duchy.

A. D. 1415.
Eric enters Sleswic with an army.

HAVING taken these precautions, he again applied to the *Lubeckers* in favour of the senate. It is probable, that *Sigismund* renewed his instances upon this head; for we find *Eric* now entering upon more vigorous measures. He ordered all their fishermen in *Schoonen* to be seized, and their effects confiscated; giving at the same time directions to the governor of *Bergue* to seize all the effects belonging to the merchants of *Lubec* within his jurisdiction. Thunder-struck with this sudden blow, the *Lubeckers* recalled the senate; and thus the king laid an obligation on the emperor, while he at the same instant strengthened his own interest by the fast friendship of the senate, who owed their liberty and present felicity to his conduct.

^b MEURS. & PONTAN. *ibid*.

*A view of the
affairs of Hol-
stein.*

IN the mean while the affairs of the *Holstein* family were upon the decline: *Henry* of *Brunswick*, uncle to the young princes, held the towns of *Gottorp*, *Polen*, *Honnaw*, and *Haf-seldop*, in security of a sum of money which he had lent the princes; and as he now wanted money, and they were unable to redeem the towns, he offered them to *Eric* on the same conditions: but the king rejected his proposal, by the advice of *Crommedich*, who persuaded him that he would soon reduce them by force, as they were every way unprovided for a long defence. Besides this, all the cities of *Vandalia*, *Hamburg* excepted, were in alliance with the king, and of consequence enemies to the princes of *Holstein*. The duke of *Saxony* on account of a private quarrel, marched at the head of an army to burn *Odestoe*, and pillage the adjacent country. The dukes *John* and *Albert* demanded payment of the marriage-portion of their niece *Ann*: in a word, every thing seemed conspiring to effect the downfall of this family. Nothing indeed could be more unequal than the contest between *Eric* and the young princes. On the one side was a powerful monarch, master of three great kingdoms, and in alliance with the greater number of his neighbours: on the other, a great number of princes it is true, but sovereigns only of petty states, at variance with each other, and now united rather out of pique to *Eric*, than attachment to each other, or any well-digested scheme of policy. Still, however, the *Holsteiners* maintained a good countenance, and determined to make vigorous efforts in their own defence.

A. D. 1416.

*Eric's losses in
Sleswick.*

EARLY this year the king a second time entered the duchy of *Sleswick*, and immediately besieged the cities of *Sleswick* and *Gottorp*; and to cut off all communication between them, he erected a fortress called *Halbersburg*, in the intermediate space. All his endeavours proved abortive; for these places being well provided with every necessary of defence, made several brisk and successful sallies, which obliged the king to withdraw his army. Nor was this the only disappointment he sustained. On the one side *Albert* of *Mecklenburg*, and *Balthasar* of *Vandalia*, were marching at the head of an army to the assistance of the *Holsteiners*. On the other, the *Frisons*, induced by *Henry* of *Osnaburg* to take arms against the king, were making a diversion. The former besieged and took *Fresenburg*, and the latter formed the siege of *Tonderen*, and soon got possession of a place too weak to make any long defence.

INCENSED with these losses, *Eric* decamped from before *Gottorp*, resolving to lay the country of the *Frisons* in ashes; and this reason the *Danish* historians assign for raising the siege of that city. When the king was preparing to cross the *Eyder*, he discovered *Henry* of *Osnaburg* posted in such a manner as to obstruct his passage. This prince had narrowly watched the motions of the *Danish* army, and seemed determined to make a stand, which obliged *Eric* to relinquish his design and plan of revenge upon the *Frisons*. Instead of entering their country, he attacked *Henry's* army, and was received with so much unexpected resolution as quite disconcerted him, and forced him to return to his fleet, and embark for *Denmark*; fully determined, however, to revenge the following year all the disgraces he encountered.

Eric repulsed.

HIS retreat encouraged the *Holstein* princes to enter upon action. They first made a descent on the island *Femerren*, all which they reduced, except the fortress of *Glambeck*, which *Ivar Brusk*, the governor, bravely defended. They had invested this place for the space of two months, and finding all their endeavours to take it by the regular method of siege, frustrated, they determined to starve the garrison. *Brusk* was obstinate, and his soldiers reduced to the last extremity, when he received advice that a *Danish* squadron was hovering along the coast. Immediately he took boat, escaped the besiegers, and presented himself before the king, from whom he obtained several ships laden with men, provision, and ammunition. On his return he found all the passages to the fortress closely blocked, the princes who had got notice of this motion giving directions to that purpose. He tried every means to force his way; but being constantly disappointed, the garrison almost starved to death, at length capitulated, upon no other condition than that their lives and liberty should be granted. During the winter the king was busied in preparations for the ensuing campaign, which he resolved to push with the utmost vigour. His fleet was formidable, and his army so numerous, that it amounted to an hundred thousand fighting men; but as he knew that the enemy consisted of foreigners who could not be long maintained, he contented himself with annoying them by sea. This would have been admirable policy, if the princes had no other resources than what *Eric's* heated imagination presented to him. But as soon as they discovered his design, they cantoned their army in the duchy of *Sleswick*, where they were plentifully supplied with every necessary. Finding this project disconcerted, *Eric* landed his army, which he divided into two bodies, forming the siege of *Sleswick* with the one, and *Gottorp* with the other. The first of these

A. D. 1417.

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a cities capitulated on the seventeenth of July; duke *Albert* of *Mecklenburg*, who commanded the garrison, making a particular treaty with the king. It was said, that he had liberty to retire wherever he pleased, on condition that he never should carry arms against *Denmark*.

As soon as the bishop of *Osnaburg* was informed, that *Sleswick* and *Gottorp* were invested, he posted to *Hamburg*, and represented to the magistrates, that if these two cities were taken, the *Danish* forces would over-run all *Holstein*, and the city of *Hamburg* would then have every thing to fear from such neighbours; but not being able to obtain any more than a promise of a sum of money, he harangued the people in the market-place with so much eloquence, and energy of diction, that they instantly resolved to declare war against

b *Eric*, and raise forces. The resolution of the *Hamburgers*, the army they were preparing to march into the field, and the operations of the *Holstein* family to attack him as soon as they were reinforced, made a strong impression on *Eric's* spirit, and determined him, without hesitation, to raise the siege of *Gottorp*, which he had now twice unsuccessfully invested. His reputation was greatly affected by this measure, the consequences of which became more visible every day; for the enemy's courage increased in proportion as they observed him seized with fear. They now took the field with an army of thirty thousand men, besides cavalry, marched straight to *Halleusburg*, and took it sword in hand. Thence they marched to *Sleswick*, and met with equal success. They likewise forced *Conigsburg*, and several castles in the diocese of *Sleswick*, which they pillaged and destroyed.

c In the autumn some overtures were made for establishing a peace. *Dalman*, bishop of *Lubec*, was charged with a commission from the pope, to mediate a reconciliation between the houses of *Denmark* and *Holstein*. He waited for this purpose on *Eric*, and found him disposed to listen to terms of accommodation; nor were the princes at all averse to reasonable propositions. A truce was signed till the month of *September* in the following year, in which time several conferences were held between the two powers. At last the affair was submitted to the arbitration of two *German* princes, and the deputies of four of the hanse-towns; but on condition that if they could not come to any decision, the final determination should be left to the dukes *Bernard* of *Brunswick*, and *Bugislaus* of *Pomerania*. It was also agreed, that, during the truce, both sides should actually lay down their arms, as if in the midst of profound peace; that no annoyance should be given to commerce, or the subjects of either power, that no new fortresses should be erected.

THE appointed day being come, the king's deputies did not appear; they were driven to sea by a storm, and detained a day beyond the time proposed. Pleased with an opportunity of breaking off the conference, the *Holstein* princes took instruments of their having appeared to the day, and departed. Thus all the endeavours of the bishop of *Lubec* to establish peace were rendered abortive, by an accident on the one side, and from want of inclination on the other (A).

e THE *Holsteiners* did not remain long inactive, after this open declaration of their intentions. They did not, however, in their own persons commence the first hostilities; that would be too palpable a violation of the truce; it was sufficient for them that the *Frisons*, their allies, made incursions into the king's territories. An attempt was made to surprise *Swabside*, a fortress belonging to the archbishop of *Sleswick*, who had joined with *Eric*, but it proved unsuccessful.

f His majesty, irritated with the prince's obstinacy, again took arms, and made an attempt to recover *Femerén*; but finding that the inhabitants joined with the *Holsteiners* to oppose his landing, he relinquished the design, landed his troops at *Heligerhoven*, and made terrible incursions into the country round *Oldenburg* and *Wolstadt*; after pillaging those two cities, encouraged by the large booty, he renewed his attempt on *Femerén*, but was repulsed, and insolently treated by the scoffs of the inhabitants. This treatment wrought the king up to the highest pitch of rage; he exhorted his soldiers either to revenge the affront, or perish in the attempt. Another onset was made with such desperate fury, that a landing was effected, and the inhabitants driven from the shore with great slaughter; which advantage was immediately succeeded by the reduction of the whole island, and the severe punishment of several of the leading persons among the inhabitants. The country was pillaged, the villages set on fire, churches destroyed, married women and virgins given up to the lust

(A) It was about this time that *Eric* received *Martin* the fifth's decree for founding an university in his dominions, with the same privileges as that of *Paris*, excepting only theology, which the *Danes* were required to study at *Rome*. But though this prince was strongly inclined to patronize learning and science, the continual wars in which he was engaged, prevented the execution of his projects, until *Christian I.* put the finishing stroke to them (1).

(1) *Pontan. l. ix.*

Treaty be-
tween Den-
mark and Po-
land.

of the soldiers, and every disorder committed, that rage and the power of revenge could dictate. The citadel of *Glambeck* alone remained unconquered; and it was attacked with so much vigour, that the garrison surrendered prisoners of war in less than two days.

PONTANUS makes mention of a treaty concluded this year between *Eric* and *Vitold*, king of *Poland* and duke of *Lithuania*^a. In this they engaged mutually to defend each other against all enemies, especially the knights of the *Teutonic* order. It was also stipulated, that when either king infringed the treaty, their subjects should be absolved from their allegiance; that neither should declare war, or conclude peace, without the consent of the other. That all conquests should remain with those to whom they belonged; that is, with the party who could produce the most authentic documents of right; that the booty should be divided equally between both nations; and that neither party should claim to be reimbursed for the expences of marching to the assistance of the other.

On the other hand, *Eric* published a writing that furnished room for speculation. It regarded the dowry of his queen, but is not material to our design, farther than that it created a suspicion in the minds of the people, that he was desirous of extending his prerogative, and rendering himself independent on the diet of the states.

A. D. 1420.
*Eric defeated
by the Hol-
steiners.*

ALL this time the *Holsteiners* were in arms, and the king was meditating how to come to a decisive action with them. This he attempted near *Immerswed*, and was defeated with great loss, insomuch that his flight became a proverb, *At Immerswed the Danes were driven to the devil*^c. Although this defeat did not terminate the war, it occasioned a suspension of hostilities, and produced a truce, in order to settle preliminaries for a peace. Umpires were chosen, and the whole affair of the duchy of *Sleswick* again canvassed. The emperor had confirmed the sentence passed by the archbishop of *Roschild* at the diet; it was indeed agreeable to law, but a very disputable point in equity. However, the princes had urged no unanswerable arguments why it should be repeated, and they now rather chose to decide the difference by the sword. They had consented to a truce, only to prevent increasing the number of their enemies by their obstinacy; but they embraced all occasions of frustrating the intention of it. *Eric* perceived this, and accordingly equipped a fleet with design to invade the island of *Alsen*. Here he met with little success or honour; the troops were repulsed in attempting to land; *Ivar Brusk*, admiral of the squadron, died on shipboard, and at last a storm dispersed and shattered the whole fleet. Nor was *Eric* more happy in an attempt on the herring fisheries on the coast of *Schonen*; for the *Vandal* cities, apprised of his design, sent powerful succours to their countrymen: at the same time a squadron from *Hamburg* ravaged the coasts of *North Jutland*, and took three of the king's ships.

A. D. 1421.

It must be owned, that *Eric* had a better turn for civil policy than for military operations: in the latter he was seldom successful, but almost always in the former. Sundry wholesome regulations were made in several cities of *Denmark*, and the police of *Copenhagen*, in particular, placed on the best footing. One law was passed prohibiting mechanics to be raised to the dignity of consuls or senators; another, depriving the populace of the right they assumed of deposing their magistrates; and a third, whereby the city was endowed with all the privileges granted to *Lunden* and *Malmogen*. Besides these, several private regulations for the good order of the city were made, but though excellent in themselves, they scarce merit attention in a general history.

As to arms, every new attempt of *Eric's* produced fresh disgraces. *Tonderen* was long besieged by his troops, without making any considerable progress in its reduction. *Crommedic*, who commanded the *Danes*, wearied out with the length of the siege, resolved upon scaling the walls in different places. No annoyance was given by the besieged, while he was fixing the ladders; but as soon as they perceived the trenches filled, and the ladders crowded with soldiers, they poured such quantities of burning pitch, and heaps of large stones upon them, as killed and wounded great numbers, occasioned the utmost confusion among the *Danes*, and gave an opportunity to the besieged to make terrible destruction with their arrows, without any danger to themselves. In a word, the siege was raised, after it had cost *Crommedic* near half his army.

THE *Danes* were also obliged to raise the siege of *Dorning*, on hearing that *Henry* of *Brunswick* had thrown in supplies of men, ammunition, and provision. They likewise lost *Hadersleben*, taken by the same prince. *Eric* was every where discomfited and disgraced; he endeavoured therefore to repair his losses by forming powerful alliances. The first he concluded was with the cities of *Vandalia*. With these he struck up a treaty offensive and defensive, intended to be perpetual, as the king included all his successors, and the magistrates of the towns, with all their descendants. The cities engaged in this alliance were *Lubec*, *Wismar*, *Rostock*, *Stralsund*, *Lunenburg*, *Gripswald*, and *Anclam*; all of which

^a L. ix.

^c MEURS. l. v. part. ii. p. 108.

stipulated, that independent of this treaty, they should have liberty to perform all prior engagements to other princes and states.

In the next place *Eric* sent complaints to the pope, the emperor, and neighbouring princes, of the obstinacy of the *Holstein* family, which refused all terms of accommodation, and violently retained the duchy of *Sleswick*, though legally annexed to the crown of *Denmark*. His remonstrances gained him the friendship of almost all the princes and cities to whom he had wrote; *Hamburg* alone continuing firm to her engagements to the *Holsteiners*. Among others, the duke of *Lunenburg* published an edict, prohibiting all the subjects, under heavy penalties to enlist in the *Holstein* service, or any way to assist them against the crown of *Denmark*. The regency of *Lubec* went farther. They wrote to the *Holstein* princes, acquainting them, that his *Danish* majesty had laid before them certain complaints, which they must submit to arbitration, or stand the consequence of their joining the whole power of the hanse-towns to the king's forces, to procure redress of grievances, now became insupportable, through their obstinacy. To this they were answered by the *Holstein* nobility, that although it was notorious their lords were in possession of *Sleswick*, duke *Gerhard* having obtained the investiture of that duchy from king *Olaus*; yet there seemed no necessity for submitting to arbitration an affair that admitted of no difficulty.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of *Dithmarsh* exhorted the princes to restore *Sleswick*, and threatened, in case of refusal, to declare in favour of *Eric*. They received the same answer as the *Lubeckers*, and seemed perplexed in what manner to act, as the point in question was a case of right, which they could not pretend to decide.

JOHN, archbishop of *Lubec*, armed with the pope's authority, pursued the steps of his predecessor, and endeavoured to negotiate a peace; but with as little success as such an attempt had hitherto met with. At last the emperor, at *Eric's* request, sent *Rumpold*, duke of *Silesia*, to take cognizance of the affair in his name. *Rumpold* passed through *Lubec* to *Flensburg*. While he resided at this last place, the *Holsteiners* attacked the town, forced open the gates, and soon became masters of the garrison. The *German* deputy was not disconcerted with this violence. He went up to the princes, and told that he was come by the emperor's orders in quality of a mediator; that his instructions were first to visit the king, of whose good intentions, and pacific disposition, he was satisfied; so that he had no doubts of effecting an accommodation advantageous and acceptable to both parties. He exhorted the princes heartily to embrace the same sentiments, and to labour in bringing over the nobility and princes of their house to terms of peace, so salutary and necessary. His eloquence wrought such an effect, that the princes yielded to the force of his arguments, and consented he should pursue his journey to the king. *Rumpold*, and the bishop of *Lubec*, prevailed on *Eric* to grant an interview to *Henry* of *Holstein*; and things were in an excellent train, when the death of the *German* deputy put a stop to the negotiation: for though the emperor immediately supplied his place by another, into whose hands the king put all the papers and proofs relative to the duchy in question, yet the princes of *Holstein* refused to produce their titles, and in effect broke off the treaty.

In the year 1424, the king made a progress through *Pomerania* to establish some regulations, and conclude certain treaties with the princes and cities of that country. From thence he went to *Buda*, by the emperor's invitation, to be present at the decision of the dispute concerning *Sleswick*. According to *Crantzius*, *Eric* cited *Henry* and his brothers to attend at this judgment. On the contrary, the *Danish* historians alledge, that *Henry* went thither, contrary to the advice of his council, who were of opinion that, as a prince of the empire, he could not be cited out of the bounds of the empire, nor culpable for refusing to comply with such a summons. Besides, they looked upon his imperial majesty as a partial judge, and therefore advised *Henry* to submit his cause to the pope. Be that as it will, *Sigismund* pronounced sentence on the twenty-eighth day of *June*, in the following manner: That all *South Jutland*, containing the cities of *Sleswick*, *Gottorp*, and others together with the *Danish* forest, the island of *Alsen*, and the province vulgarly called *Frisebeiden*, with all their rights and dependencies, should henceforward be annexed in full right to the crown of *Denmark*: that the king be put in immediate possession of the said duchy and dependencies; and the *Holstein* princes, *Henry*, *Adolphus*, and *Gerhard*, neither have nor lay claim to any right over any part of the said duchy. The *Holstein* annals add, that, after passing this sentence, the emperor offered, in the king's name, in order to facilitate an accommodation, to cede to them the island of *Laaland*, together with a sum of three hundred thousand marks; but the princes rejected the proposition.

HERE it was that *Eric* resolved upon a pilgrimage to *Palestine*, which they he deferred to attend the coronation of queen *Sophia*. This religious progress had almost cost him

dear; for he was led into a snare by an artful *Syrian*, and forced to extricate himself by the immediate payment of a large sum of money. Nor was this the only bad consequence of this unreasonable journey. The absence of princes is generally injurious to their subjects, and it proved so to the *Danes*. He had appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, and advantages were taken of a female government. On the one side, the bishop of *Arhus* claimed jurisdiction over certain lands, which the king had committed in trust to his predecessor. This dispute, however, was amicably terminated by certain mutual concessions. On the other side, the *Holstein* princes were dissatisfied with the emperor's award, although they promised to stand by it. They complained loudly, and sent ambassadors to pope *Martin V.* of whom they obtained an order for the bishop of *Cologne*, and a certain cardinal, whose name is not mentioned, to take cognizance afresh of the dispute, and revise the sentence passed by *Sigismund*.

A. D. 1425.

In this situation of affairs *Eric* returned to his dominions, and immediately consented to an interview with the princes at *Flensburg*, where each party should be attended by four assistants, two ecclesiastics, and as many laics, who should exert all their endeavours to bring this tedious affair to an amicable and definitive issue. Nothing, however, resulted from the congress. The king refused to grant the investiture of the duchy, but as a personal fief; and the princes insisted upon having it hereditary. Such was the consequence of that imprudent grant of *Olaus*, that intailed an expensive and ruinous war on his successors. Both sides were obstinate, and recourse was had again to the sword, the final resort of princes. *Eric* raised a powerful army without declaring its destination, or indeed intimating where the storm would fall; but the princes, rightly judging that his preparations were intended against them, took measures for standing in their own defence. Not contented with reinforcing the garrisons of *Sleswick* and *Gottorp*, they new-modelled the fortifications of the former, and drew a deep ditch around. To give an appearance of justice to their cause, they published manifestoes, setting forth their willingness to end the dispute by arbitration, as was plain from the letters obtained from his holiness, appointing the bishop of *Cologne* umpire. After giving this gloss to their own conduct, they solicited the *Vandal* cities to arm in their favour; and found means to persuade them that justice was wholly on their side: for what could be more extraordinary, said they, than that an emperor of *Germany*, where all fiefs are hereditary, should judge that *Sleswick* alone was personal. Yet all their reasoning would have made but a slight impression, had not the *Hamburgers*, constant in their attachment to the house of *Holstein*, represented to them the injury that would arise to their commerce from the oppression of the princes, and the increased power of the king; demonstrating, that the only method of terminating a destructive war was to hold the ballance equal, by which means both parties would soon tire of military operations, and return with eagerness to trade, agriculture, and whatever could repair the losses and poverty consequent on the war. An alliance with *Holstein* was struck up; but before they declared war, they sent deputies to the king, in the name of all the hanse-towns, exhorting him to conclude peace. *Eric* replied, that he was ready to stand by the emperor's decision: the deputies returned with this answer, and their return was a signal to the cities for declaring war.

A. D. 1426.

*Eric enters
Sleswick a
third time,
and lays siege
to the cities
Sleswick and
Gottorp.*

In the mean time *Eric* entered *Sleswick* with a powerful army, with which he hoped soon to reduce the princes to reason. Immediately he invested *Sleswick* and *Gottorp*, and drew lines, which secured him against the attacks of the *Holstein* army without. Both sieges were pushed with great vigour; and the cities would probably have been forced to surrender, in sight of their army, had not *Eric* suddenly broke up his camp, on receiving menacing letters from the *Vandal* cities in which they told him, that, finding all their remonstrances to him despised, they determined to join with his enemies, and oblige him by force to hearken to reasonable terms of accommodation. It was in vain that *Eric* wrote circular letters to the hanse-towns in his own vindication: these had no other effect than exciting popular tumults in the cities, which ended in the destruction of one or two of their magistrates; but produced salutary effects to *Eric*.

A. D. 1427.

*The Vandal
cities arm in
favour of
Holstein.*

EARLY in the spring the *Vandal* cities sent a strong fleet to sea, which committed dreadful ravages on the coasts of *Denmark*. *Gerhard* of *Holstein* commanded this fleet, and his brother *Henry* was at the head of an army, with which he laid siege to *Flensburg*, where he was killed with the shot of an arrow; a blow which had almost proved fatal to his family. Immediately his army was seized with the utmost consternation; the soldiers disbanded themselves, notwithstanding all the promises and intreaties of *Adolphus*, who put himself at their head. On this occasion might be seen what had frequently before been observed, the destiny of the general determining the fate of a whole army. A general rout began;

a and the auxiliary troops of *Hamburg* and *Lubec*, who the moment before had shewn inconceivable ardour, were now the first to lead the flight.

ERIC, in the mean time, gained some considerable advantages at sea. His fleet defeated a squadron of *Vandal* ships: after which success the *Danes* attacked thirty *Lubeck* merchantmen, all of whom they took or destroyed, after an obstinate engagement; yet was he no less desirous than before of accommodating matters with the hanse towns. He knew their power, and the difficulty he would have in reducing the house of *Holstein*, supported by such an alliance. Even his victories afforded no satisfaction, since they more firmly rivetted the hanse-towns to *Holstein*. He therefore not only wrote himself, but induced the emperor *Sigismund* to exert all his influence and authority with those cities, in bringing them
b to right understanding with *Denmark*; but neither arguments, influence, nor the imperial authority, could prevail. *Sigismund's* menaces served only to inflame them the more, and made them write sharp letters to *Eric*, that breathed nothing but war and vengeance.

THE emperor, who thought his honour was engaged in concluding this affair, and who was particularly incensed at a war undertaken to frustrate the effects of his sentence, now resolved to go through with the work he had begun. Accordingly he sent *Nicholas Stock*, one of the lords of his bedchamber, to negotiate a peace. The ambassador set out for *Lubeck*, where he declared to the senate his imperial majesty's instructions. He set forth, that his master was extremely exasperated at the war declared against *Denmark*, to the great
c prejudice of all *Christendom*: that he was astonished the subjects of the empire should, without his consent or knowledge, take arms to prevent the execution of an imperial decree, contrary to the laws and constitution of the empire. He exhorted them to recal their fleets, disband their armies, and consent to a truce for six months, during which a general peace might be negotiated on an amicable footing. *Stock* concluded with representing to the senate, that it was their interest in particular not to offend against the laws of the empire, or to incur the displeasure of his imperial majesty, from whom they deduced so many advantages. He next went to the *Holstein* princes, and urged the same arguments to them; but without effect. He then returned to *Lubec*, and demanded the senate's final resolution. This however they declined, under pretence of its being requisite to know the king's disposition before they gave their answer. *Stock*, who was indefatigable in executing his com-
d mission, set out for *Denmark*, and found *Eric* in the very sentiments he could wish. That prince desired nothing so much as peace: he granted full powers to *Stock* to appoint a congress for adjusting preliminaries. Accordingly the ambassador fixed upon *Flensburg*; but this the *Holsteiners* haughtily rejected, demanding that the congress might sit at *Nicoping*, which was granted. A truce was agreed upon, and every thing seemed to conspire in bringing about the much wished-for reconciliation.

THIS, however, proved otherwise. Without regarding the suspension of hostilities, the
e *Vandal* and *Holstein* fleets committed the most terrible disorders, burning and plundering the *Danish* coasts and shipping, giving quarter neither to men, women, nor children. *Eric* was shocked with this perfidy; but he resolved to suppress his resentment, and wait the effects of *Stock's* negotiation. A safe convoy was demanded for the deputies; but, far from attending to the issue of the congress, or the articles of the truce, the confederates sent another fleet to sea, with twelve thousand fighting men, besides seamen on board. Their design was to lay siege to *Copenhagen*; but the coasts were so well guarded by the king's ships, that the enemy found a descent impracticable. Instead of losing courage and presence of mind at the sight of so formidable an armament, all the inhabitants of *Zealand*, and the other islands, were assembled, arms put into the hands of all those who were able to use them, and rewards promised to all those who should acquit themselves satisfactorily in the defence of their country. By this animated conduct, all the enemy's attempts were
f baffled, and not a single *Vandal* or *Holsteiner* landed on the islands.

THE pirates were more successful in *Schonen* and *Norway*; for after having pillaged and reduced *Landscroon* to ashes, they got possession of *Bergue*, and then retired with an immense booty to *Wismar*. Their lawless conduct, indeed, began to raise apprehensions in the *Holstein* princes and *Vandal* cities, that the emperor would put them under the ban of the empire. In order to appease his wrath, they had recourse to intreaties and supplications, it being impossible to excuse or palliate actions so contrary to the law of nature and nations. They published a manifesto, setting forth, that their view in declaring war against *Denmark* was only to preserve their own rights and liberties, without intending to countenance the doctrine of the *Hussites*, or protect pirates, whom they beheld as the pests of society, and the enemies of mankind in general. They farther declared their readiness to
g

The emperor mediates a peace.

Treaty broken off.

A. D 1428. Piracies committed by the Vandal fleets.

^a PONTAN. l. ix.

¹ MEURS. l. v.

Proposals made
by the Hol-
stein princes.

obey the see of *Rome*, his imperial majesty, and to assist against the hereticks of *Bohemia*. They affirmed, that contrary winds, and not inclination, had prevented their deputies from attending the appointed congress at *Falsterbo*: that they were now ready to attend wherever his imperial majesty should command; but they intreated him to consider, that, being the kinsman of his *Danish* majesty, he was an improper judge of their disputes, since it would be impossible to avoid some partiality in favour of those with whom we are connected. They therefore intreated him to name some other *German* prince for umpire, or to leave the decision of the whole dispute to his holiness. Finally, they requested the bishop of *Ratzburg* to forward their request to the imperial throne.

Rejected by the
emperor.

In consequence of this manifesto the emperor published a decree, refusing to acknowledge the authority of the pope, or any other power spiritual or temporal, over civil affairs, within his jurisdiction. He forbid ecclesiastics from at all meddling with the difference between *Denmark* and *Holstein*, it being a case purely civil; and commanded the princes of *Brandenburg* and *Lunenbourg* to assist *Eric* with all their forces and by every way possible oblige the house of *Holstein* to submit to the imperial decree. *Sigismund's* proceedings induced the pope to withdraw the commission he had granted the bishop of *Cologne*: still, however, the *Holsteiners* continued their claim; but to shew their desire of complying with *Sigismund's* commands, they consented to the conference appointed at *Nicoping*, and attended there in person; but raised so many obstructions, that nothing was determined, the king leaving the final decision to the emperor, and the princes to the pope * (A).

A. D. 1429.

The Danish
fleet defeated.

ABOUT this time the queen, encouraged by her success in defence of *Copenhagen*, and protection of the islands, resolved to avenge the affront. She equipped a squadron, on board which she embarked fourteen hundred land-forces, ordering them to pillage and destroy all the country round *Stralsund*. Courage is not always attended with success. The enterprize was attempted with spirit, and the *Stralsund* fleet was vigorously attacked by the *Danes*; but receiving strong and seasonable reinforcements, they became superior in force, made three hundred of the king's troops prisoners, and destroyed some of his ships, the rest escaping under favour of the night. This miscarriage afflicted the king in a very sensible manner. He blamed the queen for it, which she took so much to heart, that it is justly reputed the cause of her death, which happened soon after. No princess was ever more regretted by her subjects, or admired by all for the moderation, sweetness, and true magnanimity of her temper; but it was when too late that *Eric* began to entertain a due sense of her merit.

A. D. 1430.

Stralsund and
Rostock made
peace with
Eric.

In the beginning of the following year the cities of *Stralsund* and *Rostock*, wearied out with a tedious war, concluded a separate peace with *Denmark*, which they promised to keep inviolable. Negotiations were set on foot for accommodating matters with the other cities; but they proved abortive, and hostilities continued as usual. A *Swedish* admiral attacked four *Lubec* merchant-ships, richly laden, three of which he took, the fourth escaping with difficulty into the *Trave*.

A. D. 1431.

THIS year an embassy arrived from *Henry VI.* of *England*, demanding a renewal of the ancient alliance between the two crowns. The ambassador was charged in particular with instructions respecting some injuries done to the *English* merchants by the fleets of *Norway*. *Eric's* answer to the *English* monarch's remonstrance was spirited and sensible. He vindicated the honour of his crown, without derogating from the respect due to *Henry*: in a word, the alliance was renewed; but the grievances complained of remained undressed, because they required the punishment of certain subjects of the crown of *Norway*.

A treaty con-
cluded between
England and
Denmark.

THE advantages of such an alliance were rather imaginary than real, and, had they been more beneficial, would be more than compensated by the losses on the other side. *Flensburg* was surprised by the *Holsteiners*, and the citadel closely invested, when *Eric* found means to throw in seasonable supplies. Notwithstanding this, the princes, now in possession of the city, obstinately persisted in besieging the fortress; and at length the garrison was forced to surrender, after subsisting for weeks upon the flesh of dogs and horses.

A. D. 1432.

The hanse-
towns offer
peace.

It was now expected that the flames of war would have blazed out with redoubled vigour; but it happened otherwise. The *Hollanders*, profiting by the disturbances in the North, and ever watchful of every opportunity of extending their commerce, had established a footing in the *Baltic*. All of a sudden their trade became so considerable, that they

* PONTAN. l. ix.

(A) *Pontanus* relates, that *Eric* this year incurred the ill-will of his subjects, by coining large sums of money greatly below the standard. The queen observing the effects this produced on the minds of the people, found means, without the king's knowledge, to procure a new

coinage that compensated the baseness of the former. Other writers place this event three or four years earlier: but we chuse to follow the authority of the elaborate and learned *Pontanus*.

a trafficked to all the parts of *Muscovy*, *Livonia*, and *Prussia*; a breach of trade formerly engrossed by the hanse-towns. It was this first opened the eyes of the *Vandal* cities, and made them now demand peace more eagerly than ever they had fought war. Their deputies were immediately sent to *Horsen*, where they concluded a truce for five years, during which proper measures should be concerted for establishing a solid and firm peace. A congress was appointed to meet for this purpose at *Swinburg*, and liberty of trade was in the mean time mutually permitted.

b *PONTANUS* relates, that *Eric* appointed commissioners, towards the close of this year, to terminate the difference between the crowns of *England* and *Denmark*¹. They met the *English* ambassadors at *Callenburg*; and here it was agreed, that the *English* and *Norwegians* should give mutual satisfaction, and indemnify the losses to each other: that all prisoners should be mutually released: that persons, of either nation, trading contrary to law, should be punished by death: finally, that perpetual amity should subsist between the nations, and mutual assistance be given, when required. This was the first treaty concluded between *England* and *Denmark* since the *Danes* were driven out of *England*; at least, it is the first expressly mentioned by the *Danish* or *English* historians, although commerce had been carried on long before between the two nations. It might possibly have been too inconsiderable to merit a particular treaty.

c NEXT year the congress sat at *Swinburg*; but nothing was concluded. Both parties were too much inflamed with passion to reason coolly on their interest: accordingly it was pro- rogued, and fixed for the following year, when it was hoped their mutual resentments would subside. It appeared, by *Eric's* answer to the deputies of *Stralsund*, that he had not forgot the hostilities committed on his coasts, and the injuries done to his subjects by the troops of that city. They now demanded the liberty of trading with *Denmark* on the same footing as before the war; and to this the king replied, that they ought to reflect how lately they had put forty *Danes* to death in cool blood, whose relations and friends now breathed vengeance; that for the rest, provided they would run the hazard, he had no objection to their trading in his ports: but he thought this notice due to his own reputation, as he could not answer for the consequences.

A. D. 1433.
Congress at
Swinburg.

d ABOUT this time certain disturbances appeared in *Sweden*, which at first gave the king but little uneasiness, as they were only the murmurs of a few individuals never to be satisfied. This at last was the view in which the court represented it, though in fact the whole nation complained loudly of the extortions of the governors appointed by the king; while the court, contrary to the treaty of *Calmar*, resided constantly in *Denmark*. They treated the people like slaves, and conducted themselves like petty tyrants, despotic in proportion to the duration and limits of their authority. Every day the evil increased, new taxes were arbitrarily imposed and rigidly levied. The people carried their complaints to the throne, particularly against one *Jesson Asdal*; but they were imprudently rejected, with marks of contempt, altogether insupportable to the spirit of that free and warlike nation. The *Dalecarlians* broke out into open invectives, and *Engelbert*, a nobleman of rank, influence, and courage, undertook to go over to *Denmark* and plead their cause. He intrepidly accused *Jesson* before the king, and offered to stake his head if he did not undeniably prove every material circumstance of the charge. This bold remonstrance was not altogether without effect. *Eric* wrote to the senate to send proper persons to inquire into *Jesson's* conduct, but without displacing him before he was found guilty by the court, and a special commission issued for that purpose. The deputies went to *Dalecarlia*, and *Jesson* was found guilty of divers acts of violence and oppression; upon which *Engelbert* set out with the information to court, and to solicit his removal and punishment. This he did with such ardour and freedom of speech, that the king forbid him his presence, and ordered him to leave *Denmark*. "That I will," replied *Engelbert*, "but to return in a different manner."

Complaints
against Eric
in Sweden.

Engelbert lays
their grievan-
ces before the
king.

f THE *Dalecarlians*, ever watchful of their liberties, and the avowed enemies of oppression, were no sooner informed of *Engelbert's* reception, than they despaired of redress without a change of government. It was therefore resolved to throw off a yoke become insupportable, and rather die like free-men with their arms in their hands, than to live like slaves under the lash of tyranny. They assembled in great numbers, chose *Engelbert* for their leader, entered *Westmania*, and determined to exterminate all the *Danes*. Immediately the senate was alarmed at their proceedings; they went in person to prevail on the *Dalecarlians* to return to their duty, but could prevail only on condition, that they should be exempted from all taxes, and obedience to *Jesson*.

HOWEVER formidable such an insurrection might appear to others, certain it is, it gave the king no great disturbance. Nothing calls more loudly for the attention of a prince than the just complaints of an injured people; but *Eric* was wrapt up in negotiations,

Dalecarlians
revolt, headed
by Engelbert.

¹ PONTAN. lib. ix.

and wholly neglected *Sweden* for the interest of *Denmark*. Instead of redressing the grievances of the *Dalecarlians*, he was wasting his time in useless debates with the *Holfstein* and *Vandal* deputies; useless because passion and prejudice swayed beyond reason and interest. a

Dalecarlians
revolt a second
time.

THE conditions on which the malcontents laid down their arms, were so injurious to *Jesson*, that relying on the protection of the court, he exerted all the means of vengeance in his power. He contrived new taxes, and made it capital to refuse payment on a certain day, without regard to the ability of the delinquent. This was the cause of a new insurrection; but still the influence of the senate prevailed on them to lay down their arms; on *Jesson's* being removed from the government, and a promise made that every demand consistent with law should be granted ^m. b

Engelbert's
conduct.

TRANQUILITY seemed to be re-established, when a report prevailed that the king was preparing to punish the rebellion of the *Dalecarlians*. Immediately they flew out a third time to arms, swearing they would never lay them down until they rid themselves of the *Danish* yoke. *Engelbert* was always at their head: he led them into the neighbouring provinces, and reduced a great number of places, which successes drew whole flocks of peasants to his standard. The nobility of *Westmania* joined him; he marched into *Uplandia*, and in a short time reduced the whole country. His conduct induced other provinces to revolt, or rather his promises to abolish taxes, and dismantle all the fortresses erected by this king and his predecessors, to secure their authority. In a word, the whole kingdom was in a ferment, and nothing but the cry of liberty was heard over all *Sweden*. By the king's order the senate assembled at *Wadestene*, to deliberate upon the means of suppressing a tumult dangerous to government. *Engelbert* informed of this, marched secretly at the head of a body of troops, entered the assembly, and publicly declared, that he was determined to deliver the nation from the yoke under which it had groaned for some years past. He said, that from the days of *Magnus* the subject had been wantonly oppressed with taxes, and exposed to all the injustice and severity of usage that petty tyrants could suggest. He added, that it was astonishing the senate, which should be first in redressing these grievances, should remain inactive, and suffer others to gather those laurels which must necessarily result even from the attempt to rescue one's country from slavery. To this the senate answered, that they could not conceive the honour consequent on withdrawing their allegiance from a prince to whom they were bound by solemn oaths. c

Engelbert's
speech to the
senate.

“The king, replied *Engelbert* sharply, has made promises by his coronation oath, which he makes no scruple of breaking. Your oath is founded on the performance of his; your promise allegiance, provided he governs according to law. Has he done so? Are these governors the instruments of lawful authority? Has he fulfilled by his residence among us, the chief article of the treaty of union? Are not our revenues squandered in *Denmark*, and ourselves enslaved by *Danes*? Observe how well he has kept his oath, and yet you are denied equal liberty.” d

STILL the senate persisted in their obedience, and used many arguments to shew how dangerous it was in the least to violate an oath. They said that the breach of one article did not absolve the subjects from their duty, since in that case there would be an end to all government, it being impossible to find a king who would adhere in every particular to his promises. In a word, they stood up for the divine right of kings, their independence, and the bad consequences of subjecting their conduct to the judgment of their people. Enraged at their discourse and arguments in favour of despotism, the generous *Engelbert* cried out in a fury, “Tis well! henceforward I will treat as the tools of tyranny, all who refuse to succour their oppressed country; my poignard shall be plunged into the breast of the first man who opposes public liberty.” Terrified with his vehemence, the senate passed an act, whereby they renounced their allegiance to king *Eric* ⁿ. e

He forces the
senate into his
measures.

ENGELBERT wanted neither foresight nor valour. He knew he must make the best use of the present temper of the people. Accordingly he seized upon a number of the king's garrisons, penetrated to the province of *Halland*, and reduced *Wardberg*, *Holmstadt*, and *Falkenburg*. The inhabitants of *Schonen* alone had resolution enough to oppose themselves against the general torrent of rebellion. They took arms, and determined to dispute the passage of the malcontents into this province. *Engelbert* drew up his army within sight of them, and both parties were separated only by a small river. Every hour it was expected would produce a bloody action; but some of the nobility from each army having held a conference, a treaty of peace was concluded, whereby the *Swedes* and *Schoneners* agreed to live in amity and friendship; and that, if either of them renounced this alliance, they should give timely intimation of their design. f

A. D. 1434.

^m PONTAN. & MEURS, *ibid*.

ⁿ PONT. l. ix. PUFFEND. t. iv. l. v.

a On *Engelbert's* return he assembled the states-general of the kingdom, and here *Cropelin*, governor of *Stockholm*, attended in the king's name. The great point debated at the diet was the utility of the king's fortresses, which *Engelbert* promised to demolish. It broke up in disputes, without other issue than increasing the mutual animosity between the king and his people. In supporting the royal prerogative, the officers of the crown only regarded their own interest, perceiving that any retrenchment of the former would of course invalidate the latter, and reduce their authority, unsupported by a military force, to a mere shadow of power.

b ALL this while the king was flattering himself, that this sudden tumult, which arose from a gust of passion, would of itself subside into the wished-for tranquility; but when he was informed that the diet was broke up, without determining upon measures for establishing peace, and that the malcontents were still in arms, he determined to use force, and compel them to their duty. He steered for *Stockholm* with a formidable squadron; but heaven would seem to have taken part with the friends of liberty. His fleet was separated in a tempest, and the greater part swallowed up by the waves. With a single ship *Eric* with difficulty made the port of *Stockholm*, where he was immediately invested by *Engelbert's* army. Not disconcerted by this unfortunate accident, he proposed obtaining by persuasion what he found was not to be gained by compulsion. He demanded an interview with the senators and chief nobility of the realm; and having this request granted, he intreated them to acquaint him what motives could induce them to take arms against him, and renounce the allegiance they had sworn. With one voice, the diet made answer, that their intention was not to throw off their allegiance, but defend their liberty and the privileges which he had solemnly sworn to maintain at his coronation. They insisted that what they had done was agreeable to the laws of nature and nations, in testimony of which they took all free nations to witness. His majesty's reply was by no means satisfactory; however, a truce for one year, or, as *Meursius* alledges, until the following spring, was concluded; after which *Eric* returned to *Denmark*. *Eric's fleet is destroyed in a storm.*

c No sooner was his majesty departed than a new diet was held at *Abo*, and *Engelbert* declared prince of all *Sweden*. *Cropelin* struck with this unexpected resolution, dispatched letters to the assembly, acquainting them that he had affairs of the last consequence to lay before them. A meeting was appointed at *Sigtun*, and hither *Cropelin* came attended by the grand master of the *Teutonic* order. In their turns they harangued the assembly with so much eloquence and energy of argument, that they obtained a decree for accommodating matters amicably with the king. A bill of grievances was drawn up and presented to *Eric*; upon which he assembled the *Danish* diet at *Holmsbødt*, to deliberate upon measures for bringing to an issue this now serious dispute. The assembly was held on the fourth day of *May*, and the king went before the end of *July* to *Stockholm*, where, in the presence of twelve senators, he redressed the public grievances, received a promise, that all the fortresses taken from him should be restored; that he should be acknowledged king of *Sweden* on the terms of his coronation oath; and that he should swear afresh never again to violate the laws, or attempt to encroach on the privileges of the people. With respect to *Engelbert*, the assertor of *Swedish* liberty, it was stipulated, that for life he should possess the city *Orebro*, which was to revert to the crown at his death (A). *A. D. 1435.* *Matters accommodated with the senate.*

d PEACE was thus restored to *Sweden*; but the arbitrary spirit of *Eric* made it of short duration. Unmindful of what was past, he thought of nothing but establishing his prerogative above law. Promises and oaths could not bind him, as they were things of course, intended only to answer certain purposes. Immediately he turned out the *Swedish* governors appointed in the different provinces, and committed these important trusts to foreigners, on whose attachment he could rely. So sudden a violation of a solemn contract alarmed all *Sweden*; they sent a deputation to the king of ten of the principal lords of the realm, to beseech him to perform his obligations, and not destroy in a moment a compact, the result of much labour and bloodshed. They intreated him to observe, that the *Swedes* were perfectly disposed to comply with the late treaty; but they would hazard every thing rather than support the loss of liberty. At first *Eric* received them with indifference, and on their assuming an air of austerity, replied, that he was resolved not to be governed by his subjects. He knew the machinations of *Engelbert*, who had excited the nobility to these remonstrations, and would take care of him. *Eric again violates the union of Calmar.*

(A) *Pontanus* relates, that *Eric* did not arrive in *Sweden* before the twenty-fifth of *October* (1). He was no sooner come to *Stockholm*, than the bill of grievances was presented to him, containing in substance little more than we had occasion to recite in our account of the causes of the revolt.

(1) *Pont. l. ix. p. 599.*

FROM hence it was obvious to the deputies, that *Eric* had formed a plan for governing a despotically, and that he breathed nothing but vengeance for what was past. His turning *Cropelin*, to whom he owed his re-establishment in *Sweden*, out of the government of *Stockholm*, only because his conduct was moderate and agreeable to the people; his placing a *Danish* gentleman of a different disposition in his place, together with a thousand other circumstances, all concurred to convince the deputies that *Sweden* could never enjoy happiness under *Eric*. But what most irritated the *Swedish* nation happened subsequent to their deputation; for the king immediately reinforced the garrison at *Stockholm*, and soon after went in person with a strong fleet to depose all the *Swedish* governors. Not contented with this infraction of the late peace, he committed the most notorious enormities, in pillaging and ravaging the country, and destroying a great number of towns and villages.

The Swedes revolt.

HEAVEN and the *Swedes* would not suffer such perfidy to go unpunished. A furious tempest destroyed the greater part of *Eric's* fleet; and the inhabitants of coasts flocked in crowds to *Engelbert* to complain of the injuries done to them by the king, declaring solemnly they would never more acknowledge his sovereignty.

He makes peace with Holstein.

ON *Eric's* return to *Denmark*, he began seriously to reflect on his situation. He doubted not but a revolt would immediately succeed to what had happened in *Sweden*: he considered that *Denmark* had been for the space of twenty-nine years at war with the house of *Holstein*, and upwards of nine years with the cities of *Vandalia*, without gaining any considerable advantage, to counterbalance the immense consumption of blood and treasure. He considered, that should he be attacked on these three sides, it would not be possible for him to make head against such a number of enemies: he therefore determined to make peace with the *Holstein* princes; and came soon to an agreement with that family, that *Adolphus* should enjoy, during his life, that part of the duchy of *Sleswick*, of which he was now in possession, together with the island *Femeren*, and the *Lesser Friesland*, which his heirs should likewise enjoy for two years after his decease; but that after this time the king of *Denmark*, and the house of *Holstein*, should reconsider their several claims to the duchy of *Sleswick*, and adjudged to each their rights. Other clauses were annexed to this treaty, respecting the homage to be paid by *Adolphus*, and the re-establishment of trade. Upon the whole, it was apparent, that *Eric* wanted only to suspend this war, leaving full room for commencing hostilities as soon as he found it necessary.

It was next thought necessary to accommodate matters with the northern hanse-towns; nor were the cities of *Hamburg*, *Lubec*, *Lunenburg*, and *Wismar*, backward in making their submission, having feeling experience of the importance of the *Danish* trade to their well-being. They entreated the king to pardon the fault they committed in breaking with him; and to restore them to their former privileges of commerce. This was just what *Eric* desired; yet he artfully made some difficulty about granting their request, with which he at length complied, on their promise of paying him a yearly sum of money, by way of reparation for the damages sustained by *Denmark*.

He quarrels with his Danish subjects by nominating a successor.

He proposes the duke of Pomerania to succeed to the crown.

The diet offended.

HITHERTO *Eric* had lived in perfect harmony with his *Danish* subjects; but the plan he concerted for settling the succession, made his best friends fall off. It was at a diet assembled at *Wardenburg*, that he first broke the proposal. He set forth, that he was now advancing in years, after after supporting for forty years the weight of a triple crown, to which he became unequal. That for this reason he besought the diet to permit him to appoint his nephew *Bugislaus*, duke of *Pomerania*, for his successor; in the same manner they allowed *Margaret* to settle the succession on *him*. He added, that this prince was in the flower of his age, better able to direct the reins of authority than he was, and merited the distinguishing regard of *Denmark*, as he had ever shewn the most inviolable attachment to the interest of the kingdom in general, and even of individuals. Although the diet was not surprised at this proposition, having before had frequent intimations of the king's intention, yet they expressed themselves dissatisfied with it. They told his majesty, that their first prayer to heaven would be to preserve his majesty's life, during which they had no thoughts of chusing another sovereign; but that if it pleased his majesty to abdicate, contrary to the earnest desire of his subjects, the right of election then devolved upon them, and they would never permit a fundamental law of their constitution to be reversed, by making the right of succession hereditary in the crown. An answer so explicit convinced *Eric*, that it would be fruitless to insist upon his request; he therefore waved it for a new proposition. This was that they would allow him to chuse some person to assist him in the government of the kingdom. To this the diet replied, that he certainly had a right to appoint a coadjutor, provided the person fixed upon should derive from thence no claim to the crown. They likewise declared,

^a that the king was at liberty to commit the government of the strong holds and garrisons of the kingdom to such persons as he thought proper ^p.

Without inflicting further on these particulars, *Eric* withdrew suddenly into *Prussia*, ^{He with- draws out of the kingdom.} without giving the least intimation to the senate, as if he intended to abdicate the throne. Upon the first notice of his retreat, the senate sent a deputation, intreating him not to expose the kingdom to fresh troubles by his absence, and representing to him that it would be more expedient to proceed with diligence to *Abo*, where the *Swedes* had convoked a general diet. Although *Eric* took but little concern in the interest of his people, yet he was prevailed on to return to *Denmark*. Probably his ambition was not wholly extinguished, though, for a time, obscured by a fit of disgust. On his return he made several promotions: to the duke of *Pomerania* he committed in charge the fortresses *Neoburg*, *Haden- scow*, and *Hendsgaust*; to duke *Barnim*, that of *Anholm*; count *Eberstein*, he made governor of *Trankiar*, and to duke *Wratisslaus* he gave the government of *Ravensburg*; a preference of foreigners no way pleasing to the *Danes* ^q.

In the mean time a very full diet of the *Swedes* assembled at *Abo*, and resolved upon first trying gentle methods. With this view a letter to the king was drawn up, reminding him of the oath he had taken, and intimating the resolution of the diet to renounce their allegiance, if he persisted in violating it. What his majesty's answer was we are not informed; historians only relate, that he soon after went to *Stockholm* with his nephew *Bugislaus*, and persisted in rendering himself more unpopular. Here it was that he resolved to resign his crown to *Bugislaus*, the governor of *Stockholm* having already sworn allegiance to that prince. ^c This news was received with equal satisfaction by the *Danes* and *Swedes*; both began to take measures for securing their liberties, but the *Swedes* first began their operations. *Engelbert* was again applied to by the populace: he raised forces, and marched with the senate to *Stockholm*, the gates of which were shut against him by the governor. The senate demanded entrance, and were refused. They next demanded to speak with the consuls of the city, who were sent to them, and confined. After this they demanded to know by what authority such an affront was put on the senate, and were answered by order of the court. This was a signal for hostilities, and immediately the city was invested by *Engelbert*. Scarce had the siege began, when the citizens, impatient at the confinement of ^d their magistrates, took up arms, seized upon the gates, and opened them to *Engelbert*, who, marching in with the senate and his forces, erected his standard in the market-place, inviting all the friends of liberty and their country to range themselves under it. The greater part of the inhabitants flocked eagerly to him, seized upon all the advantageous posts, and drove the governor into the citadel.

CHARLES CANUTSON, grand-mareschal of *Sweden*, was ravished with the prospect of his country's being delivered from the *Danish* yoke. He joined himself to the senate, and entered into all their measures; but this accession of power had almost ruined the cause of liberty. A rivalry commenced between *Canutson* and *Engelbert*; each was for commanding, and each had his faction. Both were fired with the glorious emulation of being the deliverers of their country. The first was supported by the senate and nobility; ^e the latter by the gentlemen and peasants. At length the affair was compromised by a partition of power. The grand mareschal was to continue the siege of the citadel, while *Engelbert* was to attempt the reduction of the king's garrisons, and the deposition of the *Danish* governors.

ENGELBERT in particular was extremely successful, and things were in a fair train, when he was murdered by the artifice of his rival; between whom and *Eric Pache* a new dispute arose, that once more restored the king's affairs. It would be unnecessary to enlarge on all the particulars of this revolution, as we shall have occasion to relate them particularly in the history of *Sweden*. Sufficient it is for our purpose, that the senate apprehending a civil war might ensue from the warmth and passion of these rivals, summoned a ^f general diet at *Calmar*, and invited the king to appear there in person. *Eric* embraced the invitation, and went thither, attended by a crowd of *German* and *Danish* nobility. Here it was stipulated, that all fortresses and garrisons should be put into the hands of native *Swedes*; that the king should take a fresh oath to preserve the privileges and immunities of the people; and that he would never prefer to places of trust and profit any foreigners whatever, within the limits of the *Swedish* monarchy. Upon his consenting to these conditions, he was again declared king of *Sweden*, and other difficulties left undecided until the next diet, appointed to be held on the first of *September* following at *Sundercoping* ^r.

ERIC was now once more restored to the throne of *Sweden*; but numberless obstructions occurred in establishing the tranquility of that kingdom. These we shall relate in their proper place, and proceed here to the general diet of the three kingdoms summoned at *Calmar*. The first act passed by this diet was a confirmation of the treaty of union

^p PONT. l. ix.

^q MEURS. l. v. etiam Pontan. ibid.

^r JOHAN. GOTZ. p. 117.

made in the last reign. To that antient treaty were subjoined a number of new clauses, the principal of which were, that the king should frame no new laws but what received the sanction of the diet of that kingdom for which they were made: That the three kingdoms should swear to live in perpetual peace and amity: That the grand bailiff of each kingdom, should preside at all causes carried before the king: That in the king's absence, this magistrate should represent his person in each kingdom: That the grand mareschal should be his coadjutor, and preside over the executive, as the grand bailiff did over the legislative authority: That only persons learned in the laws and constitution, should be chosen masters of the household, or chancellors in either kingdom: That the king should visit and reside at least three months every year in each kingdom: That he should always be assisted by a council of three senators of each nation, and judge in person the disputes of particulars: That when he is threatened with a sovereign war, the forces of the three kingdoms shall unite in his defence: That at the election of a new king, besides the archbishops, two bishops, grand bailiffs, and grand mareschal of each kingdom, there shall likewise attend at least twenty-six persons from each senate to give their votes: That provided the deceased king shall leave a legitimate son thought capable of reigning, he shall be chosen to succeed him; but if he should leave more sons than one, the states shall chuse him whom they believe most deserving of the crown, without regard to seniority: That in case the male line became extinct, it should be in the power of the senators, and great officers abovementioned, to elect a stranger or native of the country: That should a native of the country be fixed upon, they might proceed to election in the manner following; first, the names of the three kingdoms should be written on as many pieces of paper, and placed before an infant of twelve months old, and the electors proceed to chuse a king out of that kingdom whose name has been taken up by the infant: That if the electors differed among themselves, they should chuse four persons from each kingdom, two ecclesiastics, and two laymen, to meet in a certain place, after swearing they are ignorant of the business they are sent upon, and that person should be king whom they have unanimously fixed upon, or after reasoning the case agreed upon*. Such was the new treaty of union concluded at *Calmar*, between the three northern crowns, at which it is probable *Eric* did not preside in person; for we are told that he soon after set out from *Denmark* for the island of *Gotland*, in order to be nearer the ensuing *Swedish* diet. It is remarkable, that he carried a large body of troops with him, all the jewels of the crown, the immense wealth treasured up by his ancestors, and heaps of manuscript and deeds; nor did he forget his mistress *Cecilia*, of whom he was passionately enamoured†.

The Swedish
diet assembles.

THE *Swedish* diet met at *Calmar*, but were not favoured with the king's presence; upon which they deputed a number of bishops, and great officers of the kingdom, to intreat the senate of *Denmark* to labour in conjunction with them, in prevailing on his majesty to come to *Sweden*. But there was an equal misunderstanding between his majesty and his *Danish* subjects, who complained, that he was making continual efforts to place his nephew of *Pomerania* on the throne; that he gave away all posts of profit and power to *Germans*: in a word, that he infringed, in divers particulars, his coronation-oath, and treaty of union at *Calmar*.

FINDING *Denmark* in the same situation with *Sweden*, the deputies addressed themselves directly to his majesty, and received a sharp and sarcastic answer, which sent them back greatly dissatisfied. However, their voyage was not without its advantages; for if they could obtain nothing from the king, they at least connected themselves more strongly with the *Danish* nobility. Their mutual discontents were of a nature so similar, as became hazardous to the king; and it is affirmed, that on this occasion the first plan for bestowing the crown on *Christopher* of *Bavaria* was concerted between the two kingdoms.

A. D. 1437. THIS year the clergy of *Denmark* and *Norway* sent letters to the council of *Basil*, complaining, that in *Denmark* there was a *Norwegian* bishop, and in *Norway* a native of *Denmark* raised to the same dignity, both chosen canonically; but the people refused to obey them. They therefore besought the fathers of the council to grant them powers to make an exchange, for the repose of both kingdoms, which was accordingly granted.

A. D. 1438. THE year following *Eric* dismembered the isle of *Rügen* from the crown by a grant of it, which he made to his nephew *Bugislaus*. This increased the discontent of his *Danish* subjects, and occasioned the meeting of a new diet, at which his conduct was canvassed with great freedom. The chief grievance, for which they sought redress, was his introducing foreign soldiers into all the garrisons of the kingdom, in order to pave the way for his nephew *Bugislaus* to ascend the throne, and raise a civil war in the kingdom. *Eric's* deputies removed this difficulty by a solemn promise, in his name, that all foreign soldiers should be removed out of the kingdom within two months; a promise that was never performed, and indeed intirely forgot, among other disturbances that followed.

* PONTAN. l. ix. p. 605.

† Idem. p. 606.

a THESE commotions had their first rise in the province of *Wrensyssel*, and from a circumstance singular enough. The peasants refused to pay the usual tithes to the clergy, alleging, that they were informed the pope had assembled a council at *Basil* to reform the abuses of the clergy, arising from their enormous wealth: they were desirous, they said, of co-operating with the pious intention of his holiness, and would therefore not make any addition to the wealth of ecclesiastics. But this was no more than the harbinger of greater disturbances. In *Jutland* the peasants revolted against the nobility, whom they accused of tyranny and oppression not unjustly; and the defection was so general in this part of *Denmark*, as not to be suppressed either by gentle methods, or by force. It was suspected the king was at the bottom of this affair; but he laboured to justify himself, and, indeed, it would be difficult to assign reasons for such a conduct. In short, matters were pushed to such extremities, that the nobility were forced to take shelter with the *Holstein* princes against the fury of the peasants; and to put the city of *Hadersleben*, and itsle of *Arroe*, among other places, into the hands of *Adolphus*.

Insurrection in Denmark.

b *SWEDEN* was in a state still less tranquil. *Canutson* had the direction of public affairs, by means of which he grew rich, insolent, and detested by the people. The grand bailiff *Nilson*, and several of the first nobility formed a league against him, and engaged the *Dalecarlians* and *Wermerlandians* to take arms. But *Canutson* was not long in revenging himself. After defeating the *Dalecarlians*, he surprised the grand bailiff in his bed, and conducted him prisoner to *Orebro*, where demanding of him whether he would surrender the garrisons in his hands, fear made *Nilson* reply, that he not only would do that, but likewise serve the marshal in any thing else he desired. Many other commotions appeared in *Sweden*. The archbishop *Olaus* was poisoned by order of *Canutson*, and things tended fast to anarchy and universal confusion. This, however, is not the place to dwell on the affairs of *Sweden*, with which we have nothing to do, but as they are connected with those of *Denmark*.

A view of the affairs of Sweden.

c THE *Swedish* diet met, at which attended the *Danish* deputies, to represent the king. Their instructions were to insist upon having the three principal fortresses in the kingdom put into his majesty's hands: this they demanded, and the diet obstinately refused; upon which it broke up, without doing any business. All this while *Eric* kept close in the island of *Gothland* with his treasure, paying no regard to the invitations of his *Danish* subjects to return. He would either seem to be infatuated, or at least his intellects impaired by years; for, amidst all the troubles and confusions in *Denmark* and *Sweden*, he lived perfectly at ease, regarding with indifference, and even contempt, all the remonstrances made to him by the subjects of both nations. This it was that induced the *Danish* senate to send an embassy to *Christopher* of *Bavaria*, to desire his acceptance of the crown, and intreat him to take immediate possession of the throne. A letter was drawn up to this prince, in which they complained of the king's repeated attempts to settle the succession on *Bugislaus* of *Pomerania*, which they as repeatedly opposed; of his putting all the fortresses into the hands of foreigners, in order to strengthen the interest of *Bugislaus*; of their permitting him to appoint *Bugislaus* his assistant in the government, but without deriving from thence any claim to the crown, a grant which both *Eric* and his nephew abused by every possible method; of his majesty's putting into *Bugislaus*'s hands the garrisons of *Neoburg*, *Hensgavel* and *Hadenskow*, contrary to the laws of the realm, and express treaties with his people; of his assembling the inhabitants of *Zealand*, and expressly enjoining them to obey the orders of the duke in every particular as their sovereign; of his majesty's retreating to *Gothland*, at the very time the states of the three kingdoms assembled to meet him at *Calmar*, and continuing there from that time, to the great prejudice of his subjects; of his carrying thither the jewels and treasure amassed by his predecessors, to support the honour of the *Danish* crown. They in the next place set forth, that, ever since his retreat, the kingdom had been torn with factions and sedition; the people risen in arms against the clergy and nobility; no regard paid to the laws, but every thing tending to confusion and anarchy. The situation of affairs, they said, was such, that they every moment expected a rupture with the house of *Holstein*, which must be of dangerous consequence at this juncture. What had they not to apprehend in such an event, from the number of foreign governors and troops in the kingdom? Besides, they were not quite easy with respect to *Sweden*, as the king had refused to fulfil his treaties with that kingdom; and the three kingdoms, so lately united for their mutual good, were now separated and divided by mal-administration. For these reasons, and because *Eric* had in effect abdicated the throne, they intreated his excellency, as the prince nearest allied by blood, to protect the kingdom in this extremity, by accepting a crown to which he had the best right, as it was offered with the hearts and hands of all his faithful subjects. But if his highness should not think proper to accept this offer, they requested he would

The Danes invite Christopher of Bavaria to accept of the crown.



give their deputies an explicit answer, that they might fix their choice on some other, ^a who might think the crown of *Denmark* an object worthy his regard. This letter bore date the twenty-eighth of *October*, 1438 (A).

Eric's conduct.

In the mean time *Eric* removed from the isle of *Gotbland* to *Stekeberg*; from whence he sent to the grand mareschal *Canutson*, intreating him to come in person, to deliberate on the proper measures to be taken in the present unhappy posture of affairs; but as those persons are ever the most suspicious who make themselves no scruple of breaking oaths and engagements, so *Canutson* dreaded putting himself in the king's power. *Eric* waited some time in expectation; but finding the grand mareschal had no intention of coming to *Stekeberg*, he returned to *Gotbland*.

It was about this time that he received a writing from the senate of *Denmark*, acquainting him, that they had renounced their allegiance, and specifying their reasons for such a proceeding, and for electing a new king, who, they hoped, would be more regardful of his oaths, watchful over the good of his people, and more agreeable to all the subjects of the three crowns. It was dated at *Lubeck* the twenty-ninth of *June*, 1439. ^b

He complains of the usage received from his subjects.

By the twenty-fifth of the following month *Eric* returned an answer to the senate, expressing his astonishment at the indignity done him, in not presenting their accusation in person, and in electing without his knowledge, his nephew *Christopher*. He said, that he deserved not such usage; and took God to witness, that he was ready to answer every article of their charge, either before the senate, or commissioners appointed for that purpose, without passion or resentment. He promised to conform to whatever they could reasonably demand; concluding with a prayer, that his nephew *Christopher* might be better advised, and the senate deliberate on more salutary measures, than depriving their king of a crown he enjoyed so long, and so legitimately. He wrote the same day to the inhabitants of *Schonen* and *Fionia*, sending them likewise a copy of the writing he received from the senate, and demanding to know if they assented to their unlawful proceedings. In a word, he intreated them to use all their influence to prevent the senate from wresting from him a crown which he held of the Almighty. All this, according to *Pontanus*, happened during *Eric's* residence at *Stekeberg*, and before his return to *Gotbland*. ^c

He no sooner arrived at his old retreat in this island, than he wrote an expostulatory letter to *Christopher*, in much the same terms as the two former to the senate and inhabitants of *Schonen*, and to as little purpose. To this he added a long justification of his conduct, containing eleven articles, and a direct answer to the accusation of the senate; if the denial of facts, evident to the whole world, can be called an answer. This he sent to the *Fionians*, who had always espoused the cause of *Bugislaus*, desiring they would transmit it to the senate; and support it with all their weight and influence. To conclude, he summed up his intreaties and remonstrances in requesting, that the difference between him and the senate might be submitted to the arbitration of the neighbouring princes, of the nobility, or of deputies from the cities, provided they were dispassionate and unprejudiced. In case this just request was refused him, he protested that he would first demand justice of God, next of the pope, the emperor, the kings and princes of the universe; not doubting but he would find some powers zealous enough in the cause of equity to redress his grievances, and to punish the injuries and insults put on majesty and God's anointed. ^d

Eric deposed.

BUT all his remonstrances and menaces, unsupported by power, were disregarded. He was formally deposed, and his nephew *Christopher* crowned king, according to the forms required by law; after which *Eric* spent the ten following years shut up in the isle of *Gotbland*, from whence he sent forth piratical squadrons to annoy the *Swedish* commerce. At the expiration of ten years, he passed into *Pomerania*, where he lived in the same retirement, and about the same number of years, here ending his days unlamented. Never did prince experience a greater variety of fortune, or pass through more opposite characters. On his accession he was universally beloved and esteemed by the people. Bred under the eye of a queen perfectly mistress of the art of governing, he joined experience to natural talents and a quick discernment. Soon after the death of *Margaret* his ambition increased, and his prudence vanished proportionably. It was not the laudable ambition of ^e

^a MEURS. & PONTAN. in loc. citat.

(A) It deserves notice, that the states now insisted, for the first time, upon making elections absolutely free and independent of the will of the sovereign. This was the first step the nobility took to raise their power above the royal prerogative, and the other states of the kingdom, which they at last effected, when the

royal line was extinct in *Christopher III.* and the house *Oldenburgh* ascended the throne. We have seen, in the short sketch given of the present state of *Denmark*, to what an exorbitant height this power had risen, until it brought about another revolution, destructive to the liberty of the people.

raising

- a raising his subjects above other nations in wealth, power, and felicity; but of elevating himself above their laws and liberties. His behaviour and pride engaged him in a tedious war with the *Holstein* family and northern hanse-towns, during which he was unsuccessful in almost all his enterprizes, from a variety of causes. His own irresolution, the disaffection of his subjects, his dependence on foreigners, his dissipation of the public treasure, and innumerable other circumstances, concurred in spinning the war out to a period of twenty-nine years, and in rendering every negotiation, every siege, battle, and operation, whether in the cabinet or the field, fruitless: circumstances that in the end deprived him of his crown, which he might have enjoyed for an uncommon course of years in ease and tranquillity, with reputation to himself and his subjects *. But we shall have occasion to relate some transactions in the following reign, which will more distinctly mark the character of this unfortunate prince.

His character.

S E C T. XI.

Here the Affairs of Denmark are recited down to the Year 1481, when John was elected to fill the Throne.

C H R I S T O P H E R. III.

- c CHRISTOPHER duke of *Bavaria*, son of *John* duke of *Bavaria*, by his wife *Sophia*, sister to *Eric* king of *Denmark*, being elected king in the room of the deposed sovereign, and invited to take possession of the throne, came with that intention to *Lubeck*, where he was met by the senate, and a great number of nobility, who immediately took the oaths. From thence he went to *Denmark*, and was there invested with the authority of protector of the kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Norway*; but the states declined giving him the appellation of king, or the badges of sovereignty.
- d IMMEDIATELY on his arrival in *Denmark* the senate published a decree, whereby all those were declared enemies to their country who should visit *Eric's* court, or obey any other sovereign than *Christopher*; an act chiefly levelled against *Bugislaus*, *Barnim*, and *Wratislaus*, the kinsmen and allies of *Eric*. Accordingly they retired out of the kingdom the instant of its publication. After this an embassy was sent to the grand bailiff, grand mareschal, and senate of *Sweden*, to negotiate with them about the union of the crowns, and the establishment of *Christopher* in the sovereignty of that kingdom. Commissioners were appointed to treat with the *Danish* ambassadors, and a congress fixed at *Jenecoping*. Here it was agreed, that, previous to all other business, the resolutions of the general diet at *Calmar*, in the year 1436, should be exactly followed; except that article which stipulated, that during *Eric's* natural life no other sovereign should be acknowledged. It was next determined, that the states of the three kingdoms should assemble on the twenty-fourth of June following at *Calmar*, to deliberate concerning the security of the right, privileges, and immunities of the people †.
- e Soon after this a manifesto was published by the senate of *Denmark*, containing fresh articles of accusation against *Eric*, which were affixed on the gates of all the northern hanse-towns. Among other charges was that of maintaining a destructive war against the *Holstein* family, and the northern hanse-towns, many years after honourable and advantageous terms of accommodation were offered. This, in fact, was false; for *Eric* had done all in his power, for the eight last years of his reign, to compromise their differences, which the *Holstein* princes always declined, in consequence of some new advantage they had gained over the king's forces. That he was often intreated, after the death of his queen, to strengthen the succession by another marriage; but he chose to pass his life with a concubine, rather than gratify the ardent wish of his people: that he had made several attempts to break the union of the three crowns, and raise disturbances in the kingdom, to favour the design of placing *Bugislaus* on the throne: that, notwithstanding notice had been given him by the archbishop of *Lunden*, in the name of the senate, to withdraw out of the hands of foreigners, the strong-holds of the kingdom, and the islands of *Fionia*, *Langland*, *Laaland*, and *Mona*; yet he despised their advice, contrary to the dictates of religion, contrary to his solemn oath, and against the fundamental laws of the kingdom. Even the menaces of the senate, that they would depose him, could not induce *Eric* to gratify them in this particular; from whence it was obvious, said they, that he must have formed some deep and dangerous designs: that he had alienated the isle of *Rugen* from the crown: that he made no scruple about giving the government of *Fionia* to *Bugislaus*, notwithstanding

Christopher III.

Decree of the senate against Eric's adherents.

Fresh articles of accusation against Eric.

* Vid. Aut. citat. PUFFEND. Introd. a L'Hist. Gener. t. iv. p. 203. & seq.

† PONTAN. l. ix.

ing the pressing instances of the senate to the contrary : and that, after consigning all the important trust in the kingdom to foreigners, he then retreated to the island of *Gotland*, abstracting himself from all cares of government : that he had assumed a despotic authority, by treating the clergy of the three kingdoms with the utmost rigour, contempt, and violence : that it was notorious he had one day struck and disfigured the face of an ecclesiastic, for no other reason than his innocently presenting letters from his holiness, which happened not to please him : that he aggravated the affront, by endeavouring to oblige the ecclesiastic to drink up the blood which issued from his nose, and on his refusal, confined him in prison in irons : that he placed in the government of provinces foreigners, whose avarice and poverty could only be exceeded by their insolence in office ; who treated the people rather like slaves than the free-born subjects of an elective prince : that he altered and debased the coin, oppressed the people with taxes beyond their ability, and plundered their effects on refusing to pay what exceeded their power : and, lastly, that he neglected to assemble the diet, as ordained by law, to hear the complaints of the injured ; and, in a word, suffered usurpers, oppressors, and public robbers, to live with impunity upon the vitals of the people. Such was this fresh charge against *Eric*, published in defence of their own conduct, and to prevent the hanse-towns from taking arms in behalf of the deposed monarch ^b.

A. D. 1439. It was about this time that *Christopher* published an edict, enjoining all those who held fortresses in his name, instantly to surrender them to the senate, under pain of forfeiting life and effects. In particular he sent a copy of this edict to the governor of *Korsor*, giving him friendly advice with respect to the consequence of disobedience. From this edict we may conclude, that he had not yet taken the title of king of *Denmark*, though *Meursius* expressly affirms the contrary ; for through the whole he is called only duke of *Bavaria*, protector of the kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, and the senate mentioned the supreme power. ^c

A. D. 1446. At the diet of *Wiburg*, held in the beginning of the following year, *Christopher* solemnly promised, in virtue of his election, to defend the state, protect the different orders of subjects in the kingdom in their several rights, maintain their common liberties, and consent to all the conditions which should be thought necessary by the ensuing general diet of the three kingdoms at *Calmar*. The day appointed for this general diet being come, only a few deputies attended. The *Danes* were busied in appeasing the insurrection of the peasants in *Jutland* ; and the *Swedes* were retard by obstructions which the grand marshal *Canutson* had raised, who foresaw that the election of *Christopher* would be attended with the loss of the greater part of his authority. As the assembly did not find their number sufficient to proceed to business, they adjourned themselves for a certain time, appointing their next session at *Abroga*. ^d

A general diet of the three kingdoms. WHEN the deputies met at *Abroga*, those of *Denmark* demanded that the *Swedes* would acknowledge *Christopher* for their sovereign ; they enumerated his good qualities, the oath he had taken at *Wiburg*, and his readiness to comply with whatever could reasonably be demanded. *Canutson*, perceiving the *Swedes* disposed in his favour, resolved no longer to retard a measure which he could not altogether prevent ; but he besought them at the same time to pay some regard to his long services, and immense expences in supporting the dignity of an exhausted treasury, and protecting an enfeebled kingdom, at his own private charge. He set forth that he was encumbered with debts he should never be able to discharge without the assistance of the government, which was the only reason he had to oppose the election of *Christopher*. Pleased with finding the marshal in this disposition, the assembly declared, that, in consideration of his services, he should enjoy *Finland*, the province in which he was born, together with the islands of *Oeland* and *Bergholm*, the first during his own life, and the latter in perpetuity to him and his heirs ; but on this condition, that the crown should at any time have power to redeem them for the sum of forty thousand marks in silver. The *Danes* perceived of what consequence it was to gain over the marshal, and therefore promised that *Christopher* should confirm the donation of the assembly ; adding, that a decree might be passed to prohibit all persons from filing suits, or preferring accusations against him, on account of his past administration. ^e

MATTERS being thus adjusted, the senate wrote to *Christopher*, intimating their intention to elect him sovereign ; but requesting that he would first meet them at *Calmar*, to confirm the rights and privileges of the people, preliminaries which were requisite to his election. *Christopher* assented ; and imagining that it would be highly expedient to establish the best terms with *Canutson*, he invited him to *Helmstadt*, received him favourably, and confirmed the senate's decree, and all that had been done for him by the diet. ^f

^b PONTAN. MEURS. PUFFEND. & Hist. Univ. in loc. citat.

^a WHILE he was waiting for the time appointed for the next general diet, *Christopher*, in quality of king of *Denmark*, granted the investiture of *Sleswick* to duke *Adolphus* of *Holstein*: but he had the precaution to demand a decree of the senate, declaring that at their desire he granted this investiture. Next he laboured to compose the troubles in *Jutland*, where the inhabitants refused paying all taxes, unless they were suffered to pay them to their late king *Eric*. They assembled to the number of twenty-five thousand men, and came to an action with the king's troops, in which no considerable advantage was gained on either side. Some prisoners fell into the hands of the peasants, and among others a *Bavarian* gentleman, the king's great favourite, whom they treated with great cruelty. Incensed at their obstinacy, *Christopher* marched against them in person, gave them battle, and obtained a complete but bloody victory. *Henry Togon*, a senator who had always espoused *Eric*, together with several others of his adherents, were taken prisoners, and all condemned to be broke alive on the wheel. However, of the whole peasant army not above fifteen hundred were left dead on the field, though great numbers were wounded. Their main body gained a neighbouring hill, which they so intrenched with waggons and chariots, as to withstand all the attacks of the king's cavalry. At last *Christopher* was advised to offer them pardon if they would submit, which induced many to throw down their arms: the rest were obstinate, though weakened by this desertion; they were again attacked and cut to pieces ^c.

Christopher attends the general diet at Calmar.

The Jutlanders rebel, and are defeated by Christopher.

His majesty had been longer detained on this expedition than he imagined. It was the month of *August* before he could get to *Calmar*, though the *Swedish* senate appointed the congress in *June*. First, he had an interview with *Canutson*, at *Helmstadt*, and both proceeded together to *Calmar*, where the duke was received with great joy and respect by the states of *Sweden*. After settling every point respecting their rights, *Christopher* was conducted to *Stockholm*, into which he made his public entry, amidst the acclamations of the people. On the thirteenth of *September* he was proclaimed king with the usual formalities, and next day solemnly crowned, by the archbishop of *Upsal*.

^d *CHRISTOPHER* was no sooner in *Stockholm*, than crowds of people of all ranks flocked round him, with complaints against the grand marshal; but his promise to *Canutson*, the great influence of that nobleman, and the esteem in which he was held by the common people, made him decline taking cognizance of these grievances. One instance of his popularity occurred on the day his majesty made his entry: the people cried out, that *Charles* better deserved a crown than *Christopher*. He had the dignity of a king, they said, but the other the stature of a dwarf. He was brave, affable, and eloquent; but these qualities were doubtful in the other. The truth was, they were displeased with the figure of *Christopher*, which was greatly eclipsed by the personal qualities of the other. The vulgar judge by the eye and ear.

Christopher sets out for Stockholm.

^e His majesty's long residence in *Sweden* furnished an opportunity for new disturbances in *Jutland*. The governors treated the people with great severity, and seized the occasion of their falling under the displeasure of the court to replenish their own coffers. To remedy these enormities, *Christopher* published an edict, advising the people to remain firm in their allegiance, and prohibiting the governors and officers of the court to exact any thing more than was required by law, under pain of his displeasure.

A. D. 1442. Fresh disturbances in Jutland.

^f ALL this time *Eric* lived in the isle of *Gothland*, and had fortified himself strongly in *Wisby*. He had assembled a great number of shipping, with which repeated piracies were committed on the high seas, and descents on the *Swedish* coasts. Complaints were made to *Christopher*; but they were treated with raillery, saying, he was glad his uncle could fall upon any method of amusing and supporting himself. However, the evil daily increased, and the complaints of the people grew proportionably more loud and earnest, which obliged the king to make formal preparations for war against *Eric*. He passed with *Canutson* at the head of a considerable armament to *Gothland*, and all were in expectation that he would either drive the deposed king out of *Gothland*, or at least procure some means of reducing the pirates; but he performed neither; and, it is said, that the two princes met, passed some time together with great cordiality, and parted good friends. Certain it is, that *Eric* remained in possession of the island, without ceasing to molest the *Swedish* commerce and coasts ^c.

Christopher visits king Eric.

In *January* 1443, *Christopher* went from *Sweden* to *Norway*, receiving at *Anslo* the crown of that kingdom, and the allegiance of the people. Thence he passed into *Denmark*, and was crowned at *Ripen* by the archbishop of *Lunden*.

^c PONTAN. lib. x.

^d Ibid.

Christopher
attaches him-
self particu-
larly to Den-
mark.

AFTER *Christopher* was solemnly acknowledged sovereign in the three kingdoms, like his predecessors, he began to attach himself chiefly to *Denmark*, but without neglecting his duty to the other two. His whole time was taken up in the concerns of his subjects. in regulating society, encouraging trade, and enforcing the laws. He began with confirming the privileges of the towns and cities, and *Copenhagen* received the first marks of his favour. Next he took into consideration certain complaints laid before him, by the bishops of *Ripen*, *Arhus*, *Odensee*, and *Wiburg*, that the tithes were not properly paid. Advocates were heard on both sides, and *Christopher* gave sentence, in such a manner as displeased neither, as it was apparent that he blended the good of the people with a just respect for the clergy. The privileges of the church he confirmed, and augmented those of *Lunden*. He entered upon a treaty with the bishop of *Roschild*, whereby *Copenhagen*, until then a dependency on that diocese, was ceded to the crown. Next he shewed his regard for commerce, by permitting the city of *Amsterdam*, and the hanse-towns to trade to all the ports in the three kingdoms, on their paying the usual customs. Several other regulations of a salutary nature were made, and nothing committed that could stamp a favourable impression of his character on the minds of the people.

Christopher.
passes into
Germany
incog.

ALL historians mention a conference which *Christopher* held this year at *Wismar* with several German princes; but they differ with respect to the motives for this interview. *Grantzius* and *Pontanus*, however, are of opinion, that measures were here concerted for bridling the insolence of the hanse-towns, who greatly annoyed the *Danish* commerce; and that it was determined rather to use policy than force. With this view he took the habit of a pilgrim, as if he intended visiting *Palestine*, and came to the congress, attended with eight hundred horse; but what the design or effects were of such a stratagem, we are left to enquire elsewhere. In this imperfect unsatisfactory manner, do these voluminous authors compile history, and such are the materials from whence we have been painfully forced to collect our account of this kingdom.

JOHANNES GOTHUS, a *Swedish* writer, alledges, that *Christopher* enriched with the spoils of an *English* fleet, over which his squadrons obtained a signal victory, resolved to be revenged on the hanse-towns. He collected a numerous fleet, and sent to the regency of *Lubec* that he intended making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and shou'd be glad of a passage through their city. But as his retinue was uncommonly great, the regency prudently declined admitting such guests within their walls. *Christopher* finding his plan disconcerted, returned full of indignation to *Denmark*. What credit is due to this account we know not, though certain we are, that it is not only embarrassed in the relation, but contradicted by the testimony of other writers of equal credit; and as for the *English* historians, they pass over in intire silence the circumstance of the victory over the fleet of their nation.

A. D. 1444.
He marries the
daughter of
the margrave
of Branden-
burg.

THIS year we are told the king had some thoughts of marriage, and received an embassy from the sultan of *Egypt*, who offered him his daughter; but in what manner the king declined this alliance, we are not informed. The princess most agreeable to *Christopher's* inclinations was *Dorothea*, daughter of the margrave *John* of *Brandenburg*, furnished the *Alchemist*. This was probably one part of the business of the conference at *Wismar*: the match was concluded, and the greater part of the year taken up in preparations for celebrating the nuptials. The margrave promised a portion of 300,000 florins with his daughter; the marriage was consummated, but the money never paid.

IMMEDIATELY after his nuptials, *Christopher* confirmed the *German* merchants in all the privileges of trade they had ever enjoyed with his dominions; and his complaisance on this occasion to his wife was carried so far as to injure his own subjects, for the sake of her countrymen, by granting them certain immunities with respect to goods bought in his dominions, which destroyed the profits of the seller.

HITHERTO *Christopher* had lived in great harmony with the *Danish* nobility; but his marriage drew such an afflux of foreigners into the kingdom, as gave the alarm to his own subjects. Governments, places at court, and public trusts were bestowed on them, to the prejudice of native *Danes* and *Swedes*. Both took umbrage, and complaints became frequent and loud. *Christopher* had too much understanding to neglect their murmuring: instantly he called to mind the causes of *Eric's* deposition, and determined to avoid the same fate, yet without a breach of his word or hospitality to foreigners. His conduct on this occasion was wise and moderate: so equally did he balance, that he satisfied his subjects by removing foreigners; and gave no umbrage to the latter, by the delicacy used in performing this necessary duty. He recited to them his coronation oath, enlarged upon the mutual obligations between the sovereign and his subjects, expatiated on the grati-

A. D. 1445.
His majesty's
wise conduct.

^c Jo. GOTH. p. 113. ap. MEURS.

^f Joh. Meff. Theat. Suet. Nob. p. 260.

a tude due from him to his subjects, for exalting him by voluntary election to his present station; assured them of the sense he entertained of their services and attachment; of the reluctance with which he removed them from the trusts they had discharged with so much honour; and of his intention otherwise to reward them as soon as opportunity offered. In a word, he soothed, cajoled, and flattered in such a manner, that they resigned their places without resentment to the natives, and were succeeded by *Danes* and *Swedes*, who entertained the greatest respect for such amiable foreigners, whom they wished to continue in their office, could it be effected consistently with the interest of the public and of individuals.

b THIS year *Christopher* passed over to *Laaland*, and punished some disaffected persons, who obstinately adhered to *Eric*. He made divers local laws, intended purely for the good and conveniency of *Laaland* in particular; after which he went to *Sweden*, and studied popularity and the good of his people, no less in that kingdom than he had done in *Denmark*. A. D. 1446.

RETURNING from *Sweden* the following year he was shipwrecked, and immense treasures in money, and jewels which he had on board, were lost. Notwithstanding the indulgence shewn to foreign merchants some enormities of which the *Hollanders* were guilty, laid the king under the necessity of arresting their ships in his ports. The difference was soon after amicably compromised by arbitration. A. D. 1447. The Danish fleet shattered in a storm.

c IN the year 1448, *Christopher* published writs for assembling the *Swedish* diet, and was preparing to pass into that kingdom, when he was seized with a malady that put an end to his days after a short illness.

CHRISTOPHER was at first greatly beloved by all his subjects, but particularly the *Danes*, for whom he could not help shewing some partiality, conducted with so little circumspection as gave umbrage to the *Swedes* or *Norwegians*. He endeavoured to subject *Sweden* to *Denmark*; but few *Swedish* writers allow, that he adhered so closely to the treaty of *Calmar*, as never to have violated their laws, except by the introduction of foreigners; a fault he soon repaired. Some, however, blame him for leaving *Eric* in possession of *Gothland*, and permitting him to molest the *Swedish* commerce and coasts with impunity. This indeed was wrong policy, and an injury to his subjects; but allowance ought to be made for his relation to that unhappy prince, and that delicacy of mind which would not suffer him to aggravate the misfortunes of a once powerful and respected monarch. All the *Danish* writers extol *Christopher* as a prodigy of moderation, prudence, and patriotism; the *Swedes* exclaim against him as a tyrant. Certain it is, that he preserved the kingdom in great tranquility and order, increased the wealth and commerce of his subjects, and greatly augmented the felicity of his people, by whom he was highly regretted. It may indeed be objected to his character, that he accepted so easily of a crown taken from the head of his aged uncle, notwithstanding his oath to the contrary; but we every day see instances of princes, minutely scrupulous of their oaths in common affairs, who hesitate not to break them in cases so trying to their ambition, as the offer of sovereignty. To them it belongs to decide, whether sovereignty can balance the shame and dishonour of acquiring it by perjury and perfidy (A). Christopher's death and character.

CHRISTOPHER dying without issue, great contests arose concerning a successor to the crown of the three kingdoms. The *Swedish* diet assembled at *Jenecoping*; and it was the opinion of a strong party, that the treaty of *Calmar* should be implicitly followed, and nothing determining with respect to succession, before the states of the three kingdoms met. Another faction, headed by *Canutson*, who aspired at the crown, supported the contrary opinion, and were for proceeding to an immediate election. They affirmed, that the union of *Calmar* was sufficiently broke through already, and that it never had any other effect than to raise *Denmark* on the ruins of *Sweden* and *Norway*. Besides, they alledged that the *Danes* were guilty of a direct infraction of the union, in calling *Christopher* to *Denmark*, without consulting the inclinations of the two other kingdoms. In fine, their discourse was designed to inflame the *Swedish* nation against *Denmark*, and to revive in the minds of the people the ancient animosity between the two nations. Great disputes in the three kingdoms about a successor to the throne.

As soon as this news was received in *Denmark*, the senate resolved to proceed to the election of a king; for it did not appear expedient to commit the government of affairs to the queen-dowager, at a time when they had every thing to fear from the two neighbouring crowns. At this time a lord of great weight, property, and ambition, sought the queen in marriage, the more easily to pave his way to the throne. This is a fact mentioned by *Pontanus* and *Meursius*, though neither taken notice of his name^a. But as for a great number Resolution of the Danish diet.

^a PONTAN. l. ix. MEURS. in Vit. Christiani, p. 3.

(A) It must be observed, that we here speak of *Christopher's* conduct with respect to *Denmark* only.

of years there was no precedent for electing a king out of the body of nobility, though agreeable to law, the queen entered into the views of the senate, and declared she would give her hand to no prince who should not be judged deserving of the crown by the supreme council of the nation.

They make offer of the crown to Adolphus of Holstein, which he refuses.

THE advantages which would accrue from annexing the duchy of *Sleswick* and *Holstein* to the crown, made the senate first cast their eyes on *Adolphus*. This matter required no long deliberation; all saw the conveniencies resulting from such an union, and gave their assent. Immediately an ambassy was dispatched with the offer to *Adolphus*; but that prince consulting the good of his subjects, whose interest would be absorbed in the superior weight of *Denmark*, declined it, with a moderation and disinterestedness altogether uncommon among princes. However, that he might not be wanting in respect to the senate, he proposed to them his nephew *Christian*, second son to *Theodoric*, earl of *Oulenburg*, a prince bred up at the court of *Adolphus* from his infancy. The proposition was so agreeable to the senate, that, without loss of time, the ambassadors were sent to *Theodoric*, to demand either of his sons he pleased for their king. *Theodoric's* answer to the ambassador was remarkable: "I have three sons, says he, of very opposite qualities. One is passionately fond of pleasure and women; another breathes nothing but war, without regarding the justice of the cause; but the third is moderate in his disposition, prefers peace to the din of arms, yet stands unrivalled in valour, generosity, and magnanimity." To this he added, that he painted these characters for the senate's information, desiring they would chuse which of the young princes they believed would render the kingdom happiest. It was a matter which would admit of no hesitation: with one voice the senate declared for that prince whose panegyric the father had so warmly drawn; and under these happy auspices commenced the origin of the grandeur of the house of *Oldenburg*, at this day seated on the throne of *Denmark*.

CHRISTIAN, or CHRISTIERN, of Oldenburg.

Christian I. of Oldenburg elected king of Denmark.

IN the mean time *Canutson* acted with so much policy in *Sweden* as procured him a majority of votes in the diet; in consequence of which he set out for *Upsal*, to have the ceremonies of his coronation performed. As soon as he was acknowledged king, he notified his accession to the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, founding at the same time their inclinations with respect to continuing the union of the crowns; but finding both kingdoms averse to his exaltation, he returned to *Stockholm*, with intention to revenge himself, and subdue the island of *Gothland*. Two thousand men were immediately embarked, under the command of two generals, whose instructions were to invade that island, and make themselves masters of *Eric's* person. Informed of his design, the *Danish* senators sent ambassadors to him, requesting him to withdraw his troops before hostilities were committed. The ambassadors represented, that *Gothland* belonged, by right of conquest, to the crown of *Denmark* from the time of *Valdemar III.* and that queen *Margaret* had redeemed it of the grand master of the *Teutonic* order, to whom it was mortgaged by king *Albert*. They had instructions to add, that, in case of refusal, his *Danish* majesty would not fail to oppose his designs, and make reprisals. But *Charles* was too proud to acknowledge the right of *Denmark*, and too sure of conquest to relinquish his scheme. His answer was such as induced the senate immediately to request of *Christian* to come to *Denmark*, and vindicate the rights of the crown. Accordingly he proceeded to *Lunden*, and was met by the senate and different states of the kingdom in a hall called *Tollerabob*, a place antiently destined for the election of the *Danish* kings. Here he was proclaimed king of *Denmark* and *Norway*, receiving from archbishop *Tvon* the standard of the kingdom.

A. D. 1448. Eric besieged by the Swedes in Wisby, and his gallant defence.

ERIC all this while was closely besieged in *Wisby*. Obligated to abandon the town, he retired to the citadel, with a resolution to defend it to the last extremity, leaving the care of the city to the inhabitants. Matters soon wore a different aspect on his retreat. The inhabitants, fatigued with a long siege, lost their courage. The out-posts were neglected, and they no more appeared in such numbers, or with the same spirit, on the ramparts. This did not pass unobserved by the besiegers: they easily conjectured the reason, and resolved to give the assault, which proved fatal to *Wisby*, and brought it into the hands of the enemy. Such trepidation did the fury of the assailants occasion, that, had they attempted the citadel, they would have probably succeeded. *Meursus* however alleges, that the ladders were actually placed to the walls of the citadel, and vigorous efforts made by the *Swedes*; but defeated by the vigilance and bravery of *Eric*, who exerted himself in a very extraordinary manner on this occasion.

BUT whatever countenance he might hold out to the enemy, the loss of the city greatly disconcerted and straitened him. Provisions began to fail, and courage to be rendered of

a No effect, when famine stared him in the face. In this perplexity he held a council of his officers, and desired their advice; but all declared themselves unable to determine upon any salutary measures. Upon this he resolved to demand an interview with the *Swedish* generals, which was granted. He told them, that, on the whole, he owed great obligations to the *Danes*, who permitted him to enjoy this retreat unmolested, whatever cause of complaint he might have for their first defection. The same he could not alledge in favour of the *Swedes*, who not only frequently took arms against him, deposed him, and placed in his throne a base usurper, but now sought to drive him out of that little spot of ground, situated in the middle of the sea, and the only place where he could end his unfortunate life in tranquillity. He represented to them, that nothing could be more inglorious than to accumulate misfortunes on those already oppressed with misery, or to deprive their king of his only remaining hope, that of dying in ease.

b THE generals replied, that they could not, with honour or safety, forbear executing their instructions, which were to give him no quarter, if he refused to surrender prisoner at discretion, and give up his whole treasure. But *Eric* cajoled them with such flattering expressions, and softened them with so horrible a picture of his situation, that they granted a truce for a few days. It is said, that *Magnus Green*, the commander in chief, touched with the misfortunes of this prince, held a private correspondence with him, and agreed to the truce, in hopes that, before it was expired, he would have put himself in a state of defence. He even connived at his laying in stores of provision and ammunition.

c *ERIC* made the best use of the opportunity, and laid in stores and provision sufficient to stand a long siege. At the expiration of the truce, he was summoned to surrender the citadel; but on terms less rigid than were before offered. In consequence of orders from their king, the generals now permitted him to go wherever he pleased, with all his effects. King *Charles* dreaded the preparations made by *Christian*, knowing that he should be forced to withdraw his troops, if succour was sent to *Eric*; and this it was that occasioned these fresh instructions and moderate terms, which however were rejected by *Eric*. He now found himself supplied with necessaries, and refused to comply with any conditions until he could hear from *Denmark*. Accordingly he sent ambassadors to acquaint the senate with his situation, to demand speedy assistance, and to offer the citadel to be garrisoned by *Danish*

d troops. His proposal was embraced with joy. *Christian* equipped a fleet with great celerity, and gave the command of it to *Olaus Axelsson*, an officer of great reputation. His instructions were to take possession of the citadel of *Wisby*, to place a strong garrison in it, and to remove *Eric*, with all his effects, to any town of *Denmark*, or of *Pomerania*, at his option. The fleet put to sea, and arrived off the island of *Gothland*: *Olaus* had an interview with *Green* the *Swedish* general, who permitted him to enter the harbour of *Wisby* unmolested; he landed his troops, took possession of the citadel, and conducted *Eric* safe to *Burund*.

Eric puts the citadel of Wisby into the hands of the Danes.

e *ERIC* was but a few days here when he received a deputation from *Christian*, which does great honour to the politeness and humanity of that prince. He was requested not to take up his residence in any place out of the *Danish* dominions. He was offered the island of *Femeren*, and an appointment, which would enable him to live in a manner worthy of his dignity. *Eric* was affected with these instances of tenderness: he was ready to embrace the proposal, according to some historians; but afterwards altered his sentiments, and retired with a slender retinue to *Rugenwald* in *Pomerania*, to which place he was attended out of respect by the *Danish* deputies. Here he ended his days in great tranquillity, without attempting to recover his crown, or even repining at the loss. It is supposed, that some punctilious scruples prevented his returning to *Denmark*, and induced him to prefer an easy though obscure life in his own country, to one more splendid and agreeable in an island that composed but a very small part of his former dominions*.

Christian treats him with great humanity and distinction.

f THE citadel of *Wisby* had changed its garrison, without altering its real situation. Still the *Swedes* pushed the siege; and the garrison, finding provision and stores growing short, dispatched a messenger to *Denmark* to acquaint *Christian*, that, unless they received speedy assistance, they would be forced to surrender. Incensed at this account, the king raised troops, and equipped a squadron with all possible expedition, resolving to drive the *Swedes* out of the island. He put to sea with a body of choice troops, and attended by the flower of the *Holstein* nobility. On his arrival off the coast of *Gothland*, he sent *Axelsson* to treat with the *Swedish* generals, and prevail on them, if possible, to withdraw their troops, to avoid the effusion of blood. *Axelsson* laid his instructions before the generals; but could obtain no other answer than that they were ready to agree to a suspension of arms for a certain time, during which the two kings might negotiate a peace, things now remaining

A. D. 1449. The Swedes continue to besiege the citadel of Wisby.

* MEURS. *ibid.* p. 10.

Christian re-
lieves the be-
sieged.

in their present posture ; that is, *Wisby* in the hands of the *Swedes*, and the citadel in those of the *Danes*. His majesty, not satisfied with this answer, immediately disembarked the troops, supplied the citadel with all manner of stores and provision, raised some forts the *Swedes* had built round it, and then encamped before the city, to which he laid siege. One very brisk action passed, in which neither side gained any considerable advantage ; however, it determined *Christian* to set fire to the city : upon which the *Swedes* retired to the large houses built with stone. Upon their retreat the king ordered the walls to be demolished, and then attacked the garrison confined in the large houses, with so much vigour, that he soon became master of the whole city, the enemy submitting at discretion.

Christian
courts the af-
fections of the
Swedish na-
tion.

THE conquest of the island was not, however, the sole object of this expedition. *Christian* sought the affections and friendship of the *Swedish* nation, in order to pave the way for the union of the three crowns. He exhorted the nobility and officers, his prisoners, to enter into these measures, and obtained their promise, on condition the prisoners were set at liberty without ransom. His majesty, after sufficiently garrisoning all the forts and strong posts in the island, returned victorious to *Denmark*, where he was solemnly crowned by the archbishop of *Lunden* ; a ceremony hitherto omitted. The same day also he espoused *Dorothea*, widow of the late king *Christopher*.

Affairs of
Sweden.

CHARLES of *Sweden*, to console himself for the disgrace sustained in *Gothland*, made a descent on *Norway*, and exerted himself so vigorously, that he was crowned king at *Drontheim*, in spite of all the endeavours of the nobility, who exhorted the people to adhere to the union of *Calmar*. But fearing that *Christian* might, in the mean while, invade *Sweden*, he appointed a regency in *Norway* and returned with the utmost dispatch. But though *Christian* was by no means pleased with this proceeding, he resolved to sit down quietly, and rather support the loss of the crown of *Norway*, than harass his people with fresh disputes, already reduced very low by the long wars with *Holstein*, and bad economy under *Eric*. With a view to establish peace, he sent an embassy to *Sweden*, inviting king *Charles* to an interview at *Helmstadt*, to compose all differences between the two kingdoms. The ambassadors were ordered to demand, that if *Charles* did not chuse to attend in person, he would send two ambassadors with full powers to treat and conclude peace.

ON their arrival in *Sweden* they laid their instructions before the senate, and were answered, that the business of the nation required his majesty's presence ; but two ambassadors should attend the congress, with all the necessary powers. Besides the plenipotentiaries, *Charles* appointed twelve deputies to accompany them, to whom he gave peremptory instructions, to part with neither the kingdom of *Norway* nor the isle of *Gothland*, to his *Danish* majesty ; but to submit that affair to the decision of the pope or emperor, or of the sword.

Christian com-
plains to the
diet of the con-
duct of his
Swedish ma-
jesty.

CHRISTIAN opened the congress with complaining, that *Charles*, in prejudice of all the treaties between the northern crowns, had, from an ambition to reign, procured to himself the crown of *Sweden* ; a proceeding which it was evident would entail a perpetual war on the three kingdoms. He represented the advantages of the union of *Calmar*, so solemnly sworn to by the states of the three kingdoms. He affirmed it was the only measure that could be thought of, to preserve peace, repress the ambition of the great, who might aspire at the crown, and oppose all the attacks from foreign enemies. He added, that he could not, without astonishment, reflect on *Charles's* late proceedings in *Norway*, and violently obliging the states to elect him king, although he well knew, that *Norway* appertained, by right of succession, to the king of *Denmark*. He doubted not, therefore, but that prince preferred war to peace, else would he never go on in a series of such practices. His majesty then concluded, with exhorting the assembly to labour with him in avoiding hostilities, and a war, which could not fail of proving ruinous and destructive to the subjects of the three kingdoms, a consequence, in his own opinion, not to be balanced by the most signal advantages to the king ^b.

The Swedes
disgusted with
Charles's go-
vernment.

IT was evident that *Christian's* harangue made an impression on the *Swedish* plenipotentiaries and deputies, already disgusted with the government of *Charles*, whom with regret they permitted to ascend the throne, only because they could not oppose his elevation. They replied therefore to his majesty, that nothing would give them so much satisfaction as the means of establishing a solid peace. They promised to use all their endeavours to procure the restitution of *Norway*, to which it was certain *Charles* had no manner of right ; and they even went so far as to engage obliging him to abdicate the crown of *Sweden*, provided he could obtain the viceroyship of that kingdom. This reply was intirely correspondent to the king's wish, and indeed more than he could well expect, at the

^b Des Roches Hist. de Denmarc, t. iv. Vit. Christ.

a first mention of his design. He told the plenipotentiaries, that for the sake of peace he accepted their offer, provided that on their return they would exert themselves to effect their promises.

On their return to *Sweden*, they laid before the king the conclusion of the negotiation, with which *Charles* was violently enraged. He accused the plenipotentiaries of having exceeded their instructions and betrayed him: he confiscated their estates, under pretence of their having conspired against his crown, assembled a diet at *Calmar*, taking care that only his own creatures should be present, and obliged them to renew their oath of allegiance. But instead of promoting his interest by such violent measures, he seemed to labour his own destruction. The plenipotentiaries were noblemen of high distinction and great influence; the deputies joined with them, and all resolved to revenge the affront and injury done them. They made offer of their services to *Christian*, who rejoiced at an acquisition, which *Charles* despised under the false notion that his authority was too well established to receive any shock from the revolt of such a handful of his subjects. A. D. 1450.

CHRISTIAN waited for some time at *Helmstadt*, expecting an answer from *Sweden*, with respect to the conditions stipulated at the congress; but the time appointed being elapsed, he called a diet in *Zealand*, to deliberate on the necessary measures to be taken. It was the opinion of the diet, and upon this a resolution was formed, that his majesty should not enter upon open war, but content himself with annoying the commerce, and harassing the coasts of *Sweden* and *Norway*, which would encrease the people's distaste of *Charles's* government, of which they already complained, and make them the more eager to renew the union of the three crowns. Accordingly an army was levied, and a fleet was equipped. Orders were given to the generals and admirals, to make descents on all the coasts of *Sweden*, where they imagined they could be successful, but without hazard. They punctually executed their commission, having ravaged the sea coast, and advanced within sight of *Stockholm*. Here the troops were landed, and terrible incursions made to the very walls of the capital; after which they embarked again without loss, carrying with them a prodigious booty. *Johannes Gothus* alledges, however, that this booty cost them dear; for while they were dispersed in negligence and security about the country, they were attacked by a body of *Swedes*, who defeated them, took a great number of prisoners, and left some hundreds dead upon the field^a.

The following year *Christian* went to *Wismar*, under pretence of performing a vow; A. D. 1451. but in reality to confer with the margrave and other *German* princes, and to labour to prevail on the hanse-towns to refuse *Charles* the succours he solicited. In one respect this journey profited the *Danish* monarch; in another it was prejudicial to his interest. He executed all he desired with the *German* states; but *Charles* taking advantage of his absence, revenged upon *Schonen* the insults committed by *Christian's* fleet on the *Swedish* coasts: He entered the province in the depth of winter, with an army said to amount to seventy thousand men, burning and destroying all before him. Men, women, and children, without distinction, were cruelly put to the sword. Such as were happy enough to escape the fury of this barbarous foe, took shelter on the mountains and inaccessible rocks, where, endeavouring to avoid the sword, they encountered a death more terrible from cold and famine. Nor did the villages and little market towns alone feel the weight of *Charles's* resentment. The towns of *Helsingburg* and *Landskroon* were reduced to ashes. *Lunden* indeed repulsed all the endeavours of this formidable army. Archbishop *Tychon*, at the head of a body of brave volunteers, made such furious sallies, as forced the *Swedes* to retire with great loss, after they had set fire to the suburbs. *Charles* continued for several weeks before this city, but the last sally he could not stand. *Tychon* had collected his whole force, and bursting forth from one of the ports like an irresistible torrent, drove all before him, and was seconded in the pursuit by a great body of peasants, who fell upon the flying *Swedes*, and made terrible destruction. This disgrace only served to sharpen the cruelty and sword of *Charles*. Retiring to the monastery of *Dalben*, he sacrificed in cold blood a number of merchants, who had taken shelter in the monastery as a place of security. He burnt several other religious houses in his retreat, and attacked the castle of *Wetcheffle*, where he met with a repulse from the lady to whom it belonged. This heroine collecting together her vassals and tenants, gave *Charles* so warm a reception, that he was glad to pursue his march without making any farther attempts. Thus *Charles* was twice disgraced by two persons the least fit for conducting military operations; the one on account of his sacred function, the other by reason of her tender sex.

Charles enters Schonen, and lays waste the provinces.

CHRISTIAN's absence deprived the unhappy *Schoneners* of protection; and now, on his return, the *Sound* was shut up with ice in such a manner, as prevented him from giving them any effectual succour. Enraged with the barbarity of *Charles*, the *Danish* monarch

^a MEURS. Vit. Christ. p. 14.

The Danish
fleet lay siege to
Stockholm.

A. D. 1452.

Charles re-
turns to Swe-
den with a
great army.

Affairs of
Sweden.

meditated revenge; and early in the spring sent a strong squadron, under *Claus Axelson*, to lay siege to *Stockholm*, while himself, at the head of a powerful army, entered *Sweden* on the other side. His first shock fell upon *West Gothland*, where he easily reduced *Ladese*, and made some stay in order to repair the fortifications: but his time was not idly spent, though he seemed to pass it inactively. At *Ladese* he had frequent conferences with the nobility and gentry of *West Gothland*, all of whom promised to acknowledge him for their sovereign, as soon as he had conquered a certain part of *Sweden*. Others did not demand any conditions: they, without hesitation, renounced their allegiance to *Charles*, and swore obedience to *Christian*. Nor did the fortifications so wholly employ the *Danish* troops, as to prevent their very profitable excursions into the neighbouring country, where they plundered the houses and estates of such as remained in their allegiance to *Charles*. The *Swedish* peasants sought shelter in the mountains; but receiving intelligence that the enemy were less numerous than at first they imagined, they assembled and attacked the *Danes*, whom they found dispersed in quest of booty about the country, and cut great numbers of them in pieces. Another body of *Danes*, hearing of the fate of their comrades, drew the peasant army to a battle in the open plain, and had their revenge, by obtaining a signal and complete victory. By this last advantage, the whole province submitted to *Christian*; all the inhabitants, whether peasants or nobles, acknowledging *Christian* for their sovereign.

DURING these transactions in *West Gothland*, *Charles* entered *Upland* at the head of his army, and descended into the forest of *Tywedem*, with intention to oppose *Christian's* progress. With this view he placed his troops in ambush on the road the *Danish* army must march; but hearing that *Stockholm* was invested, he altered his design, and flew to the relief of the capital. His arrival was seasonable: the city had been closely blocked up by sea, and the troops were just beginning to carry on their approaches by land. The besieged, encouraged by the presence of their monarch, took the most vigorous measures for their defence; and the *Danes*, perceiving that all their endeavours to reduce the place would be vain, quitted the siege, and set sail for *Denmark*.

THIS disappointment was followed by another, more important. *Christian*, determining to return to *Denmark*, on account of the approaching winter, sent before him a detachment to clear the roads, and secure the army against ambuscades. The officer appointed to this duty discharged his business so negligently, that he fell into the ambush he was sent to avoid, and was cut in pieces, with all his corps.

THIS success gave fresh courage to *Charles*, who, advancing towards *West Gothland*, detached a part of his army to attack *Ladese*, which place had been newly fortified by the *Danes*. *Thord Bonde* was chosen to execute this business, and he acquitted himself with astonishing diligence, marching day and night through thick forests, over steep rocks and mountains covered with ice and snow, until he at length arrived before the town, which he attacked, sword in hand, and carried, making the whole garrison prisoners at discretion. No sooner had *Charles* received the welcome news than he hastened with his army to *West Gothland*, and obliged all the governors, placed in the different garrisons by *Christian*, to surrender their trusts to him^a.

CHRISTIAN was not, however, disconcerted at these successes gained by the enemy. He had another game to play; it being less his intention to carry on a war with *Charles*, than by dint of policy to oblige the *Swedes* to demand the execution of the union of *Calmar*. To effect this he did not enter upon fresh hostilities; but continued to keep the whole nation under perpetual alarms, and constrain *Charles* to maintain so large a standing army as would soon impoverish the kingdom, and render his government odious to the people. At last the *Swedish* troops began to murmur at the frequent marches and counter-marches they were forced to make, according to the alarm spread by *Christian*. The people complained loudly of the weight of taxes, and the oppression of the military. This was precisely what the artful *Danish* monarch foresaw; but these were not all the misfortunes to which unhappy *Sweden* was exposed. The governors of provinces, towns, and forts, seized the opportunity of enriching themselves with the spoils of the people, under the pretext of supporting the requisite military force, and even raised contributions, as if they were in an enemy's country. All these accumulated miseries might however be thought tolerable, had it not pleased the almighty to crown them with those two most dreadful scourges of mankind, pestilence and famine, which raged with unrelenting fury among men and cattle.

SUCH for a considerable time was the deplorable condition of *Sweden*; while *Denmark*, the neighbouring kingdom, enjoyed ease, plenty, and security. If at any time the repose of the kingdom was disturbed, it proceeded only from some slight skirmish with the enemy, or incursion into their country.

^a MAURS. *ibid.*

a This year *Christian* resolved to distress *Sweden* still more, and at once reduce *Charles* to the necessity of making peace on the terms he should think fit to grant. At the head of a numerous army he passed the borders, and laid siege to *Elfsburg*, which fortrefs he carried by assault. Next he repaired the fortifications of *Denholm*, the key of *Schonen*, to prevent the enemy from over-running that province a second time. Encouraged by his successes, he formed greater designs; the first step to which was the conquest of the island *Oeland*. This expedition he entrusted to general *Green*, who had left the *Swedish* service in disgust. He made a descent, in spite of the resistance of the inhabitants, and sat down with his army before *Borkholm*. The garrison bravely stood out to the last, and did not surrender before a large breach was made, and the *Danes* were preparing to give the assault; and then too upon honourable conditions. *Green*, however, took one precaution, and strictly prohibited any officer or soldier of the garrison, under pain of death, to carry off any thing besides his own effects. This he did upon receiving advice that *Charles* had lodged a considerable treasure here, to support a war against *Denmark*.
A. D. 1455.
Christian
again invades
Sweden.

He takes the
isle of Oeland.

On the other hand, *Christian* was making a rapid progress in the reduction of the continent of *Sweden*, insomuch that the bishops and nobility, to avoid the horrors of war, were forming a design of bestowing the crown upon him. They complained, that *Charles*, naturally haughty, grew intolerable since his accession, governing in the most arbitrary manner, attacking the privileges of the different states, and regulating all things by his will, without regard to law and the constitution. Since the reign of *Margaret*, the bishops had been strongly attached to the interests of *Denmark*, that queen having raised their authority in the government above the nobility. They could not support the thoughts of a reduction of power, which *Charles* was continually attempting, nor that any of the church-lands should be sequestered for the use of the crown. That prince had appointed commissioners to examine into the titles by which the clergy held divers estates. He published a decree, forbidding all his subjects, under severe penalties, from founding religious houses and establishments, so prejudicial to the kingdom in general, and injurious to individuals, as it would put the whole wealth into the hands of the clergy.

Nothing could be more agreeable to *Christian* than this policy of the *Swedish* monarch, which was unseasonable with respect to his own interest, but salutary to his people. The clergy treated him as a heretic, and regarded his attacks on their temporal interest as an attempt against religion, in which view they artfully presented it to the people. In this consists the strength of the politics of this sacred body: whatever affects their power and wealth is immediately confounded with religion itself; the cry is raised against dangerous innovation; the flames of sedition kindled, and the real cause of their jealousy and resentment concealed, amidst a thousand other false but specious pretexts. It happened thus with the *Swedish* clergy, who openly revolted against *Charles*, though he had never meddled with religion, and engaged more than half of *Sweden* in their designs. The archbishop of *Upsal*, on account of some personal grievances, declared himself the head of this revolt. He sent privately to *Christian*, inviting him into *Sweden* to restore the union of *Calmar*, assuring that all the clergy would declare in his favour, and that they were ready to a man to receive him in their cities and garrisons as their lawful sovereign.
Christian for-
ments the dis-
contents of the
Swedes.

A. D. 1446.

CHRISTIAN had long watched this occasion, and now resolved to embrace it. He equipped a fleet, which he sent to *Finland*, under the command of general *Green*. *Wiburg* was besieged and taken, and then the citadel attacked with the same vigour: but *Green*, perceiving the garrison resolute and well provided, set fire to the city, and retired. Now the haughtiness of *Charles*, which hitherto was supported by power and the strongest fortresses in the kingdom, began to flagger. The late motions of the clergy gave him a violent shock, and the progress of the *Danish* arms in *Finland* opened his eyes to his own danger, and set in full view the dreadful precipice on which he stood. Immediately he called a diet at *Stockholm*, to deliberate on the most effectual means of opposing the impending storm. But the business on which the diet entered was of a quite different nature: the archbishop of *Upsal* demanded an equivalent for certain ships he had lost the preceding spring, by means of the *Danes*. *Charles*, who did not imagine himself bound to make satisfaction, referred the matter to the diet, who gave judgment against his majesty. Dissatisfied with their decision, he accused the diet of partiality and corruption, which soon put an end to their proceedings, and made the assembly break up in very ill temper, fully resolved to revenge themselves the first opportunity that offered.
Affairs of
Sweden.

It was not long before the states found occasion to shew their disposition. In the spring the king went to *Calmar*, with intention to reconquer *Oeland*; and his absence furnished
A. D. 1457.

^f MEURS Vit. Christ. p. 19.

the archbishop of *Upsal* with the means of executing the scheme he projected. First, he arrested *Hacquin Swenson*, marshal of the household, and imprisoned him in the castle of *Solstedt*. Afterwards entering the metropolitan church, and convening the chapter, he put on his sacerdotal ornaments, and prostrated himself before the high altar; then laying aside his habit, he swore he would never again resume it, until he had driven king *Charles* out of the throne of *Sweden*, and substituted another sovereign in his room. Taking up a sword and shield, he marched out of the church at the head of all his vassals and dependants, and fixed a declaration on the church-door; by which he not only renounced his allegiance, but declared *Charles* the enemy of his country, and a tyrannical usurper, who would overthrow the liberties of the people, and the established religion. His next step was to justify these violent measures to the nation, which he did by a bitter charge drawn up against the king, accusing him of violence, tyranny, oppression, pride, arrogance, and avarice: in a word, of every crime which could render him detestable in the eyes of a free people.

Charles is deposed.
A. D. 1458.

THE archbishop knew well that no time must be lost in backing so open a declaration with force: he left no stone unturned to bring the nobility and commons into his sentiments, and he commenced hostilities by laying siege to *Arhusen* in form. *Charles* was no sooner informed of these proceedings, than he marched with the utmost expedition towards *Arhusen*, with intention to surprise the archbishop; but the artful prelate, informed of his motions, made a forced march in the night, and by break of day attacked the king's forces near *Stregnez*, while his majesty believed himself at the distance of a day's journey from him. At first he was disconcerted; but immediately recollecting himself, he encouraged his troops, and relied upon his numbers. However, a wound which he received obliged him to retire out of the field; a circumstance that so disheartened the soldiers, as gave the archbishop an easy but no very important victory. *Charles* took shelter in *Stockholm*, and, to prevent his being pursued, ordered the suburbs to be set on fire. Thither he was followed by the prelate, who, after raising the whole country in arms, laid siege to the capital. His operations were vigorous, and the king's situation declining. At last, *Charles* despairing of relief, and finding the greater part of the nation disaffected, concealed the public treasure in the house of the *Dominican* friars, and embarked with his own private riches in a ship, with which he set sail in the night to *Dantzick*. This event happened in the month of *March* 1458, and in the ninth year of his reign. Immediately the *Swedish* lords in *Denmark* returned to *Stockholm*, entered upon the public affairs in consultation with the archbishop, and unanimously resolved to elect *Christian* in the room of *Charles*, who had, by his flight abdicated the throne. Accordingly they dispatched an embassy, to invite the *Danish* monarch to accept of their crown, and come to *Stockholm*, to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. The offer was not rejected; *Christian* equipped a fleet, and set sail, attended with a great number of nobility, for *Sweden*. On his first arrival he was presented with a writing, containing the chief articles of the privileges of the nation, which he read over and signed without hesitation, finding them perfectly consonant to reason and justice. He was then conducted, first into the church by the archbishop and senate, and then into the citadel, amidst the acclamations of the people. No sooner was he invested with the badges of authority, than he applied himself diligently to re-establish tranquility and good order. An infinity of complaints against the late king came pouring in daily, all protesting that they had taken arms against their present sovereign, only because they had been deceived by the cunning of *Charles*. The king gave obliging answers to all the plaintiffs, bid them be of good courage, for it should be his study to redress all their grievances, and render their lives happy^a.

Christian is elected king of Sweden, and thereby unites the three crowns.

The duchy of Sleswick reverts to the crown of Denmark.

THE acquisition of the *Swedish* crown soon gained *Christian* that of *Norway*. He had nothing more to do than to present himself at *Drontheim*, and receive the allegiance of the states of *Norway*. To this was added another valuable acquisition, and the more so, as it had for above half a century been the cause of numberless misfortunes to *Denmark*. *Adolphus*, duke of *Sleswick*, uncle by the mother's side to *Christian*, dying without issue, the duchy reverted incontestably to the crown of *Denmark*; but there remained disputes about the succession to *Holstein* and *Stormar*, that laid the foundation of much trouble to all the neighbouring states. *Christian* had a just claim upon these territories; but as they were personal, and not derived from his crown, it will be unnecessary to enter upon particulars. Sufficient it is, that the earldoms of *Holstein* and *Stormar* were ceded to the king, on condition that he paid to *Otton*, earl of *Schawenburg*, the other claimant, the sum of forty thousand ducats, buying off likewise the pretensions of *Gerhard* and *Maurice*, nephews to the late *Adolphus*, for an equivalent^b.

^a MEURS. p. 22.

^b Id. ibid.

^a WHEN *Christian* took possession of these earldoms, it was expedient he should receive an oath of allegiance from his subjects and vassals. The city of *Hamburg* was within the jurisdiction of *Stormar*, and thither the king went to receive the allegiance of the magistrates. But they represented to him, that all the former earls were satisfied with a promise of obedience, without ever exacting an oath; they therefore besought his majesty, that he would not break through an antient custom, which greatly affected their liberties. *Christian's* moderation profited him on this occasion: he seemed satisfied with their apology, and they, in return, not only promised obedience, but likewise to take the oaths whenever his present majesty, or his successors, should require.

*Christian's
moderation.
A. D. 1460.*

^b THE king held his court this year at *Reinfelden*, in *Sleswick*, where he endeavoured to compose certain disturbances, which had their origin in the free town of *Lunenbourg*. The senate of this town, finding the public debt inconvenient, applied certain effects of the church to the payment of the most oppressive incumbrances. The bishops of *Schwerin* and *Lubec* complained violently of this proceeding; laid it before his holiness, who immediately interdicted the senate and inhabitants, until such time as restitution was made to the church. This occasioned an insurrection in *Lunenbourg*; the inhabitants conspiring against the magistrates, deposed them, created new officers, who were soon turned out to make room for the old. Seditions of the same nature happened in *Lubec* and *Hamburg*, and were carried on with equal violence. *John*, bishop of *Werden*, who, of all the clergy, happened to incur the pope's censure, on account of his siding with the senate of *Lunenbourg*, came to wait on the king at *Reinfelden*. At this prelate's request *Christian* interposed, and by his mediation brought about a good understanding and perfect reconciliation between the people and clergy of the hanse-towns. It was this year that he obliged the *Dominicans* to refund the treasure lodged in their hands by *Charles*, after they had for a long time denied the fact.

^c THE following year the pope's legate came to *Sweden*, with full powers to grant indulgences to all those who would contribute a certain sum towards carrying on a war against the infidels: a state-pretext which the holy see had often successfully pleaded, to fleece the subjects of every crown that acknowledged the supremacy of the pope. *Christian*, however, put a check to the rapid progress the legate was making in levying this tax upon superstition. He pretended that money was wanted to execute an expedition he designed against certain schismatics in his neighbourhood, and came to an agreement with the legate, that the sum levied by indulgences should be divided between them; in consequence of which he replenished the treasury, without dissatisfying the people.

A. D. 1461.

His policy.

^d ABOUT this time the two brothers *Gerhard* and *Maurice*, sons of *Adolphus*, came to a rupture about the county or earldom of *Delmenhorst*, to which both laid claim. *Gerhard* was supported by the king; but the affairs of *Sweden* requiring his return, he wrote to the duke of *Brunswick* and bishop of *Munster* to assist *Gerhard*, then besieged by his brother in *Delmenhorst*; a request with which the duke, pleased with an opportunity of obliging his majesty, immediately complied. He marched with great diligence to the relief of the besieged, attacked *Maurice* in his trenches, and, after a very bloody action, forced him to raise the siege. Next year his majesty mediated a peace between the two brothers, in which he did not forget his own interest; but we are not informed of the particulars.

A. D. 1462.

^e THIS year *Christian* made a tour to *Mecklenburg*, and held a congress at *Wismer*, in the marche of *Brandenburg*, with a number of *German* princes; the intention of which is not set forth by writers. It is supposed, however, that measures were concerted for humbling the pride of the hanse-towns, whose insolence daily encreased with their opulence, and gave umbrage to all the neighbouring states. Others again are of opinion, that only a defensive league was formed.

A. D. 1463.

^f IN the mean time the *Swedes* began to complain loudly of his majesty's absence, and permitting the people to be oppressed by lieutenants and officers. They were astonished that a prince, so prudent as *Christian*, should have fallen into an error of government so fatal to several of his predecessors. They also blamed him loudly for applying the national treasure, recovered from the *Dominicans*, towards the purchase of *Holstein* and *Stormar*, two earldoms, with which *Sweden* had no connection. On the other hand, *Christian* was informed of the discontents of the *Swedes*, and all their motions; in consequence of which he passed suddenly to *Stockholm*, with intention to stifle the sparks of sedition, before they received strength. His project however miscarried, and he fell into the snare laid for him by his enemies. This is not the place to enter minutely upon the whole of the plan, schemed out by some artful enemies to *Christian* and their country; sufficient it is, that they produced a jealousy between him and the archbishop of *Upsal*, his most faithful subject, which was the first occasion of the revolt that followed. His majesty first seized upon

*The Swedes
begin to ex-
press uneasiness
under the
new govern-
ment.*

*A view of the
affairs of
Sweden.*

upon the archbishop's person, and sent him prisoner into *Denmark*, making himself afterwards master of all the garrisons within that prelate's jurisdiction. *Katill*, bishop of *Lincoping*, nephew to the archbishop, wrote to the king to release his uncle, threatening in case of refusal to use force, *Christian* despised his menaces, was besieged in *Stockholm* by the prelate, and after a sharp action, forced to retire privately into *Denmark*, to avoid falling into his hands.

A. D. 1464.

*The Swedes
revolt.*

EARLY in the following spring he returned with a powerful armament to *Sweden*. *Katill*, unable to oppose so numerous an army, retired to the province of *Dalia*, and blocked up all the roads with forts built in convenient places, and trees cut down in all the avenues. *Christian*, trusting to his strength, pursued his march, imagining he should easily surmount all the difficulties raised by so slender a body of men; but upon entering the forests and narrow ways, his troops were so galled by the arrows discharged by the peasants placed in ambush, that he was forced to retire precipitately to *Stockholm*, after losing a great number of his best men and officers. *Katill* pursued him thither, and immediately laid siege a second time to the city. His majesty, not chusing to run the consequences of a siege, having fortified in the best manner possible the town and citadel, took ship and sailed to *Denmark* (A).

*Charles re-
called to the
throne.*

IT was soon after his majesty's retreat, that *Katill* published a manifesto in vindication of his own conduct, filled with large promises to the people, bitter invectives against *Christian*, renouncing the allegiance he had sworn to that prince, and inviting *Charles*, his rival, again to return to the throne, from which he was so solemnly and lately deposed. *Charles* did not hesitate to embrace the proposal; he returned, and was a second time acknowledged king; a piece of good fortune that was but of short duration. Divisions arose among his subjects; he soon became as odious as ever; and he abdicated the crown with more dishonour than before, having the additional disgrace of not profiting by experience^a.

CHRISTIAN at length perceived his own error in disobliging the whole body of the clergy, by the affront put on the archbishop. He therefore studied to repair his fault by releasing the prelate, loading him with civilities and excuses, and obtaining his promise to forget all injuries, and take up arms against *Charles*. The archbishop asked no troops, knowing that *Christian* would have occasion to employ all his forces in another quarter; he contented himself with a sum of money, and posted to *Sweden* to raise forces.

A. D. 1465.

*Disputes be-
tween Den-
mark and the
earl of Olden-
burg.*

THIS year some disturbances appeared on the side of *Holstein*. *Gerhard*, earl of *Oldenburg*, took arms to compel his *Danish* majesty to pay him a sum of money due to him as the heir and executor of *Maurice*. Under pretence of visiting some noblemen in *Holstein*, he entered the country with a body of troops, and seized upon several strong holds by surprise. So beloved was this prince in *Holstein*, that no one opposed his progress; only the states wrote to *Christian*, that however busied he might be with the affairs of *Sweden*, those of *Holstein* required his immediate presence. His majesty ordered a diet at *Kiel*, and attended in person. Prince *Gerhard* likewise appeared, and spoke with such force of eloquence, that the king promised to pay him the money in dispute, or give him an equivalent in land. *Gerhard* accepted the proposal, and the two princes parted extremely good friends.

BUT other matters of dispute soon arose; the more his majesty granted, the more was required by his ambitious and turbulent brother. At the time when *Christian* imagined he had perfectly satisfied him, it was matter of surprize to hear, that *Gerhard* had seized upon *Husum*, was at the head of a body of forces, and in hourly expectation of being joined by the *East Frieslanders*. *Christian* lost all patience at this fresh instance of disobedience and unbrotherly conduct. He marched immediately to attack the rebels; and *Gerhard* hearing of his approach with a superior army, fled precipitately, leaving the *Frieslanders* to the king's mercy, who punished only the ringleaders and fomenters of this sedition.

*Affairs of
Sweden.*

IN *Sweden* the archbishop performed his engagements to *Christian*: he got together a numerous army, advanced and besieged *Stockholm*, and gave battle to *Charles* upon the ice. Both sides fought with the utmost obstinacy; but at last the prelate gained a complete but bloody victory. *Charles* was driven back to the city, and forced, in a short time, to surrender at discretion. Upon this the archbishop called a diet, obliged *Charles* to renounce

^a MEURS. *ibid.* PUFFEND. l. iv. Hist. Univer.

(A) This is the relation of *Meursius*, though we find it contended by other writers. All however agree, that after *Christian's* second retreat, *Katill* remained master of *Sweden*; but was moderate enough in the height of

his prosperity to make repeated offers to the king of restoring him, if he would consent to release his uncle, a proposition which he constantly rejected (1).

(1) *Meurs. Vit. Chris. l. i. p. 10.*

- a the crown, and swear that he never more would aspire at remounting the throne, nor even accept of the crown should it be tendered to him. Finally, he was sent prisoner to *Finland*, with a certain appointment for his subsistence. Charles renounces his claim to the crown. A. D. 1466.
- But although the affairs of this unhappy prince were ruined in appearance, *Christian* profited nothing by them. High disputes arose about a successor. The archbishop supported *Christian's* interest; and *Eric Axelsson* espoused *Charles*, to whose daughter he was married. In the end *Axelsson* was chosen protector; and the election of a king postponed. This new form of administration soon became odious, and the people loudly called out for restoring *Charles*, which the archbishop opposed with all his power. The inactivity of *Christian* upon this occasion, is indeed unaccountable; hardly any measures were taken to support his party in *Sweden*; all was referred to the archbishop, who exerted himself in a manner that shewed him equally a statesman and soldier. Only two reasons can be assigned for *Christian's* conduct; either his brother *Gerhard* gave him too much employment on the side of *Germany*, to allow him to attend to the affairs of *Sweden*, or he was apprehensive of becoming unpopular, by enforcing his claim with an army of *Danes* and foreigners. At last, after four years had passed in perfect inactivity, *Christian* fitted out a large fleet, and made a descent on *Sweden*, where he took some fortresses. His successes, however, were not proportioned to the public expectation, and the king returned without gaining any considerable advantage^b. Christian's inactivity. A. D. 1469.
- c *AXELSON*, the protector, resolved to make reprisals, and accordingly was marching to invade *Denmark*, when he was met by the king at the head of an equal force. Both armies engaged, and the *Swedes* were defeated with such loss, as prevented their ever again making head against *Christian*, and obliged them to propose terms of accommodation (B). The propositions were, that all the states of *Sweden* should acknowledge him king; that *Charles* should rest satisfied with certain lands appointed for his maintenance; and that a congress should be held at *Lubec*, to terminate the whole business to his majesty's satisfaction. *Christian* was naturally inclined to pacific measures. He chose rather to relinquish the certain fruits of his victory, than reject these propositions, which were made with no other intention than putting a stop to his progress in *Sweden*. He ceased hostilities, and returned to *Denmark*, to wait the execution of the protector's promise.
- d On the day appointed for the congress, his majesty arrived at *Lubec*, expecting to find the *Swedish* deputies; but they were not so punctual; and when they came, their apology carried evident signs of backwardness to the business expected from them. In a word, so many difficulties were started by the *Swedes*, that not an article was agreed upon, and the congress broke up without appointing another meeting.
- e THE *Lubeckers* embraced this occasion of making fresh remonstrances to *Christian* about the restitution of their ships and effects. They were more successful than before, the king having paid down a sum of money in part, and given the fortress of *Keil* as security for the remainder. Although *Christian* expressed no resentment to the deputies, yet he took measures for revenging their breach of promise. He was unfortunate only in not choosing a proper season for executing his purpose. In the depth of winter he passed with an army into *West Gothland*, and laid siege to the strong fortress of *Oeresteen*. The *Swedes* flew to the relief of the garrison, and, by a bold push, broke through the king's lines, and threw in a considerable reinforcement, which obliged his majesty to raise the siege, after receiving a wound, as some authors alledge, and return to *Denmark*.
- f THIS year *Charles Canutson*, so often deposed, yielded up his last breath, which occasioned the meeting of a diet, to deliberate on the future election. A strong party appeared in favour of *Christian*, but at length *Steen Sture* was chosen regent of the kingdom; the nobility apprehending, that should they elect a king, he might recover all the fortresses and castles belonging to the crown, which they had usurped. They likewise flattered themselves with enjoying more liberty under a regent, though in fact, this magistrate differed only in name from a king. *Christian* determined to support his claim and adherents by force of arms. A powerful armament was set on foot, with which he sailed strait to *Stockholm*: but here he was again amused with proposals for an accommodation, and fair speeches, until the *Swedes* had augmented their forces. The king perceived his error when it was past remedy; but enraged at their treachery, he landed his forces, engaged the enemy A. D. 1470. Affairs of Sweden. Christian enters Sweden.

^b MEURS. *ibid.* ^c VERT, *Revol. de Sweden*, t. i. PUFFEN. l. v.

(B) This year the *Danish* squadron attacked a rich fleet of *Lubeckers*, under pretence of their supplying with Provisions and warlike stores, the enemies of *Denmark*. The booty was prodigious, and the *Lubeckers* sent deputies to demand restitution; but *Christian* answered, that it was impossible, the booty having been divided among his whole fleet and army; an answer with which the *Lubeckers* were forced to rest satisfied (1).

(1) *Meurs.* p. 10.

with great vigour, and would, in all appearance, have been victorious, had he not been disabled by the wound of an arrow in the mouth, which broke several of his teeth, and of a musket-ball in the throat, which obliged him to quit the field. He drew off his army in good order, and retreated unmolested to his ships^a. The *Swedish* historians speak differently, alleging, that the *Danes* were defeated, and a great number taken prisoners. Certain it is, that *Christian* returned to *Denmark*, and never afterwards undertook any considerable enterprise against the regent, though his fleet hovered round the coasts, and kept the kingdom under continual alarms. He constantly preferred peace and tranquility to the din of war; and from a natural aversion to spilling the blood of his subjects, as well as from an ambition to leave the kingdoms of *Norway* and *Denmark* rich and flourishing to his successor, he neglected to prosecute his claim upon *Sweden*.

A. D. 1472.
He applies his
mind to do-
mestic affairs.

Now it was that this excellent prince applied his mind wholly to the good of the state, and works of piety. Besides enforcing the laws, and amending them where they appeared defective, he gained the affections of the clergy, but especially of the lame, blind, and decrepid, by his liberality, and generous endowments. His temper was tender and compassionate, even to weakness, if so amiable a disposition carried even to excess, can merit the appellation. His donations to the clergy were bestowed with the utmost regard to merit, and those only honoured with his favours who were exemplary for piety, and respectable for their learning and talents.

A. D. 1472.

THE following year his majesty set out on a pilgrimage to *Rome*, or rather upon a visit to the pope, paying his respects to the emperor *Frederick III.* in his way. It was at this time he represented to his imperial majesty, that in the *Danish* dominions subject to the empire, were a pernicious bold set of men (*Dithmarsians*) who acknowledged no authority, and perpetually harassed their neighbours. He requested the emperor's permission to reduce them to obedience, and unite their country with *Holstein* and *Stormar*, under the title of a duchy. *Frederic* granted his request, and invested *Christian* in the usual form with this whole country, in the manner he desired. He then pursued his route to *Rome*, and was received with extraordinary distinctions by his holiness, and the college of cardinals, those sagacious ministers of *Christ* knowing well what honours and respect were due to a temporal prince of so much consideration as *Christian*.

He founds an
university.

His first transaction after his return to his own dominions, was founding an university for the encouragement of arts and sciences. The senate was consulted on this occasion, and all unanimously were of opinion, that *Copenhagen*, on account of the residence of the court, and its prodigious commerce, was the fittest place for the establishment of such a foundation. Whether these arguments were not rather specious than solid, it is not our business to examine: other countries have thought solitude and retirement the fittest companions of study and philosophy.

A. D. 1475.

The hereditary
prince marries
Christina of
Saxony.

Two years afterwards *Christian* resolved to strengthen the succession by the marriage of the hereditary prince. With this view he sent an embassy to *Saxony* to demand *Christina*, daughter to the elector *Ernest*, for his son. The proposals were accepted, and preparations made for solemnizing their espousals with the utmost magnificence. It was not, however, before the year following that the marriage-ceremony was performed. On this occasion, according to *Meursius*, and some other writers, the order of the Elephant was first instituted, though some other historians attribute its establishment to *Frederic I.* or *II.*, or to *Christian IV.* (A).

A. D. 1479.

Christian per-
secutes a cer-
tain noble fa-
mily of Den-
mark.

UNTIL now *Christian* deservedly bore the reputation of the most moderate, merciful, and mild prince, who had ever swayed the *Danish* sceptre; but this year his temper took a sudden and very extraordinary turn, for which writers do not pretend to assign any cause. He persecuted several of his courtiers, and among others a certain nobleman, who took shelter at the court of *Albert of Mecklenburg*, where he died of grief. This person's name is not mentioned; but we are told that his children endeavoured all in their power to regain his majesty's favour, but in vain: he was no less inexorable to the innocent children, than to the perhaps guilty father^e.

ABOUT the year 1480, it was that *Christian* endeavoured to restore the union of *Calmar*, and obtained a congress to be held with this view at *Helmstadt*. The plenipotentiaries of the three kingdoms met, and all were perfectly satisfied of the mutual advantages that

^a MEURS. l. i. part ii. p. 11.

^e MEURS. Ibid.

(A) Originally this order bore a patriarchal cross, which after the Protestant religion was introduced into *Denmark*, was changed for a gold chain, with an elephant suspended to it. The king conferred this order

only upon princes and nobility of the first distinction, observing one rule, which is never to bestow it on those who have not first been favoured with the military order called *Danebrog* (3).

(3) Vid. P. Buffier, p. 47.

a would result from the union; but it was impossible to prevail on the *Swedes* to acknowledge *Christian* for their sovereign. The *Danish* ministers, however, obtained of them a promise that they would elect *John*, hereditary-prince of *Denmark*, at his father's decease. Soon after this prince *John* was associated with his father in the throne of *Denmark*, after having been solemnly crowned at *Lunden*.

The hopes afforded by the *Swedes*, that the union of *Calmar* might one day be revived, and the prince's elevation to the throne of *Denmark*, were the occasion of great joy all over the kingdom. The birth of a young prince, named *Christiern* after his father, was an addition to the public joy. Nothing but feastings, tournaments, and other rejoicings, were to be seen in *Denmark*; but his majesty's death turned all into mourning, which happened b on the second day of *May*, 1481, after a short illness, from which no danger was apprehended. His death.

CHRISTIAN wanted no other quality of a great prince, than a slight tincture of polite c learning. In piety, justice, fidelity, moderation, courage, magnificence, and true dignity of mind, he had few equals. During a reign of near thirty-three years, he cannot be reproached with a single foible in his administration, except his arresting the archbishop of *Upsal*, his permitting himself to be amused with *Axelson's* promises, and his persecution of the noble family we have just mentioned. With respect to the first, his honesty was abused. The archbishop was accused of high crimes and misdemeanors he never committed, by persons whose veracity *Christian* had no reason to doubt. As to the second, he is blameless, since the most solemn assurances were given him, both by the regent and chief nobility of *Sweden*; assurances which he could not suspect, as they were the real interest of the kingdom. But, with respect to the third accusation, we cannot pretend to vindicate *Christian*, as the fact is too obscurely related by historians. This we may venture, however, to advance, that his persecuting an unhappy family is so inconsistent with the whole tenor of his conduct, and his natural disposition, that we may very well suppose he must have had some cogent reasons for his conduct. Character.

He left three children; *John*, who immediately succeeded to the crown; *Frederick*, duke of *Sleswick*, and afterwards king of *Denmark*; and *Margaret*, queen of *Scotland*, by whom *James IV.* had the *Orkneys* and *Shetland*, with this proviso, according to the *Danish* d writers, that the kings of *Denmark* should be at liberty to redeem those lands at a certain price, and re annex them to the crown of *Norway*, to which they originally belonged (B).

S E C T. XII.

Containing the Particulars of the Reign of King John.

J O H N.

c ALTHOUGH *John*, son of *Christian*, was acknowledged king of *Denmark* and *Norway*, in his father's life-time, and the *Swedes* had laid themselves under a solemn promise to chuse him for their sovereign, yet he chose to derive his claim from a free election John king of Denmark. A. D. 1481.

(A) Before we enter upon the following reign, it may not be improper that we give a short account of the house of *Oldenburg*, from which the *Danish* monarchs, beginning with *Christian*, are descended. This family then derives its origin from *Wittikind*, one of the antient princes of *Saxony*, who bravely asserted the liberties of his country against *Charlemagne* for the space of thirty years, and was at length forced to submit to that powerful and fortunate monarch. He was soon after converted to Christianity, and created duke of *Saxony*, in consequence of some signal services he did the emperor. History affirms, that he died fighting with his sword in his hand for the same emperor, whose overgrowing power he so obstinately opposed. This happened in a battle against the *Swedes*, A. C. 800. As to the succession of the *Oldenburg* family, before its princes ascended the *Danish* throne, *Buffier* in his memoirs of the *Danish* kings, speaks in the following terms: *Haio*, descended from the dukes of *Frieseland*, married *Rixa*, daughter of *John* earl of *Oldenburg*, the younger son of *Walpert*, son of *Wigbert*, who was the only son of *Wittikind* duke of *Saxony*. This *Haio* left by his wife *Rixa* an only son called *Elmar*, who succeeded to the earldom of *Oldenburg*, at the death of his cousin *Frederick*. *Elmar II.* his son succeeded him; and he in his turn was

succeeded by *Christian* his son, a valiant prince, who sustained long and bloody wars against *Henry Leo* of *Saxony*, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention in the preceding history. *Christian* being assassinated in his way to *Jerusalem*, the earldom fell to *Maurice*, a cadet of the family, who, retiring into a monastery, left his dominions to his eldest son *Otton*. *Otton* dying without issue, was succeeded by his third brother *Christian II.* After his death *John* his eldest son became earl of *Oldenburg*, being succeeded by *Conrad*, who left his dominions to his son *Maurice*. This prince dying without male issue, was succeeded by *Theodoric* his cousin, who by marriage came into possession of the earldom of *Delmenborst*. *Theodoric*, or *Thierry*, upon the death of his first wife, married *Hedwig*, widow of *Balthasar* duke of *Mecklenburg*, and sister to *Gerhard* and *Adolphus* dukes of *Holstein* and *Sleswick*, by whom he had several children, and among the rest *Christian*, the late king of *Denmark*, and the first of the *Oldenburg* family raised to that throne. This prince was styled king of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Sweden*, of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, duke of *Sleswick*, *Holstein*, *Stormar*, *Wagria*, and *Dithmarsch*; earl of *Oldenburg* and *Delmenborst*, &c. all which titles descended to *John* his son (1).

of the states of the three kingdoms. With the prince's permission the *Danish* diet sent ambassadors to *Sweden* and *Norway*, inviting the diets of those kingdoms to send deputies to *Helmstadt*, in order to proceed to the election of a sovereign of the three kingdoms, agreeable to the treaty of *Calmar*. *Steen-Sture* perceived that this proposition tended to the annihilation of his authority, as regent and administrator of *Sweden*, and therefore at first thought of making no reply to the ambassadors. However, to conceal his ambitious views, he determined at length to perform his promise by sending deputies, but to obstruct the business of the congress by all possible methods. The more strongly to evince his sincerity, he set out in person from *Stockholm* to attend the congress; but feigned so many obstructions to the journey, and at length sickness on the road, that the day for holding the congress was elapsed.

His election confirmed by the states of Denmark and Norway.

UPON advice of the administrator's proceedings, the deputies of *Denmark* and *Norway* immediately confirmed *John's* election, swearing they would never, during his life acknowledge another sovereign. Afterwards a general diet was held at *Calmar*, and a fresh oath was taken by the several states of the two kingdoms, the governors of cities, provinces, and castles, and by all persons possessed of places or pensions under the government.

THE first act of *John's* reign was to assemble the states of *Sleswick* and *Holstein* at *Kiel*, to regulate some differences between himself and his brother *Frederick*, which was done to the advantage of the latter, at the intercession of the queen-mother, who expressed the utmost tenderness for her younger son. *Holstein* was given him as his hereditary portion, and *Sleswick* as a revocable fief of the crown, for which he was to pay homage. A concession so important was looked upon as a proof of the extraordinary influence her majesty had over the states, as well as of her affection for *Frederick*. It occasioned several remonstrances to the king about the illegality of the proceeding, and the injustice done to his own family, in case he died the father of male issue, who might perhaps not succeed to an elective crown. and in that case would be left destitute of all provision. This was the opinion of the *Danish* diet; but the states of *Sleswick* and *Holstein* stuck fast by the queen and *Frederick*. They carried their point, and these two valuable duchies were again dismembered from the crown, notwithstanding the inconveniences lately felt from the grant made to the children of *Gerhard*¹. It is indeed difficult to conceive how either his majesty or the *Danish* diet should ever accede to such an act. The fact however is certain, and we must leave the motives to be suggested by the reader, as we do not find them specified in history. Before the breaking up of the diet, *John* pardoned the children and family of that nobleman persecuted by *Christian* towards the end of his reign, gave them back the estate that had been been confiscated; and restored them to all the titles and honours the family had ever possessed.

ON his return to *Denmark*, he requested the senate to proceed to the ceremony of his coronation; but it was deferred for above two years, perhaps because they were willing to dive into the character of their prince, before they absolutely confirmed him in the sovereignty. The tranquillity which the kingdom enjoyed inspired his majesty with the design of redeeming a number of crown lands and revenues, mortgaged by the late king. For this purpose he laid a general tax on all the subjects of *Denmark*, and summoned the diet of *Holstein*. from whom he obtained leave to impose a tax of two ducats upon every plough (A). The same was granted by the states of *Sleswick*, although this tax came afterwards to be the occasion of a war.

John pays off the crown debts, and studies the felicity of the people.

A. D. 1483.

JOHN's assiduity to pay off the crown debts, and his attention to the public affairs, was so agreeable to the senate and people, that they resolved to defer his coronation no longer. Accordingly he was solemnly crowned at *Copenhagen*, at a full diet of the states of *Denmark* and *Norway*, a great number of *German* princes and deputies from the hanse-towns, honouring the ceremony with their attendance. Soon after *John* went to *Norway* to receive the oaths of his subjects in that kingdom, and was again solemnly crowned at *Drontheim*. At his return he was strongly solicited by several of his courtiers to carry on the war with *Sweden*, and urge the re-establishment of the treaty of *Calmar*; but the queen-mother dissuaded him from the enterprize. *Dorothea* was a woman, who, to profound skill in politics, and the business of the cabinet, annexed a moderation dictated by prudence and regard for the welfare of her subjects. She represented to *John* the difficulty of forcing a king

¹ MEURS. Vit. Johan. p. 22.

(A) From this circumstance it would appear, that the sole sovereignty of *Holstein* was not ceded to *Frederic*, notwithstanding the assertions of several writers; and indeed *Meursius* alledges, that a partition of the duchies of *Sleswick* and *Holstein* was made between *John* and his brother (1).

(1) *Meurs.* l. ii. p. ii.

- a upon a people so tenacious of liberty as the *Swedes*; and should he succeed in this attempt, the little probability there was of keeping them in obedience. She told him, that he was more powerful in being the sovereign of two kingdoms only, and possessing the affections of his subjects, than if he wore a triple crown, at the expence of employing the force of two to enforce the obedience of the third. She entreated him to rest satisfied with his present dominions, and not suffer ambition to ruin the felicity himself and his subjects enjoyed, by bloody wars, which at last would only impoverish the kingdom in men and money. She added, that it was highly probable the *Swedes*, tired of their dependence on the regent, and wearied out with the inconveniencies of a form of government not suited to the genius of the people, would of their own accord throw themselves in his arms, in which case he would be more secure of their fidelity and attachment ².

- b Such were the sage counsels of this politic princess, which diverted *John* from entering upon a war with *Sweden*. He did not fail however to begin negotiations for renewing the treaty of *Calmar*; and at length matters went so far, that a congress of deputies from the states of the three kingdoms was appointed to sit upon a certain day. The *Swedish* clergy had strongly espoused *John*, and the senate urged the congress so strongly, that the regent could obtain nothing more than inserting certain articles in the deputies instructions, with which he imagined *John* would never comply. The chief articles to which his majesty was to swear, previous to his election, were, that he should first of all pay the debts contracted by his father, while king of *Sweden*; that he should repair all the losses of the people; that c he should put a final issue to the differences between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, concerning the island of *Gothland*; and those with *Norway*, respecting *Skardal* and *Swarto*. It was believed by the regent, and his friends, that neither *John* nor the *Danish* diet would digest these terms; but the eagerness of the king and kingdom to see the crowns united, and the treaty of *Calmar* renewed, made them overlook every difficulty, and accede without hesitation to all the propositions. The regent finding himself disappointed in his expectations, set all engines at work to frustrate the resolution of the congress. He applied in person to all the nobility of the kingdom, requesting that they would not receive *John* before he had executed all the conditions stipulated; and to give the more specious colour to his disobedience, he published a report that *John* had refused to pay his father's debts, or to terminate the dispute about *Gothland*. In a word, his arts succeeded so happily, that we hear no more of the congress for two or three years.

- d THE year 1484 was ushered in by the most terrible plague and famine that *Denmark* had ever felt. Near half the people were swept off; all the great towns, and even villages were almost depopulated, no part of the kingdom having escaped the ravages of these two most terrible afflictions. The plague, in spite of all endeavours to check its progress, continued to rage for the space of two years. On the third it subsided, and in a short time after wholly disappeared, to the great joy of the whole kingdom. His majesty did every thing that became a wise and humane prince; for the relief of the poor; and to his excellent regulations, and liberality, historians attribute the short continuance of the famine, which e ceased long before the plague.

- f THIS year the king called a diet at *Copenhagen*, to deliberate on the means of preventing the regent's gaining possession of the isle of *Gothland*. *Steen-Sture* was using all his endeavours to reduce it under the obedience of *Sweden*. He beheld with jealousy a place of so much importance to *Denmark*, in a *Swedish* war, in the hands of his enemies: he began therefore to tamper with the governor, offering him a valuable equivalent in any part of *Sweden*, if he would resign the island, and his government in *Finland*. *Ivar Axelsson* was governor of both. He was a *Swede*, promoted for his good services by the late king, but now suspected, and not without cause; for he gave up *Finland*, at the regent pressing instances; but refused to listen to any propositions about the island. The regent threatened to use force, which *Axelsson* resented so highly, that he said he would surrender *Finland* to the *Russians*, if the *Swedes* in the least incommoded him.

AXELSON's resentment burst forth at the next *Swedish* diet, where he joined with several of the nobility, well affected to king *John*, to depose the regent, and place *Arsfwed Trolle* at the head of affairs. This was only a pretence; their real design being to put the kingdom, according to their promise, in the hands of his *Danish* majesty: but the regent's address parried off his trust, and disappointed the friends of *Denmark*.

- g KING *John* had exact intelligence of all the proceedings in *Sweden*. The enmity between the regent and *Axelsson* left him no room to doubt but attempts would be made on *Gothland*, and the *Danes* run the hazard of disgracefully losing an island they possessed ever since it was conquered by *Valdemar III*. It was therefore resolved, in a full senate, to take the government from *Axelsson*, and declare war upon *Sweden*. Immediately a fleet of forty

² MEURS. *ibid.* p. 25.

ships were ordered to cruize off the coasts of the island : yet, after all, the security of *Gothland* was only a pretence of the king's, to cover a design more important ; at least this was the opinion of the *Swedes*, who immediately assembled a diet, at which some of the leading persons warmly insisted upon avoiding the impending storm, by calling *John* to the throne, and renewing the union of *Calmar*.

His majesty having joined his fleet before *Gothland*, had the town and citadel of *Wisby* immediately surrendered to him by *Axelson*. The regent, dreading the consequences of a war with *Denmark*, requested that *John* would grant him an interview and passport. He declared to the king, that his coronation was deferred on account of the senate, and not from any fault of his, who was no more than the servant of the senate, forced to act according to their pleasure. Finally, he took an oath of allegiance to the king, and solemnly promised, if it was possible, to prevail on the senate to do the same. *John* was duped by these large promises, and specious appearances. *Steen-Sture* made oaths only to deceive, and to promote his own interest ; for after prevailing on the king to procure from *Axelson* the surrender of the island of *Oeland*, and the fortress of *Borkholm*, to the *Swedes*, he then exerted all his influence against *John*, knowing that his own grandeur depended upon excluding him from the crown ^a.

The king is suddenly seized with a malady, that affects his intellects.
A. D. 1494.

AFTER this *Denmark* enjoyed profound peace for several years ; nor does history furnish us with any considerable transaction, foreign or domestic, until the year 1494, when the king was seized with a kind of phrensy, without any apparent cause. His illness did not, however, continue long ; but went off, without the assistance of art, in the same extraordinary manner it first appeared ^b. As soon as he recovered the use of his understanding, he sent to demand a categorical answer from the regent, with respect to the resolutions of the last *Swedish* diet, and his own intentions with regard to *Oeland* ; giving him to understand, that he was no longer in a humour to be put off with promises. In consequence of this message, a diet met ; and a great majority, headed by the bishop of *Upsal*, appeared in favour of *John*, which created a mortal enmity between that prelate and the regent. Nothing however was done, besides appointing a congress of the states of the three kingdoms, on the twenty-fourth of *June* in the following year.

A. D. 1495.

A congress of deputies from the three kingdoms.

John prepares to invade Sweden ; but loses part of his fleet in a storm.

WHEN the deputies of the three nations met, they waited long for the regent, who was detained by no adverse winds, bad roads, nor sickness, but want of inclination, as was now evident to all. His repugnance occasioned the congress to be adjourned to the month of *November*, when such measures were taken by the king as, he persuaded himself must infallibly secure to him the crown of *Sweden*. Accordingly he set sail with a fine fleet for the coast of *Sweden* ; but was obliged to return, after losing one ship by fire, and several more in a dreadful storm. The misfortune of one ship in particular greatly affected him, as on board her were all the papers and titles he proposed producing at the diet to justify his claim. *Steen-Sture* was so elevated with *John's* disappointment, that he now openly refused to enter upon any negotiations, and even absented himself from the diet, which he assembled by writs signed with his own hand.

A. D. 1497.

John raises an army, with which he enters Sweden.

JOHN, perceiving that it would be difficult to force the regent into terms, while he was connected in alliance with the hanse-towns, fell upon divers stratagems to break the treaty between them. But all proving unsuccessful, he engaged the *Russians* to enter *Finland*, where they made terrible devastation. Against these barbarians the regent opposed himself at the head of an army ; but though he thirsted for revenge, he dreaded coming to a battle, or engaging in open war with a nation so potent as *Muscovy*. *John's* friends took advantage of the regent's absence, a diet was assembled, and *Steen-Sture* solemnly deposed, which laid the foundation of a civil war we shall have occasion to relate in the history of *Sweden*.

DURING these transactions in *Sweden*, *John* did not waste his time idly in his own dominions. A second time his son *Christian* was declared hereditary prince of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and a war resolved upon with *Sweden*. The army he raised upon this occasion was composed of *Germans*, *French*, *English*, and *Spaniards* ; in a word, of soldiers of fortune, introduced into *Germany* by *Magnus*, duke of *Lower Saxony*. No pay was given them ; and, as they were to subsist wholly on plunder, they were esteemed rather a banditti of robbers than a regular army. With this mixed corps he laid siege to *Calmar*, while his fleet ravaged the island of *Oeland* and the coasts of *Sweden*. The citizens of *Calmar*, finding resistance in vain, capitulated upon honourable terms. *Borkholm* next surrendered to the *Danish* fleet. The most terrible ravages were committed by the king's army all over the country, where the soldiers dispersed themselves : even the forests were set on

^a MEURS. *ibid.* p. 28.

^b MEURS. *Vit. Johan.* l. ii. part. ii p. 25.

a fire, and every hostility committed which his majesty thought would force the *Swedish* nation into his terms, and render them weary of the regent ^k.

In the mean time the regent pressed hard on the king's adherents in *Sweden*, and blocked the archbishop of *Upsal* closely up in the fortress called *Steka*. *John* flew to the prelate's relief, raised the blockade, and then pursued his march to *Stockholm*, with intention to lay siege to the city; ordering his fleet to block it up towards the sea, and by every possible means to assist his operations. When the regent found the capital invested by sea and land, he immediately applied himself to the *Dalecarlians*, the most warlike people in *Sweden*, and, by large promises and specious arguments, excited them to take arms for the relief of *Stockholm*. *John* was no sooner informed of their march than he summoned a council of his general officers, and was rejoiced to find them all eager to come to an engagement. It was the cry of the whole army not to wait in their trenches to be attacked, but bravely to march out, and engage the enemy in the open field. The king made his advantage of this eagerness of his troops. Marching the cavalry out of his camp in the utmost silence, he covered their motions from the besieged, by the disposition he made of his infantry. In the night the infantry filed off, and before break of day joined the horse, drawn up at a post some distance from the camp, thro' which the enemy must pass.

Defeats the
Dalecarlians.

It was not long before the scouts brought notice that the *Dalecarlians* were near: upon which his majesty went through the ranks, encouraging the troops, by promises of reward, to maintain the honour of their several countries, and exhorting them to put an end to a destructive war, by an exertion of their valour for a few hours. He was answered by a shout, which convinced him of the ardour of the soldiers. Immediately he led them on, and attacked the enemy at *Rootebroe*, the *Dalecarlians* standing the shock with great firmness. A cloud of arrows was discharged, that covered the whole *Danish* army, and made such slaughter as would certainly have wrested victory out of the king's hands, had the enemy been supported with cavalry. Having nothing however to oppose to the king's horse, they were attacked in flank, broke, and put in disorder: after this the carnage became dreadful; the repeated endeavours of the brave *Dalecarlians* to rally, only prolonged their fate, and made their destruction more complete. Too obstinate to quit the field, they were hemmed in on every side, most of them preferring a glorious death to flight or captivity. The king fatiated with blood, ordered a retreat to be sounded, and returned in good order to his camp, without permitting his army to plunder the baggage, lest the desperate *Dalecarlians* should seize this opportunity of rallying the few remaining dispersed troops. Immediately he ordered the standards and other trophies of his victory to be erected in view of the garrison of *Stockholm*, thinking by this means to intimidate them to surrender. The effect this action produced was directly contrary to his expectation, but not less successful. *Steen-Sture* imagining that the *Dalecarlians*, after defeating the king, were now pillaging the camp, opened the gates, and permitted all the inhabitants to pour out in flocks to partake in the general joy and plunder. His majesty fell upon them, drove them back to the walls, and made prodigious slaughter; the regent himself escaping with great danger in a little boat. In consequence the city capitulated; the nobility, most averse to *John's* election, came and sued for pardon, and the regent himself intreated the king to grant him an interview. The first conference passed in reproaches from the king, and excuses on the side of the regent. In the end, however, he was pardoned and *John* crowned king of *Sweden*, in the manner we shall relate more particularly in the history of that country.

At a feast which his majesty gave the *Swedish* nobility after his coronation, he asked a German officer at table, whether any thing was wanting to render the solemnity complete. "Nothing," says the *German*, besides an executioner to cut off the heads of some of those lords, and impress the rest with just notions of the fidelity and obedience they owe to their sovereign." The king was so enraged with this speech, that he continued for some time silent, with his eyes fixed on the ground. At last, darting a look full of resentment at the *German*, he replied, "I had rather see all my evil counsellors hanged on a gibbet, than be overwhelmed with the shame of an action so barbarous as that you recommend. God forbid I should ever be the oppressor of liberty, or deny any free people the right of chusing their own governors:" an answer that sets the character of this prince in the most conspicuous point of view, and deserves to be engraved on the hearts of all princes ^l.

Is elected king
of Sweden.

A. D. 1498.

A noble saying
of John's.

About the beginning of the following year, the king entered upon a war, which terminated little to his honour or advantage. It was occasioned by the grant made by the emperor *Frederic* to the late king, of that country inhabited by the people called *Dithmarsians*. For many ages this brave people, fond of liberty, had thrown off the

^k Idem ibid.

^l MÆURF. ibid.

*He marches
against the
Dithmarsians.*

A. D. 1500.

Danish yoke, and aspired at perfect independency, never acknowledging themselves subject to the archbishop of *Bremen*, except when they dreaded the arms of *Denmark*. The late king's death prevented his intention of reducing them; and the desire of extending his frontier induced *John* to attack them. He communicated his plan to his brother *Frederic*, and engaged him to join the *Danish* army with the troops of *Holstein*. *John* began his march in the month of *February*, accompanied by his brother *Frederic*, and the flower of the nobility of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*. When joined by the auxiliaries, his army was so numerous, that he expected the *Dithmarsians* would make their submission without striking one blow. He could not persuade himself, that a handful of militia would presume to meet in the field a powerful well-disciplined army, flushed with victory, and the conquest of a potent kingdom. But he was mistaken, and greatly astonished, when he found that this determined people disdained submission; and the inhabitants of a district, not seven miles in extent, prepared to face the sovereign of three respectable kingdoms. So sure did the *Danes* make themselves of victory, that they shared the booty before the engagement; and every one brought carriages for moving off his proportion of the spoil. Merchants attended the army, having with them large sums of money, imagining they might purchase things of value at a low price from the soldiers. A kind of infatuation possessed the whole: all proposed immense riches to themselves, without dreaming of the danger, or the chance of war. Even the senators were so infatuated as to divide among them all the benefices, wantonly assuming the title of abbots; a piece of temerity which gave birth to the saying, "Never was a battle so fatal to the abbots." The truth is, jealousy and faction prevailed in the king's army. Many persons dreaded his aggrandizement by new conquests, not doubting but a series of wars would be the result, instead of peace and tranquillity. Ambition, said they, is boundless, and the hanse-towns will be the next object of conquest. Others, who believed the services in the *Swedish* war but ill-requited, went so far as to conspire against the king's life; but their villainous design was happily discovered by an infant, just as it was on the point of execution.

SUCH was the condition of the king's army, while valour and unanimity supplied the place of numbers among the enemy. They thoroughly weighed the strength of the *Danes*, and sought the means of resisting them with the utmost caution and vigilance. *Meldorp*, their capital, was neither fortified by art nor nature to their satisfaction, so that they were afraid to trust to its walls and stand the siege. On the other hand, their want of cavalry made it hazardous to give battle in the open plain. They resolved therefore to retire into the heart of their country, where the canals and dykes would serve for ramparts, and greatly incommode the enemy.

AFTER the king had passed some days at *Ham*, expecting the *Dithmarsians* would offer their submission, at last he began his march towards *Meldorp*, which he took almost without resistance, the inhabitants having deserted it, with all their valuable effects. The consternation of the *Dithmarsians* was great upon the loss of their capital; some talked of surrendering, while others were for making a desperate push, and risking all. While the king staid to refresh his troops at *Meldorp*, he sent out a detachment to examine the country, and discover the enemy. Hardly a man of this corps returned, with such fury did the *Dithmarsians* attack them. Upon this the king set out with his army to chastise their insolence, and was first obliged to attack a narrow pass, which the enemy had diligently fortified. His body-guards led the van, the infantry were in the center and the cavalry marched in the rear, through narrow rough roads, lined on both sides with wood. At first this was the only difficulty his majesty encountered; but on approaching the enemy, he found them strongly intrenched, and inaccessible on all sides; besides, the narrowness of the roads, and disposition of the cannon and baggage, in the front and rear, rendered it now hazardous either to advance or retreat. His embarrassment did not escape the enemy: they were prepared for it, and played their batteries with great vigour and success. Showers of arrows were likewise poured among the king's troops, and the endeavours of the *Dithmarsians* were greatly assisted by a violent shower of hail, directly in the faces of the king's troops. In a word, every thing co-operated to effect the disgrace and ruin of the *Danish* army. Cold, fatigue, and despondency, universally prevailed. Baffled in their endeavours to retreat, there remained no means of safety but cutting their way through the midst of the enemy's camp, which was immediately attempted. The attack begun with great vigour, supported by the king in person, and it was sustained with no less courage and firmness. Whole ranks of the *Danes* were hewn down by the grape shot of the enemy, while their fire was vainly spent upon dykes and batteries. Encouraged however by the presence and example of their king, one rank advanced upon another of their slaughtered companions, and soon met their fate. Confusion began to follow this terrible carnage, and even the king himself was dismayed. His falling back was the signal to a general rout, and

*John defeated
by the Dith-
marsians.*

now

now it was that the most dismal terror and disorder appeared. The cannon and baggage in the rear blocked up every passage, and the men fell back upon each other in one tumultuous crowd. The infantry threw themselves into the ditches to make room, and the cavalry, finding themselves blocked up, trod down the foot, as if they had been enemies. To give the finishing blow to the distress of the *Danish* army, the *Dithmarsians* sallied out among them, sword in hand, hewing them down without pity, remorse, or resistance. At the same time they opened their sluices, and almost overwhelmed them with a torrent of water, which however had this unexpected good effect, that clearing the ditches, and carrying away a great part of the baggage in the rear, it opened a passage for the cavalry to retreat. Nothing indeed could be more providential than this last action of the enemy, which alone prevented the *Danes* from being killed or taken prisoners all to a man. Some writers alledge, that this opening was made by the garrison the king left at *Meldorp*, who now came to his relief, and removed the cannon and baggage that blocked up the rear. What we can affirm for a certainty, upon the authority of all writers, is, that the king was totally defeated, and the ditches filled with dead bodies; a circumstance that facilitated the escape of the survivors, by diminishing the crowd, and forming a kind of foot-path in the deep and muddy trenches.

THE *Dithmarsians* did not enjoy their victory with the same magnanimity they gained it. All sorts of cruelties were committed on the bodies of the wounded and slain; their eyes were plucked out, their noses slit, and their ears cut off, with a barbarity unworthy of a warlike people. It was with difficulty they were prevailed on to bury the dead; nor did they at last comply with these last duties of humanity, but to avoid the inconveniency of the putrid exhalations arising from the corrupted bodies. After all, the infantry alone were interred, while the cavalry were left a prey to birds and beasts ^m.

WITH respect to the number of the slain, we have no certainty; but the most common opinion is, that four thousand *Danes* were left on the field, besides the wounded and prisoners. Among the former were *Adolphus Otton*, and the earl of *Oldenburg*, together with three hundred and sixty officers of less note. The king lost likewise an infinity of standards, colours, and other trophies, besides all his artillery and baggage. Such was the event of this unfortunate expedition, undertaken from motives of ambition, and unsuccessful for want of foresight, unanimity, and from too great confidence in the superiority of numbers.

JOHN having collected the remains of his scattered forces in *Holstein*, was meditating another invasion, in order to wipe off his disgrace, and revenge the manes of so many brave soldiers, when a peace was mediated by the *German* princes between him and the *Dithmarsians*, which continued until *Frederick II.* made another expedition into their country.

THE rumour of this defeat once more roused the ambition of *Steen-Sture*, and excited a rebellion in *Sweden*, which ended in a revolution, and the elevation of that nobleman to the rank he before held. He was adored by the peasants, as the protector of their liberties, and encouraged by the nobility as the necessary tool of extending their own privileges. But we shall postpone the relation of particulars until we come to the history of *Sweden*, that we may avoid repetition. Sufficient it is, that this revolution was effected in the year 1502, and forms one of the busiest and most interesting periods in the annals of either kingdom.

BUT the ambition of *Sture* was not satisfied with being the first person in *Sweden*, he must also acquire the supreme authority in *Norway*, to fill the measure of his designs, and gratify a soul wholly occupied with the lust of power. No obstacles could discourage him, and he panted after the accomplishment of this enterprize, with an eagerness proportioned to the difficulty of attaining his ends. The people had always testified an inclination to the union of *Calmar*, and a strong attachment to the kings of *Denmark*; but *Steen-Sture* was not to be repulsed by obstructions which must melt away before the heat and fervour of his genius. He wrote to the nobles; he employed emissaries to debauch the minds of the vulgar: to the former he promised unlimited privileges; and to the latter, an exemption from taxes imposed by the *Danes*, and every thing else that could cajole, amuse, and engage them in his interest. Motives so powerful as these wrought the desired effect; the *Norwegians* loved ease and liberty: here in imagination they saw a happy prospect; they pushed forward with eagerness, declared themselves, and joined the *Swedes* against *Denmark*, chusing *Canute Adolphus*, a powerful lord of the country, their leader.

^m MEURS. Vit. Johan. ibid.

JOHN was grieved and astonished at the first report of this revolution; but he did not despair of regaining the *Norwegians*. With this view he deputed the bishop of *Roschild* and *Henry Crommeditz* to them, after obtaining passports from *Canute Adolphus*. They had an interview with this nobleman, which end in reproaches, and his assassination, without its ever been known whether the *Danish* deputies had the king's instructions for committing this barbarous and insidious act. Confusion and tumults were the immediate consequences of this murder; the *Norwegians* retaliated on the *Danes*; and such were the heats produced, that no time could be afforded to inter the body of *Adolphus* for the space of twelve years; with such rage did they pursue their mutual animosity (A). As the king never took much trouble in discovering the murderers, it was conjectured that he was privy to the design; and thus he lay under the imputation of being at least an accessory to two horrid assassinations, without perhaps having any share in either; nor indeed can we at all conceive what purpose the latter murder, in particular, could have answered. We find it however related, that on his death-bed he was so touched with remorse, at being instrumental in the marshal's death, that he often called upon his name in a kind of phrenzy^a.

John's negotiations with the regency of Lubeck.

ALL this year the king was busied in the *Swedish* war, and blocking up *Stockholm*; the loss of which place, and the queen's imprisonment, greatly affected him. We shall see, in its proper place, how *Sture* came into possession of the capital and of her majesty's person, who defended it for some time with the valour and skill of the greatest general. He now had some intelligence, that the hanse-towns were ready to join the administrator; and he applied every engine to prevent their designs, by a renewal of the treaty subsisting between them and *Denmark*. The bishop of *Odensee*, accompanied by two gentlemen of the court, were sent to *Lubeck*, to lay before the regency the series of *Sture's* perfidy, his breach of treaties and oaths, his rebellion against his sovereign, in defiance of gratitude, repeated obligations, and the laws of his country, to which he had solemnly sworn; his imprisonment of the queen, in open breach of a particular treaty with her before she surrendered the citadel of *Stockholm*, together with a thousand other articles of impeachment. In fine, he demanded of the regency, out of respect to him, and the friendship subsisting between *Denmark* and the hanse-towns, that they would promise not to favour the administrator, by sending supplies of warlike stores and provisions to *Sweden*. He assured them of his friendship, if they would comply with this reasonable request; and on the other hand declared, that he could not avoid holding as enemies to him whoever should openly countenance and support rebels against their king and country.

To all this the regency answered, that their city being in peace with both kingdoms, it was unjust to put a stop to their commerce on account of their particular quarrel; and, indeed, neither his majesty nor the administrator had any right to lay restrictions on their trade. From this answer it was obvious the regency had taken their resolution; *John*, however, did not fail soliciting them by fresh instances, and the same negotiation he carried on by his ambassador with all the *Vandal* cities, and with much the same event^e.

His quarrels with the hanse-towns.

KING *John* was provoked at the conduct of the hanse-towns, and gave orders immediately for a squadron to be sent to sea to intercept all their commerce with *Sweden*. This squadron had scarce entered the *Baltic*, when it fell in with a rich *Lubecker*, bound for *Sweden*. This the *Danish* commander seized, and carried into port. *Lubeck* was immediately in arms upon this news. The people insisted upon declaring war on *Denmark*, and the regency inclined to their opinion, but were deterred from pursuing it, from motives of prudence, and the exhausted state of the public treasury. It was therefore thought advisable to try the effects of negotiation; and deputies were accordingly sent to *Denmark*, which *John* treated with great haughtiness in his turn. He gave them to understand, that he had no particular quarrel with *Lubeck*, or any of the free towns; and it was by no means his wish to break with them; but they were before apprised of his intention, if they continued to assist his enemies, a proceeding which he could not avoid construing into an indirect alliance against *Denmark*. In a word, he gave the deputies to understand, that he had it in his power to be revenged on *Lubeck* in particular. "This city, said he, had its privileges

^a MEURS. Vit. Johan. ibid.

^e CHYTÆI Chron. p. 76.

(A) About this time two *Norwegian* assassins came to *Denmark* one of whom stabbed the grand marshal as he was passing from the citadel to the city of *Copenhagen*. He afterwards flung his body into the sea, saying, that land

was not so natural an element for a fish as the sea, alluding to *Saumont*, which was the first part of that nobleman's name (1).

(1) Meurs. Vit. Johan.

- a "from the kings, my predecessors, in reward of its attachment to the interest of Denmark; it is possible it may lose them, as the just punishment of its ingratitude."

ON the return of the deputies with this answer, the citizens of *Lubeck* cried out with one voice for war; but the regency foreseeing the inconveniencies of a rupture with *Denmark*, made repeated remonstrances to the king by letters of request, and every other possible method. Finding him inflexible, at length, with reluctance, they determined to take arms, and keep no measures. The diligence with which they levied troops, and equipped a fleet, made it apparent that they resolved on vigorous measures; nor was the king less diligent in preparations to resist them.

- b IN the mean time *Frederick*, duke of *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, offered his mediation between *Denmark* and the hanse-towns. He came with that view to *Lubeck*, and omitted nothing to prevent a rupture; but the minds of the populace were too much inflamed to admit of the equitable proposals of this pacific prince. They persisted in demanding liberty of trade with *Sweden*, the confirmation of the privileges in the ports of *Denmark*, and restitution of the ships taken by the king's squadrons. Incensed with their obstinacy, *John* augmented the fleets intended to cruise upon their coasts. He sent likewise for aid to the kings of *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*. But though no succours arrived, except from the latter and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, the rumour of such powerful alliances discouraged the *Lubeckers*, made them lay up their fleet, and disband their armies.

- c TWO stout ships of war were sent from the king of *Scotland*, and several battalions of infantry by the elector of *Brandenburg*; but the king not thinking it adviseable again to rouse the spirit of the hanse-towns, who seemed disposed to lie by, resolved to employ his auxiliaries in the conquest of *Norway*. Prince *Christian* was appointed to command the armaments destined for this enterprize. The first attempt made by the prince was attended with uncommon success: he took prisoner the chief of the malcontents, condemned him to death, and ordered him to be broke on the wheel. *Sture* sent succours to the rebels; but the *Swedish* troops being defeated on their first arrival, *Christian* was left at full liberty to reduce the rest of the kingdom. In a word, the rigour with which his highness treated the rebels, and especially the nobility, a great number of whom he put to death, gave so rapid a progress to his arms, that in one campaign he saw himself master of all *Norway*.

A. D. 1503.

Prince Christian's success in Norway and Sweden.

- d THENCE he passed into *Sweden*, where he laid siege to *Elsburg* and *Oresteen*. His operations were so vigorous, that the garrisons soon offered to capitulate; but he refused to grant any terms to rebels, resolving to impress terror by his severity. *Sture* perceived of what consequence it was to relive these two places. He marched with a body of horse and foot with great secrecy and diligence towards *Elsburg* (A).

- e THE *Swedish* corps came within a few miles of the *Danish* camp, when they were discovered by a peasant, who gave immediate notice of their approach to *Canute Thimée*, the *Danish* officer upon guard for that night. Immediately he carried the news to the commander in chief; for the prince it is said lay that night in the citadel of *Elsburg*, which had been surrendered the day before. But as it was now the hour for relieving the sentinels, the enemy had time to approach the camp, and seize upon an eminence from whence they could overlook the *Danes*, before word came to the commanding officer. Nothing could be more favourable to *Sture's* designs than this opportunity. The whole *Danish* camp was overwhelmed with sleep, and the prince absent. *Sture*, however imprudently relying more upon the bravery of his men, than upon the surprize of the enemy, ordered the trumpets to be sounded, and the charge given; an order so ill-timed, that one of the trumpeters took the liberty of asking, whether it were not more adviseable to fall upon the enemy asleep than to waken them, and give them time to put themselves in a state of defence. But the general would have his orders implicitly obeyed, saying, that he disdained attacking the king's son, and so many noblemen, otherwise than in fair combat; a circumstance that renders it probable, that the administrator did not command in person. The *Swede* soon felt the consequences of this boasted delicacy. He broke in with fury into the camp, made great slaughter at first, but was soon overpowered and forced to fly, after losing more than half his cavalry; for his infantry had not yet joined him. It was the prince's arrival that gave this sudden turn to affairs. He instantly rallied the *Danes*, and gave them fresh vigour by his presence. Nor was he contented with repulsing the *Swedes*, and securing his camp; but pushing the siege of *Oresteen* with redoubled efforts, he took the fortress in a few days, putting the garrison to the sword, as he had done that of *Elsburg*. After that he led his victorious army into *East-Gothland*, where

The Swedes endeavour to surprize the Danish camp, and are defeated.

(A) Some writers affirm, that this party was commanded by one *Achoni*. and not by *Sture* in person (1).

(1) *Meurs. ibid.*

he burnt villages, took and pillaged towns and castles, and then passed to *Schonen* to refresh his troops ^a.

THE success of this expedition occasioned great joy in *Denmark*; nor was there any thing to allay the public satisfaction, except the enmity between the general of the cavalry and the commander in chief of the artillery; the former complaining loudly, that he had been deserted in the heat of the action by the other, from motives of treachery or cowardice. All possible means were used by the friends of these two officers to reconcile them; but to no purpose, until the king interposed his authority, and acquitted the commander of the artillery both of cowardice and treachery.

Further advantages gained by the Danes.

A SHORT time after this, the same general of the cavalry performed some signal services to his country, by surprising the *Swedish* fortress of *Olsburg*, which the administrator had erected for the defence of the frontier. In recompence of his conduct and valour, *John* gave him his conquests in perpetuity; and thus rewarded a faithful servant, and defended his frontier, without expence to the government. ^b

ALL this while *Sture* was not idle in *Sweden*. The *Lubeckers* had joined him with a squadron, consisting of six men of war; and he raised a body of land-forces, with which he became master of almost all the fortresses in the kingdoms, except *Calmar* and *Borkholm*, the sieges of which places were raised by the seasonable succours sent by *John*. Still however the *Danes* continued their incursions, to put a stop to which, and gain time, *Sture* set a negotiation on foot concerning the queen's release. The pope's legate coming to *Germany* about this time, it was thought a general peace would be established, as he laboured to unite the Christian princes, in order to engage them against the infidels. The legate wrote to king *John*, desiring he would send ambassadors to a congress at *Lubeck*, to which he had summoned deputies from *Sweden*, and all the *Vandal* cities. The deputies of the several states met accordingly; but *Sture's* agents equivocated so grossly, that the legate declared, unless the administrator released the queen, surrendered his authority, and returned together with the whole kingdom of *Sweden*, to the obedience they had sworn to king *John*, he would engage his holiness to pour down upon them all the thunders of the church. ^c

THESE menaces operated powerfully on the minds of the regency, and the *Swedish* deputies; the former requesting leave to accompany the latter into *Sweden*, to treat with *Sture* in person concerning her majesty's release. They likewise sent deputies to *Stralsund*, to treat with king *John*, concerning certain preliminary articles of peace. ^d

The queen of Denmark set at liberty.

It was a matter of less difficulty than was imagined to procure the queen's liberty; the whole *Swedish* nation having long endeavoured to prevail on the administrator to send her back to *Denmark*. Her majesty was attended at *Helmstadt* by crowds of the nobility; and his majesty followed by the prince and court, met her at a considerable distance, and conducted her to *Copenhagen*, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, who loved the person, and greatly respected the abilities of this heroine.

A. D. 1504.

THE sudden death of *Steen-Sture* on the following year effected a total change in the affairs of *Sweden*. Warm disputes arose whether his *Danish* should be called to the throne, or the management of affairs put into the hands of *Suante Sture*, grand marshal of the kingdom. The latter opinion prevailed, and the new administrator began his government by renewing the war, and laying siege to *Colmar* and *Borkholm*. More than common vigour was exerted in the finishing those sieges; but all the efforts of *Sture* were baffled by the bravery of the garrison and the strength of the fortifications. Yet some writers pretend, that *Calmar* was taken by assault ^e; an opinion we find contradicted by the best authorities.

John's designs against Sweden.

KING *John* was foiled in his endeavours to reduce *Sweden* to his obedience, and terminate the war; he therefore deliberated upon the most effectual means of punishing this rebellious nation, by striking some decisive blow. The island of *Bornholm* was the great security of their commerce in the *Baltic*, and of this he proposed to deprive them. While he was busied in preparations to execute this plan, the duke of *Mecklenburg* declared war on the *Lubeckers*. The regency, terrified at having two enemies at once to deal with, made proposals of peace, and agreed to whatever his majesty demanded; but the rest of the hanse-towns, particularly *Dantzick*, *Riga*, and *Revel* refused to sign the treaty, pretending that their union would not permit them to accede to articles which respected the interest and conveniency of one city only. *Lubeck* however concluded the peace; and as this was the only city that had powerfully supported *Sture*, his majesty was now at liberty to turn his whole force against *Sweden*. However, he gave ear to the arguments of the *Scottish* ambassador, sent to mediate peace among the northern crowns. A congress was fixed at *Calmar*, for the deputies of the three kingdoms. The king, the *Scottish* ambassador, ^f

Peace with Lubeck.

^a MEURS VIT. Johan. ibid.

^e Hist. de Danemarck, par M. DES ROCHES, t. iv. p. 373.

- a and senates of *Denmark* and *Norway* attended; but they were disappointed in the usual manner by the *Swedes*, who thought proper not to keep their engagement. *John* was incensed at this indignity: he read to the congress the proofs and other documents of his title to the crown of *Sweden*, and the oath of allegiance that nation had sworn. He accused the *Swedes* of rebellion and perjury; but that he might not give judgment in his own cause, he left sentence to be passed by the senators of *Denmark* and *Norway*. Accordingly they passed the following decree, that *Suante-Sture* and the other members of the *Swedish* senate, who had signed the oath of fidelity to the king, and were guilty of perjury by exciting rebellions in the kingdom against their sovereign, should be degraded from their nobility, have their estates confiscated, and be obliged to surrender the kingdom
- b into his majesty's hands, by a certain day. This sentence was sent to the emperor *Maximilian*, with a request that he would examine and confirm it, if he thought it was founded on equity. His imperial majesty complied with the king's desire; the decree was canvassed before the aulic council, and solemnly ratified.

WHEN *John* found himself supported by the emperor's confirmation of the decree, he ordered it to be printed and published, and then took the necessary measures of enforcing it, beginning with degrading the persons levelled at, and confiscating their estates. He caused to be published in all the hanse-towns, the imperial decree of ratification, declaring at the same time, that if they continued their intercourse with *Sweden*, or any other ways aided or abetted the rebels in that kingdom, he would immediately revoke the privileges granted by his predecessors to their shipping in the ports of *Denmark*.

- c It appears, that the *Swedes* were troubled at the publication of this decree in the empire. It created confusion in the kingdom, and alienated the minds of numbers from the regent. Dreading the consequences of their disaffection, *Sture* sent deputies to *Denmark* to negotiate peace; but as he had before broke his faith to the king, the deputies could only obtain a suspension of arms.

- LUBECK fought now to break the late treaty concluded with *Denmark*; but history does not specify the reasons for which she opposed the growing interest of *John* in *Sweden*, which was the real occasion why the regency desired to come to a rupture with *Denmark*. This city received all the *Swedish* ships that came to her ports, and furnished them with
- d ammunition, provision, and every implement of war, in open defiance to the king. *John* remonstrated to the regency, and they replied, that the ships he spoke of belonged to the *Vandal* cities. It was plain, however, that the trade of *Sweden* was carried on clandestinely in neutral bottoms; and *John*, to put a stop to this evil, ordered a squadron to cruise in the *Baltick*, and seize upon all the *Lubeck* shipping that came in their way. Several rich vessels were taken, the regency was alarmed, and sent to demand restitution. The other cities followed their example; but all the deputies were dismissed with this answer, that the ships and effects seized were lawful prize, as they carried on a traffic with *Sweden* in direct violation of the late treaty. The populace of *Lubeck* pressed the regency to make reprisals; but they more prudently contented themselves with an assurance to the administrator, given under their hands, that they would not fail of embracing every opportunity
- e to aid and assist *Sweden*.

- ENCOURAGED by this promise, *Sven-Sture* broke the suspension of arms between him and *Denmark*: he made an irruption into *Bleking*, took the fortress of *Lych*, pillaged and set fire to the surrounding villages, and retired precipitately with his booty to *Sweden*. This insult did not pass unrevengeed. *Norby*, admiral of the *Danish* squadron, cruising in the *Baltick*, entered the port of *Abo* in *Finland*, and reduced the capital to ashes. He then set sail for the island of *Aland*, razed the fortress of *Castleholm*, took *Steen Tourson*, a *Swedish* senator, and his family prisoners, and carried them to *Denmark*, with a great deal of rich plunder. *Steen Tourson* was connected with the best families in *Sweden*, and
- f they all exerted themselves to bring about a peace, as the only means of procuring his release. But the administrator frustrated the effects of all their endeavours, and after a tedious negotiation, ordered matters so artfully, that only a suspension of arms for a year was concluded; only it was stipulated before this cessation of hostilities was granted, that at the expiration of the truce, the *Swedes* should either acknowledge *John* for their sovereign, or give sufficient reasons for their refusal of him or his son. Other articles of less consequence were likewise agreed upon, all of which were burthensome to *Sweden*, and grievous to the hanse-towns; too much so indeed to expect any good effects from them. The *Swedes* were the first who declined performing the agreement; upon which the king, finding he was trifled with, again took arms, and entered *Westrogoth* about the
- g middle of *December*, at the head of an army. Here he burnt and pillaged *Lad-se*, and

A. D. 1507.
The Lubeckers break the late treaty.

War renewed with Sweden.

all the country he laid waste ; but *Sture* did not venture to oppose him, or, at all to appear in the field before his majesty returned to *Denmark*. Then he entered *Schonen*, and carried ruin and devastation wherever he marched. Apprehensive however that the king would amply revenge himself, he dispatched deputies to *Denmark*, to demand a diet of the states of the three kingdoms to meet on the twenty-fourth day of *June* following at *Calmar*. Although it was easy to perceive that fear alone drove the administrator to this measure ; yet so desirous of peace was his *Danish* majesty, that he would not reject any overture that had a tendency to re-establish the public tranquillity.

The Lubeck-
ers assist Swe-
den.
A. D. 1508.

SUCH was the situation of affairs, when the hanse-towns interposed in the beginning of the year 1508, and by their conduct destroyed all hopes of accommodation. The city of *Lubeck* sent a fleet laden with all kind of stores to *Stockholm* ; they renewed their alliance with the administrator, and even dissuaded him from giving ear to any propositions that might tend to the diminution of his own authority. The administrator was easily persuaded to break off a treaty for which he had no inclination ; and the king was astonished at so abrupt an infraction of a truce obtained by so much solicitation. He laid the affair before the diet, who immediately resolved upon declaring war against *Lubeck*. Ambassadors were dispatched to *England* and *Scotland*, to solicit naval assistance from both these kingdoms. In the mean time the *Lubeckers* had procured the emperor *Maximilian's* protection and prohibition on all *German* princes and subject from entering into the service of *Denmark*. His imperial majesty likewise wrote to king *John* not to molest the commerce of the *Lubeckers* ; but at length, at the intreaty of the *French* king, he withdrew his protection from this city.

John blocks up
the river
Trave, and
the Lubeck
commerce.

KING *John* blocked up *Trave* with a squadron, and took three rich merchantmen belonging to *Lubeck*. The *Lubeckers* unadvisedly made reprisals, by seizing all the *Danish* subjects and effects in their city ; a step which induced the king to give similar directions with respect to all the merchants and effects of *Lubeck*, in all the different ports of his dominions. As this commercial city carried on a prodigious trade with *Denmark*, nothing could be more contrary to their interest than a measure which provoked the king to put a stop to their traffic, and seize on their merchandize. Immediately their insolence was checked, and they wrote to king *John* in the most supplicating manner, requesting that their merchants and subjects might be set at liberty : but these letters had no effect ; the king insisted upon such terms, that for the present the negotiation was dropt.

Treaty with
Sweden con-
cluded.

WITH respect to the congress appointed at *Calmar*, the *Swedish* deputies did not appear ; but the whole nation, ashamed of so many breaches of their word, which would render them infamous in all the courts of *Europe*, thought to make reparation, by sending ambassadors to the king to demand peace. King *John* desired the deputies to acquaint the senate, that he would transact the business at *Helsingburg*, if they would send commissioners with full powers thither. His proposal was accepted, and at this congress it was agreed, that *Sweden* should pay his majesty a tribute of thirteen thousand marks of the standard weight of *Stockholm*, until such time as himself or his son were chosen king of *Sweden* ; that until this time the prince should have possession of *Calmar* and the islands of *Gothland* and *Oeland*, in which they promised not to disturb him. Several other conditions were stipulated, and this treaty was in fact only a renewal of the overtures made at *Wandeberg* a few years before. The chief motive which induced the commissioners to accede to such conditions was, that now they hoped the *Swedish* commerce might be carried on without interruption, the nation being almost reduced to despair by the total stagnation of trade for some years past.

Treaty broke.

AFTER all the treaty was of no effect. *Suante-Sture* exclaimed against a free nation's tamely submitting to pay tribute, and affirmed that the commissioners exceeded their instructions. In a word, whatever the situation of *Sweden* might be, he chose rather to hazard a war than ratify so disgraceful a treaty. In this resolution he was confirmed by the large supplies sent by *Lubeck*, and the other hanse-towns. Crowds of ships got safe into the harbour of *Stockholm*, almost all of which were dispersed and shipwrecked in a storm that overtook them in their return.

THE news of this loss revived the hopes of the *Danes*. A squadron belonged to that nation rode at anchor in the mouth of the *Trave*, ready to enter the river as soon as a fair wind offered. In the mean while the *Danish* admiral landed some troops and burnt a great number of villages round *Lubeck* : but still some advantages gained by the *Lubeckers* convinced his majesty that this force was insufficient to awe the fleets of *Sweden* and *Lubeck*, promising them by way of encouragement an exemption from duties in the ports of *Denmark*. In consequence of this declaration, the *Baltick* was covered with privateers, and the *Swedish* and *Lubeck* fleets dreaded shewing themselves out of port.

- a BESIDES this, king *John* acted with his own fleets against the enemy. A strong squa- A. D. 1509.
dron was sent to *Lubeck* under the command of admiral *Norby*, who took *Aboe*, after pillag-
ing and destroying all the adjacent country. At last the *Swedish* senate, afflicted with the Peace again
concluded with
Sweden.
miseries of the people, applied themselves so warmly to the administrator, that he per-
mitted ambassadors to go to *Denmark* to solicit a peace, which was soon after concluded,
upon terms less advantageous to them than those which the administrator refused to com-
ply with the year before. The self same tribute was insisted on; but he found it dange-
rous to quarrel with the senate, who had now entered strongly into the only measures that
could save their sinking country; namely, an accommodation with *Denmark*. It was even
stipulated, that *Sweden* should by no means whatsoever aid, assist, or trade with *Lubeck*,
b while his majesty was at war with that city.

SUCH were the hard conditions of peace to which the *Swedes* were forced to submit: A. D. 1510.
however, like all other treaties with this and the former administrator, it was but of short
duration. This year, in conjunction with *Lubeck*, the administrator declared war against The admini-
strator joins
the Lubeck-
ers, and again
declares war.
Denmark; and such diligence did the *Lubeckers* exert on this occasion, that their squadron
appeared off *Langland*, before king *John* had notice of their making preparations. Here
they landed their troops, and burnt some villages; but were so warmly received by the in-
habitants, who assembled to oppose them, that they were forced to return to their ships,
without committing farther damage, leaving all their plunder behind.

- c It was now that the king prepared earnestly for war. He laid an embargo on all the
French, *English*, *Scottish*, and other shipping in his ports, ordering all the large vessels to
be fitted out as ships of war; an unprecedented measure, which surely had the concurrence
of the sovereigns to whom they were subject, else would he never have presumed to attempt
it. But in the mean while, a squadron from *Lubeck* made a descent on the island *Mona*.
On their approach *Andrew Bilde*, who commanded in the island, fortified the town and The Lubeck-
ers invade
Mona, and
are repulsed.
citadel, of *Stega*, and took every other measure necessary for an obstinate defence. The
Lubeckers landed, and finding the open country and villages deserted, imagined that the in-
habitants, terrified at their approach, had taken shelter in the capital, which their conster-
nation would render an easy conquest. Full of these hopes, they advanced, and laid siege
to the city. *Bilde* had ordered matters in such manner as to impress the enemy with still
d stronger notions of his panic, in order to lull them into the greater security. He even
suffered them to mount the scaling-ladders, and fill the ditch with men; upon which he
sallied out, poured burning pitch, and other combustibles, large stones, and showers of
shot among them; playing at the same time his artillery with such success, that, after the
loss of their commander, and prodigious slaughter of the soldiers, the *Lubeckers* were
obliged to fly with great precipitation to their ships. Then a sally of the whole garrison
was made, the fugitives were attacked with great fury, and such terrible destruction made
among them, that few escaped.

- e WHEN the news of this transaction reached the king's ears, he was so pleased with the
bravery of the governor and inhabitants, that he sent a gentleman of his court to thank
and assure them, that he would never forget so signal a service, and so convincing
proofs of their courage and loyalty. After this it was that he gave instructions to all the
governors of islands to place centinels at certain distances along the coasts, to prevent be-
ing surprised.

THIS repulse did not prevent the *Lubeckers* from endeavouring to revenge the affront The Lubeck-
ers repulsed at
Langland.
by a descent on *Langland*; but the inhabitants kept so good a countenance, that, after
frequent attempts, they were forced to weigh anchor, without setting foot on land, and
fail to *Elfinore*, where they met with no better success.

- f WHILE the regency were scheming the means of retrieving their disgraces, the soldiers
mutinied, refusing to serve in a war which was undertaken without any apparent reason,
and to the utter ruin of their country. This unfortunate accident occasioned some change
in the measures of the regency, but none of their sentiments; for, perceiving themselves
in no condition to man the proposed squadrons, they sent deputies to the administrator,
exhorting him to attack *Denmark* by land, while the hanse-towns were giving full employ-
ment by sea. This was a proposal which *Sture*, always averse to the late treaty, embraced
with pleasure (A). He detached general *Achon* into *Halland* with a body of horse, order-
ing him to carry fire and sword through every place he marched. *Achon* had scarce en- The Swedes
defeated.
tered the province when *Tuche Crabbe*, a gentleman of family and influence in the country,

• CHYTRÆI Chron. p. 81.

- g (A) It appears, that *Sture* had not, by any act of the city of *Lubeck*. We may therefore conjecture, that
hostility, broke the treaty before this time; though we he only secretly abetted their designs, without com-
are told he declared war against *John* in conjunction with mitting a direct violation of the treaty.

fell upon him with a body of hardy peasants he had assembled, and intirely defeated him, making great slaughter of his men ^b.

A DEFEAT so unexpected caused great consternation in *Sweden*. The people apprehend, that *John* would invade them with the whole strength of his kingdom on the one side, and engage the *Russians* to attack them on the other. To remove this last inconveniency, the administrator concluded, with all expedition, a treaty for sixty years with the czar *George Betim*.

John reduces
Lubeck to
great difficul-
ties.

ON his side, king *John* employed a great number of foreign shipping, for the defence of his coasts, against the attacks of the hanse-towns, whom the city of *Lubeck* had engaged to declare war against him: he erected the fortress of *Engelburg* in *Laaland*, to serve as a retreat for the inhabitants of the island, in case of a descent: he renewed the prohibition ^b on any of his subjects trading with *Lubeck*, or the allies of that city; and took such vigorous steps, as effectually distressed the regency of *Lubeck*. But the very circumstance which almost occasioned the ruin of the city, proved the means of its preservation; for the regency, taking advantage of the deplorable condition to which the populace were reduced, engaged them to enter in their fleets and armies, their only resource against famine and death. To this armament the *Swedes* joined a squadron, and a plan of operations was concerted between the administrator and the regency. Twenty-six sail of *Lubeckers* landed in *Bleking*; and after setting a few villages on fire, and making a slight booty, retired, on advice that the inhabitants were assembling to oppose them. *Meursius* says, that a report of the king's approach, with a numerous fleet, made them embark with such ^c precipitation, that leaving their booty on shore, the soldiers insisted on being immediately carried back to *Lubeck*. The admiral proposed a descent on *Fionia*, a place so rich as amply to reward all their toil; but his remonstrances were ineffectual: even the reinforcement of a strong squadron, which joined them as they were leaving the coast of *Bleking*, could work no change in their minds; all, with one voice, crying out, *Lubeck! Lubeck!* and threatening to throw their officers overboard, if they made any resistance.

Engagement
between the
Danish and
Lubeck fleets.

TOWARDS the end of the year a squadron of the king's, consisting of eight ships, had a sharp engagement with a *Lubeck* squadron of equal strength. They fought obstinately the whole day, and were separated by the night, without any apparent advantage on either side; though it is judged, from the hurry in which the *Lubeckers* put into port, that they ^d were sick of the rough usage of the *Danes*.

A. D. 1511.

NEXT spring the regency of *Lubeck* licensed a great number of pirates to cruize upon the *Danes*, to supply in some measure the room of a regular fleet, which the great expences of the preceding year rendered them incapable of equipping. This piratical squadron was commanded by one *Conrad Regulus*, who manned and fitted up near thirty merchantmen at his own expence. In order to block up or destroy this fleet, king *John* sent *Haliger* with twenty men of war to *Travemunde*; but the *Lubeckers*, having advice of his approach, drew all their ships within the interior harbour of the city, where they bid defiance to all the attempts of the *Danish* admiral. *Haliger*, however, had his revenge on the surrounding country, which he pillaged, and, after setting fire to the suburbs, set sail ^e for *Stralsund*. Here he committed many excesses; and the regency of the city, to retaliate upon him, raised an army, which was defeated and cut in pieces by the *Danes*.

The Swedes
takes Bork-
holm.

IN the mean time, the administrator sent a fleet and army to lay siege to *Borkholm* in the island of *Oeland*, where *Canute Rudy* commanded for the king. The siege was conducted by three *Swedes* of distinction, *Hemming Goede*, *Breme Oeftry*, and *Eric Abraham*. It continued from the twenty-fourth of *June* to the twenty-fifth of *November*, although his majesty neglected no expedient to succour and relieve the garrison, which was at length forced to capitulate, on honourable terms, for want of provisions. To indemnify himself for this loss, the king meditated an expedition against *West Gotbland*, with a body of infantry. This detachment penetrated to *Scara*, pillaged, laid waste, and burnt the country; but ^f was forced to return, on advice that the *Swedes* had laid several ambuscades, and were taking effectual steps to cut off their convoys of provisions and retreat.

IN the autumn the *Lubeckers* had put a fleet to sea, and the king sent the admirals *Haliger*, *Norby*, and *Gifel*, in quest of them. *Haliger* who was the commanding officer in chief, set sail with a favourable wind, and soon came in sight of the enemy; upon which he exhorted his men to do their duty, promising them the whole booty. The men expressing their ardour to engage, the signal was made, and both fleets fought with the utmost fury. *Haliger* had placed his largest ships in the wings of the line, filling up the center with smaller vessels manned with soldiers, and keeping besides a small squadron in reserve; whereas the *Lubeck* admiral fought too impetuously to observe the proper disposition. In

^b Vid. MEURS. Vit. Johan. ibid.

^a the end, the *Lubeckers* were defeated, with the loss of five ships; but the victory was not decisive, as night interposed, and *Haliger* found them drawn up next morning in the port of *Borholm* in order of battle, and with a countenance that made it not very adviseable to attack them. He was, however, fortunate enough to fall in with three men of war off *Stralsund*, who were sent to join the *Lubeck* fleet. They had mistaken the *Danish* squadron for that of their allies, and *Haliger* took two of the ships before they discovered their mistake.

The Lubeckers defeated in a sea-engagement.

As the *Lubeck* fleet was returning home, they met with a fleet of *Dutch* merchantmen, consisting of two hundred and fifty sail, under convoy of four men of war. The sight of so rich a prize excited their avarice, and roused their antient animosity to this people, the rivals of their commerce. They attacked and soon made themselves masters of the whole fleet, except the men of war, with which the admiral escaped, on finding himself unable to oppose the powerful squadron of *Lubeck*. These four ships went strait to *Bornholm*, and acquainted *Haliger* of what had passed; upon which the *Dane* assembled his officers, and obliged them to swear they would rescue the prize, or perish in the attempt. Immediately he set sail, taking with him the four *Dutch* men of war, came up with the enemy, found several of the *Dutch* merchantmen set on fire, others a-drift, after being emptied of the richest part of their cargoes, and the *Lubeck* squadron wrapt in full security, meditating upon nothing but the enjoyment of so rich a booty. *Haliger* gave the signal to engage; and the *Lubeck* admiral, perceiving himself attacked, led the flight, and, by a providential accident in his favour, gained the mouth of the *Trave*, in spite of all the endeavours of the *Danish* squadron to intercept him. *Haliger* had sprung a-leak, and lying-by to repair his ship, the rest of the *Danish* squadron mistook it for a signal to stop the pursuit, by which means the enemy got clear off; but left behind all the *Dutch* vessels, which were immediately returned to their owners, and sent home under the escort of their own admiral. Thus the *Danish* fleet rode triumphant in the *Baltick*; and such was the king's superiority by sea, that notwithstanding the war continued for the space of ten years, yet every thing necessary to support life with comfort was in great abundance, and sold at as low a price, through all his dominions, as in the profoundest peace^a.

The Lubeckers seize on a large fleet of Dutch merchantmen.

The Dutch fleet retaken by the Danes and restored.

^d THE death of *Suante-Sture*, administrator of *Sweden*, occasioned fresh revolutions in that kingdom. The nation was divided in their choice of a successor. The archbishop of *Upsal* supported the interest of *Eric Troll*, a man of the most distinguished merit and family; while many senators, suspecting *Troll's* attachment to *Denmark*, espoused young *Stenon*, son of *Sture*. *Stenon* carried his point by a majority of voices; but the other party did not relinquish their claim: and while they were thus struggling in civil disputes, the regency of *Lubeck* determined to break off the alliance, and make peace with king *John*. The people became clamorous from their poverty, and those who but the last year were loudest in the cry of war now became mutinous for peace. A letter was wrote to the king, requesting his majesty to appoint a congress for terminating their differences; and *John*, naturally averse to war, could not reject any propositions that afforded a prospect of peace. He told the deputies, that the regency might safely send commissioners to *Flensburg*, where he would negotiate a peace with them, and the rest of the hanse-towns. A few disputes arose at the opening of the conferences; but his majesty firmly maintaining his point, obliged the *Lubeck* deputies to comply with all he proposed. In consequence a peace was signed, by which the city of *Lubeck* engaged to assist the king with all its force, in case the *Swedes* persisted in refusing to acknowledge him, or the prince, for their sovereign; or at least, to pay the yearly tribute of thirtythousand marks of silver; to afford a retreat to none of the enemies of *Denmark*; and to compromise amicably all future disputes arising between his majesty and the republic.

A. D. 1512. Revolutions in Sweden.

^f *SWEDEN* was thunder-struck with the conduct of *Lubeck*. Immediately the administrator and senate wrote to the king to appoint a congress, to deliberate on the means of establishing peace on a solid foundation. The *Swedish* deputies went further, and even began to negotiate with the king, whom they found disposed to listen to reasonable terms. In short, peace was concluded on one of these three conditions: That *Sweden* should acknowledge *John*, or his son, for their sovereign; or pay the tribute of thirty thousand marks: but little regard was had to this treaty until after *John's* death.

His majesty now, at length, relaxed himself from public cares, at least from foreign concerns; and applied his mind to cultivate religion, morality, and learning in *Denmark*. He augmented the rights, privileges, and revenues of the academy founded at *Copenhagen* by the king his father. Experience having taught him the advantage of employing men

John's domestic conduct.

^a CHYTRÆI Chron. ibid.

of letters in public affairs, he made it a point to chuse his ambassadors and ministers out of this learned seminary. As a farther encouragement to the university, he prohibited his subjects from sending their children to foreign academies, or indeed to any other except *Upsal*, and even then made it necessary that they should first have studied three years in *Copenhagen*^a.

HAVING settled the affairs of *Zealand*, his majesty accompanied by the queen, the prince, and a great number of the nobility, passed over to *North Jutland*. In this voyage he was overtaken in a tempest, which put the ship into so great danger, that as soon as the king set his foot on shore he turned round to the sea, and cried out, "Farewel sea! farewel for ever! you have treated me in such a manner to-day, that I have little hopes of again re-passing you:" words that were afterwards looked on as prophetic. While the king resided at *Ripen*, the high tides overflowed the country, and detained him longer in the city than he proposed. It is reported that on this occasion, his majesty walking with some noblemen along the shore, said to them, looking at the sea, "It must be confessed that this is the work of the King of kings, who wants neither cannon nor instruments of war to block us up. This element alone is sufficient. We who never submitted to an earthly power, humbly prostrate ourselves before this heavenly master, whom the seas and the earth obey."

WHEN the waters retired, his majesty, going to *Olburg*, was thrown off his horse; an accident which brought on a fever, that terminated with the life of this excellent monarch, who bore his last agonies with a resigned firmness of mind, that does honour to his memory, and credit to that innocence and integrity of life, which could alone inspire him with so calm a resolution at the approach of death. When he found his end drawing near, he spoke to his son before a great number of senators and noblemen. "My son, said he, I exhort you to worship God, and pray to the King of kings to inspire you with wisdom adequate to the heavy charge I am going devolve on you. I recommend it to you to govern your people with equity, and above all things to be tender of their privileges. What glory is there in being the king of slaves! Let it be your ambition to be thought worthy to govern freemen. Do nothing by violence, consult your faithful subjects, and attach them as well by friendship as by duty. Administer justice in person, and let your ears be ever open to the complaints of the oppressed, and the groans of the injured and indigent. Fill all places of trust and profit with your natural subjects: God has given you charge of their interest; they called you to the throne, and gratitude requires a return from you. Reward my faithful servants, and attach them to you; they will then have a double tie to serve you with fidelity; love of my memory, and a sense of their obligations to you: and now my dearest son, I pray God to bless you, to direct you, and to grant you a long reign, prosperous to you, and happy to your people." With these words he expired on the twentieth day of *February*, 1513, universally beloved, esteemed, and regretted. It would be unnecessary, after what we have related, to draw the portrait of this worthy prince: sufficient it is, that he was just, prudent, pious, liberal, brave, and humane; in a word, possessed of every quality that could endear him to his subjects, render his life amiable and easy, and last moments happy. In all his wars, which were numerous, he was successful, except against the *Dithmarsians*, where the misconduct lay wholly upon his officers. Here, in particular, he exerted his courage, and distinguished his personal bravery in the repeated attacks he made on their trenches. His regard to his promises was so great, that foreign states never required more than his word; and so scrupulous was he in this respect, that he often became the dupe of the two administrators. It was perhaps his only weakness, and a generous one it was: he loved truth so much, that he could not persuade himself but others paid the same regard to it: even the repeated perfidies of *Suante-Sture* would not convince him but his breach of oaths and promises arose from necessity. The *Swedes*, indeed, accuse him of giving the best governments in that country to *Danish* subjects, contrary to the treaty of *Calmar*, and his last instructions to his own son; but this they probably intend as a tacit apology for the senate and administrator, who stand greatly in need of some pretences to justify their rebellion. Admitting the fact was true, need we be surprised at the little confidence he placed in a set of people who had scandalized themselves by their perfidy, and breach of word, in every court in *Europe*, before ever he came to the throne, and during the reign of his father? To conclude, *John* was of a middling stature, strong built, and lusty: his chest was broad and elevated, his face round, and his eyes modest. He despised dress; but was fond of neatness. His oeconomy was frugal; his table plentiful, but not splen-

^a MEURS, Vit. Johan. ibid.

^a did; however, when he assumed the sovereign, all was great, rich, and magnificent. He was so great an admirer of the simplicity of the antient *Danes*, that he even imitated their dress, and always wore an antique sword over his robe. He promoted science, encouraged men of learning, had them always at his table, sought their conversation, and, on these occasions, laid aside the sovereign for the character of the pupil. In a word, he was at least as wise, as amiable prince as ever swayed the *Danish* sceptre ^b.

S E C T. XIII.

^b Containing the Reigns of Christian II. and Frederick I.

C R I S T I A N II.

^c **C**H R I S T I A N II. succeeded by election to his father's crown; and his first care was to put himself in a condition to resist the enemies to his person and people. He could not imagine that the *Swedes*, who had so often revolted against his father, would shew more fidelity to him, nor that they would be in any hurry to execute the articles of their last treaty with *Denmark*. He knew that little confidence was due to the professions of the hanse-cities, as want of ability to prosecute the war compelled them reluctantly to sue for the late peace. Already the crown of *Denmark* was in alliance with the kings of *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*, with the dukes of *Saxony*, *Frederick*, and *John*, and with the margrave of *Brandenburg*. *Christian* therefore resolved to strengthen his interest still more, by concluding a treaty with the emperor; by which means he would secure the friendship of the whole house of *Austria*. With this view he schemed a marriage with the emperor's daughter, *Isabella*, sister of *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, both successively raised to the imperial dignity; and the more easily to accomplish this design, he laboured to get himself crowned; a ceremony that was performed in the month of *May*. Christian II.
A. D. 1513.
State of Den-
mark on
Christian's ac-
cession.

^d **I**M M E D I A T E L Y after he set out with a splendid retinue to the court of the princess *Margaret*, governess of the *Netherlands*: he made her highness acquainted with the nature of his visit, and was conducted by her to *Brussels*, where her son *Charles* resided. Here he again demanded the princess, and, on obtaining a promise, hastened back to *Denmark* to prepare for his nuptials. A. D. 1514.

^e **T**H I S year was ushered in by a terrible earthquake, which was felt in almost every part of *Denmark*. A storm of wind immediately followed, that overturned the steeple of the great church at *Copenhagen*, tore up whole forests of great trees by the roots, threw down an incredible number of houses, and killed many persons. Superstitious men looked upon this as an inauspicious harbinger of the troubles of *Christian's* reign, while the more sensible part of the nation regarded it as an effect arising from natural causes. It happened indeed on this occasion, as it usually does, that these sagacious reflections were made long after the facts happened; a sort of retrospective conjectures in which the wise authors could not well be mistaken.

CH R I S T I A N having got every thing in readiness for the reception of the princess, sent the grand mareschal, the archbishop of *Drontheim*, and a great number of nobility, with a strong squadron to conduct her to *Denmark*. On their return a violent storm dispersed the fleet, and almost shipwrecked the princess on the coast of *Zealand*, near *Copenhagen*. All the lords and ladies of the court went immediately to congratulate her on her providential escape, and to welcome her into *Denmark*. She was soon after married, with great pomp, to the king, and afterwards crowned and acknowledged sovereign of *Denmark*, by all the different states of the kingdom. (A.) He married
Isabella, sister
to Charles V.

^f **S**T U D I O U S to please his bride, the king sent to the *Low-Countries* for all the queen's servants, that she might enjoy the satisfaction of being attended in a strange country by per-

^b Vid. MAURS. Vit. Johan. ad fin.

(A) While the nuptial ceremonies were celebrating, a circumstance happened that afterwards became the subject of much conversation. Among the other princes who honoured the king's marriage with their presence, was *Frederick* duke of *Slejewick* and *Holstein*. With him came *Reffenflaw*, a man of birth, a scholar, a great civilian, and profound astrologer. While *Reffenflaw*, was one day at dinner with the rest of the nobility, duke *Frederick* happened to pass through the room, on which he called out, "Rise, gentlemen, and salute the prince destined for your sovereign." For the present this saying was regarded as a folly inspired by wine; but after *Christian* was deposed, and *Frederick* raised to the throne, people construed it into *Reffenflaw's* profound skill in futurity, though, in all appearance, it was dictated by a strong affection and attachment to his master (1).

(1) Vid. Vit. Christ. p. 62.

sons,

sons, to whose language and manners she was accustomed. He also sent for gardeners, in order to cultivate all sorts of fruits and other vegetables for her table, and assigned them the little island of *Amag* for this purpose, which soon was able to supply, not only her majesty's table, but all *Copenhagen*, with the most delicious fruits.

His domestic conduct.

His majesty then applied to matters of greater importance; and the first object of his care was to set commerce on the best footing, by establishing a general tariff. Next he forbid the exportation of corn and beer, to prevent dearths in the country; a maxim in politics established in many other countries upon false principles, and without reflecting, that the lands will be cultivated by the husbandman, in proportion to the demand for corn, and pieces of ground furrowed by the plough, which otherwise would remain useless. Many other regulations, with respect to trade, were made, most of which had a tendency to enrich the capital, by drawing an afflux of merchants thither ^b.

Affairs of Sweden.

CHRISTIAN was thus employed in his own kingdom, while the affairs of *Sweden* seemed to take a turn favourable to his claim. The archbishop of *Upsal*, not having interest enough to establish *Eric Troll* in a share of the government, had however address enough to associate his son in the regency, and devolve half the authority on him. His gaining this point was, he imagined, of so great moment to the king, that he immediately acquainted him with it, by an express. *Christian* was not however satisfied. Tied up with laws, and a limited sovereignty in *Denmark*, he viewed *Sweden* as a kingdom where he might claim despotic power as the right of conquest. Unmindful of his father's dying exhortation, this was what *Christian* panted after. Imagining that young *Troll* might be useful in performing this design, and destroying the authority of the administrator, he sent persons to congratulate him on his new-acquired dignity, and accompanied his compliments with a considerable sum of money, as a more solid testimony of his friendship. The young prelate, who had just ascended to the summit of his ambition, was vain, haughty, and loquacious, qualities of which the artful *Dane* did not fail to make his advantage. He represented his master's power, connections, and disposition, in such light as wholly gained over the prelate, and the strongest assurance from him, that he would regard his associate in the administration, as the enemy to *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and should leave no engine unemployed to restore the union of *Calmar* in its full force.

The perfidy of the pope's legate.

TROLL made good his promises, and every thing was tending to a civil war in *Sweden*, when *Arcembold*, the pope's legate, arrived in *Denmark*, and by dispensing indulgencies, raised heavy contributions under the mask of religion. This pious robber was departing for *Sweden*, loaded with the spoils of the people; and *Christian* beheld, with regret, the necessity he was under to stifle his resentment at seeing his subjects thus pillaged, and his kingdom stripped of money, by an abuse of devotion, and the artful influence of the church over superstitious minds. However, he resolved to turn this circumstance to his advantage. The legate's interest in *Sweden* he knew would be of the utmost consequence, and he resolved to gain him by the most liberal sacrifices to his avarice. In fact he did so; the legate promised him his utmost interest, and appeared so hearty and sincere in his professions, that *Christian* put more confidence in him than prudence would seem to dictate he ought in a foreign minister. He laid before him the state of forces and treasury, and the names of all his adherents in *Sweden*, together with the plan they concerted for reuniting the two kingdoms. The legate departed, was caressed by the administrator, and all his promises to *Christian* vanished before the dispelling power of *Stenon's* presents. The degree of intimacy into which the king received him, furnished him with the means of becoming his most dangerous enemy; and the treacherous legate did not fail to exert this advantage ^c.

AFTER settling matters with the administrator, he returned to *Denmark* to raise fresh contributions, assuming the appearance of great chagrin at the little success of the commission with which the king entrusted him. *Christian* saw through the thin disguise, was incensed at it, but wanted the power of redress. Nothing now remained but to attempt the reduction of *Sweden* by force of arms; and from this he was for some time diverted by two incidents, which intirely engrossed the attention of the court. The first was the punishment of *John Foburgh*, first secretary of state, accused of extortion, and other crimes, by *Torbern Oxy*, bailiff of the citadel of *Copenhagen*.

FOBURGH was one of those men whom fortune wantonly raised from obscurity to the highest dignities, only to render his downfall more conspicuous. After passing with reputation through several private employments, he found means of being introduced to court, where he insinuated himself so artfully into the king's confidence, that he soon became one of his first ministers. His rapid elevation excited envy, and encreased the

^b MEURS. Vit. Christ. p. 61. 62. et. seq.

^c MEURS. ibid. Puffen. t. iv.

a number of his enemies, one of the most dangerous of whom was *Torbern*, who bore him a private grudge for his endeavours to ruin him by an accusation he lodged of his carrying on an intrigue with *Columbule*, the king's mistress.

FOBURGH's pride and avarice encreased with his grandeur: his intimacy with the king easily procured him whatever he asked; and his avarice spurred him on to make daily requests. At last the king's eyes were opened; he perceived the insatiable disposition of his favourite, and ventured to refuse him the last petition he presented. Nay, he went farther, and sent the unhappy *Foburgh* with a letter to his enemy *Torbern*, by which he was deprived of all his places, seized, imprisoned, and privately executed, all in one day. *The rise and fall of Foburgh, Christian's favourite.*

THIS triumph over his adversary was but of short duration; the king had made *Torbern* the instrument of ridding himself of an insolent favourite; but he did not forget that *Torbern* carried on an intrigue with his mistress, and he was even chagrined at the readiness with which he executed his orders respecting *Foburgh*, whom he could not help loving with all his faults.

At an entertainment which his majesty gave the principal nobility it was, that he resolved to discover the truth of what *Foburgh* had often alledged. After a great deal of jollity had passed, "Tell me, says he, feigning good humour, tell me, *Torbern*, if what

Foburgh accused you of has any truth in it. Say, did you ever enjoy the favours of my mistress *Columbule*; I have my reasons for asking, and hope you will speak without reserve." *Torbern*'s friends immediately saw the precipice on which he stood, and endeavoured to make him comprehend his danger by signs and nods; but whether wine had impaired his understanding, or that he despised insincerity with the king, who had spoke so familiarly to him, he replied; "Sir, I have loved *Columbule*; I have solicited her favour,

but never could obtain it." Immediately *Christian*'s countenance altered, but he said nothing. A few days after *Torbern* was arrested, and imprisoned. The affair was tried by the senate, and he was acquitted, because the law had assigned no punishment for simple concupiscence. When the senate's decree was related to the king, he flew into a passion, and said, that if his friends had been as numerous in the senate as *Torbern*'s, their judgment would be different; but as they refused to do him justice, he knew others who would not. Immediately he assembled a number of the peasants of the neighbourhood before the gate

of the citadel. Here he ordered a square of lances to be formed round them, giving orders to the grand-mareschal not to let them go, before they had passed sentence on *Torbern*. Fear made them give a judgment, which otherwise could never be extorted from them. They dreaded his majesty's resentment, thought they should be sacrificed, if they did not comply with his humour, and accordingly gave their verdict in the following terms: "We

do not judge *Torbern*, but his own words condemn him." Upon which the king said, that since he was condemned, he must suffer the punishment. *Christian's arbitrary conduct, and the first cause of his misfortunes.*

THE king's resolution alarmed the whole court: it was a stroke at the very root of liberty, and no man's life was safe, if he was accountable for intentions, and punished for his thoughts. All met to deliberate upon the means of warding off the impending blow, and at last it was determined to have recourse to supplications. The whole senate, with the legate at their head; all the ladies of the court, preceded by the queen; in a word, every person of consideration in the capital interceded, for *Torbern*, and besought the king on their knees to pardon him; but the stubborn, gloomy, and inflexible temper of *Christian*, would yield nothing to their tears and entreaties. Only the blood of *Torbern* could satisfy him; and this unhappy nobleman became the sacrifice of an inclination for the king's mistress, or rather, of an imprudent expression. *Death of Torbern.*

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IN other respects, indeed, *Torbern* cannot altogether be vindicated. It is certain that he used the power in his hands with partiality; and that, in the affair of *Foburgh*, he sought rather the gratification of his own revenge, than the public good. Besides, it is beyond all doubt, that *Columbule* was poisoned, and all the world charged him with her death, as the occasion, if not the immediate instrument of it. Be this as it will, he was innocent with respect to the crime for which he was condemned; the sentence was illegal, and a proceeding equally injurious to him, and dangerous to the public. *Torbern* was executed agreeable to his sentence; and all *Denmark* remained convinced of his innocence, trembling for their liberties, jealous of the king's arbitrary temper, and alienated from his person. The senate and nobility first expressed their displeasure at his proceedings; and soon after the people exclaimed loudly against the tyranny of his government. *The whole nation disaffected.*

STILL his majesty had a few persons faithful to him, and strongly attached to his interest. These dreaded a general revolt; to prevent which, they laboured with all their power to blast the memory of *Torbern*, and actually to prove him as guilty as the people believed him innocent. An extraordinary stratagem was made use of to accomplish their design. The Centinels on the walls of *Copenhagen* made oath, that they saw a light blazing about midnight

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night like a star, under the gibbet on which *Foburgh* was hanged. The king made enquiry into the truth of the report, and finding it confirmed by an instance of the same nature the night following, he declared it was a proof of *Foburgh's* innocence, and charged *Torbern* with having been the cause of shedding that innocent person's blood. Immediately he ordered *Foburgh's* body to be cut down, and buried with great pomp in the great church of *Copenhagen*.

A STRATAGEM of so little depth had an effect the very reverse of what the king and his friends expected. Instead of believing *Torbern* guilty, this transaction only reminded the people of a former instance of the king's severity and inflexible cruelty. This perceived, and repented sincerely of using so mean a cloak for an unworthy action, which was only adding to his own guilt. We have been the more particular in relating the above incidents, as they had no small share in the subsequent revolution.

It was apparent from his majesty's conduct the following year, that he believed himself faulty; for when he ordered the bishop of *Odenfee*, and his chancellor, to be seized, he only imprisoned them, by laying an easy restraint on their motions in a private family. Yet was the cause of his being arrested of a more criminal nature than what either *Foburgh* or *Torbern* were put to death for. He was supposed to have given up the interest of his country, and sold the honour of his king to the *Lubeckers*, for a sum of money he received, when he transacted the last peace.

A. D. 1517.
Lutheranism
first introduced
into Den-
mark.

A pretended
prophet ap-
pears in Den-
mark.

THIS year began an epoch the most important of any in the *Danish* history. From the first planting of Christianity in *Denmark*, the church of that kingdom had always acknowledged the supremacy of *Rome*, and, in all ages, kept up a constant communion with the pope, and other bishops of that persuasion. Now the inclination which *Christian* shewed for the doctrine of *Luther*, began to effect a change. It would be unnecessary to trace here the rise, opinions, and doctrines of the eloquent *Luther*, whom we have already had frequent occasion to mention; sufficient it is, that the legate's avarice, and *Christian's* resentment, at seeing his people impoverished by the intrigues of that holy villain, made *Luther's* doctrines and arguments be received with double force in *Denmark*. *Christian* sent for skilful doctors and professors, to teach the Protestant religion in his dominions; but his too great eagerness in seizing some church-lands, and openly espousing the doctrine of *Luther*, cost him dear afterwards. Nothing could be more unseasonable than any innovations in religion, at a time when the nobility were disaffected, and highly incensed by the death of *Torbern*; and the clergy, by the imprisonment of the bishop of *Odenfee*, and sequestration of their lands. These two powerful bodies disapproved the change he endeavoured to effect in the public belief, without their concurrence; and they seized the opportunity of retrenching the prerogative, which some late acts of *Christian* seemed to enlarge beyond the natural boundaries between the king and people. With this view they raised up one *St. Brigget*, to preach prophecies concerning the king's banishment: oracles which were frequently obscure, but always interpreted in the manner most agreeable to their designs. The people took fire, and were at length infatuated into an implicit belief of the truth of these reveries, upon the declaration of *Christopher Rainsberg*, a person celebrated for learning and piety, that they were applicable to the king.

BUT *Christian* was not in the least disturbed by these pretended prophecies, at which he laughed publicly, and asked *Rainsberg* in a jocular manner, whether as they prophesied his banishment, they did not likewise foresee his return to his dominions. Certain however it is, that in a political light he ought to have treated an impostor, dangerous to the public and himself, in a different manner. Had he laboured hard to detect the fraud, it would have disgraced the nobility and clergy with the people, paved the way for the change of religion he was endeavouring to introduce, and established himself firmly on the throne, which now tottered with him.

Affairs of
Sweden.

IN the mean-time a civil war broke out in *Sweden*, and the administrator besieged the archbishop in the fortress of *Steka*, whither *Christian* immediately sent a fleet to his relief. The command of this squadron was given to *Norby*, *Gissel*, and *Morian*, who coming to an anchor before the fortress, landed their troops, raised the siege by obliging the *Swedes* to retreat, and relieved the archbishop without fighting a stroke. Indeed the *Swedish* historians speak differently, but very inconsistently of the consequences of this expedition, affirming that the *Danes* were cut in pieces, but taking no further notice of the archbishop or garrison.

BUT whatever advantages the *Danish* arms might have gained in *Sweden*, a war with that kingdom was highly prejudicial to *Christian's* interest, as it strengthened the faction at home, while he was employed against foreign enemies. The legate *Arcembold* had likewise strongly united himself with the administrator and *Danish* malcontents, and even pre-

a vailed on the pope to thunder out his bulls against the reformists and sectarists, in which number were included all the king's adherents.

IN this situation stood the affairs of both kingdoms, when the house of *Austria*, at the king's intreaty, interceded with the holy see in behalf of *Christian*, obtained a revocation of the bull, and a decree of the pope and conclave, whereby the administrator and his adherents were laid under a severe interdiction for their disobedience and rebellion, and *Christian* empowered to treat them as schismatics excommunicated from the bosom of the church. No sooner had *Christian* fortified himself with this spiritual commission, than he determined upon prosecuting the war with vigour; but the difficulty was to raise the funds, all the money in the kingdom having been paid to *Arcembald* for indulgences.

b IN this dilemma his majesty had recourse to *Sigebrette*, a lady who possessed an entire dominion over him. She was mother to his late mistress *Columbule*, of an aspiring and intriguing genius, who played so artfully on the king's passions, that the reigns of government were directed wholly by her hands. She consulted, or rather she commanded the senate, disposed of all preferments and places, imposed taxes at pleasure, and had already abolished many excellent and antient laws from mere caprice. She was a native of the *Netherlands*, and had introduced the customs and manners of her own country to gratify her vanity, and make ostentation of her power. Such was the person to whom the care of raising the supplies for the war was committed. To effect her purpose *Sigebrette* laid fresh burdens on the people, and established a kind of officers called *Scouts* in every town, for the exact levying of the taxes, which they did with the most insolent oppression, and without feeling or compassion for the poor, whose beds and household furniture were taken and sold for the king's use, and themselves and families turned out naked in the streets.

A. D. 1518.
*Christian
misled by his
favourite
Sigebrette,
who embroils
him with the
nation.*

c HEAVEN could not behold such tyranny without indignation, and the more completely to fill the measure of its vengeance, permitted *Sigebrette* to contrive other schemes equally ruinous of the kingdom, and detestable to the people. One in particular, which had nothing to do with the supplies, raised a violent clamour; it was the abolition of the mediant students in the university of *Copenhagen*. It had been a custom of great antiquity in *Denmark*, to train up young men of no fortune to the arts useful to society, by means of public charity. They were distinguished by a particular habit, which displeased the eye of this whimsical favourite, and she determined therefore to abolish the whole order. The matter was upon the whole of slight importance, but custom had given strength to it: the act was arbitrary; it was looked upon as a dangerous innovation, and the whole nation cried out against the king's edict, as if the bulwark of their liberties had been attacked.

His majesty wrote to the bishops to exhort their suffragans to a cheerful compliance with the taxes necessary to carry on a just war; but his proposition was unanimously rejected by the clergy, who complained of the sequestration of the church-lands, and the frequent and heavy contributions already raised on them.

d IT was not the season to irritate so powerful a body; the king contented himself with exacting the usual tithes paid by the clergy; but as all he could levy on his other subjects was unequal to the expences of the war, he had recourse to foreign assistance. Ambassadors were sent to *France*, and they obtained of *Francis I.* a body of four thousand auxiliaries, with a train of artillery. After this the ambassadors proceeded to *Spain*, and demanded of *Charles* the portion of his sister *Isabella*, and he gave an order upon the town of *Antwerp* for the payment of one hundred thousand marks, or one third of the portion, which by contract was to be paid at three instalments. Soon after the two other payments were made, by which the king was greatly assisted in pursuing his designs against *Sweden*.

e IN the mean time great contentions arose about the election of an archbishop of *Lunden*, in the room of *Birger* deceased. The chapter recommended, or rather proceeded to the election of *Agon*, while the king supported the interest of *Scolberg*, and at last carried his point by dint of power and menaces. This prelate's first step was to write to the pope, requesting he would threaten *Christian* with excommunication if he did not immediately part with *Sigebrette*, the instrument of all the misfortunes which had lately befallen the kingdom. This indeed was an instance of his public spirit, but not of gratitude to a prince who had incurred the ill-will of his subjects by so tenaciously espousing the prelate; but he soon received his punishment in a manner very extraordinary.

*The election of
an archbishop
of Lunden.*

f THE archbishop's letter was entrusted to one *Lang*, who carried it to *Sigebrette*. As this woman's imagination was fertile in expedients of revenge, she immediately determined to deprive *Scolberg* of his dignity, and substitute in his room the king's barber, an unworthy sycophant, for whom she entertained a passion. By this despicable creature she prevailed upon the king to write to his holiness, representing him as the person elected to the see of *Lunden*, and imploring his holiness to confirm him in that dignity. The king's shaver presented his letter, was confirmed in the new dignity, and returned with the mitre and other badges of the archiepiscopal function, to the utter confusion and disappointment of *Scolberg*.

it

It is true the pope, as soon as he discovered the fraud, revoked his confirmation, and reinstated *Scolberg*; but the affair ended with still more serious consequences, the clergy having highly resented this indignity to the cloth.

A. D. 1519.
Christian renews the war with Sweden.

TOWARDS the beginning of this year, *Christian* marched a body of troops to *Schonen*, under the command of *Crumpen*, an excellent officer. He likewise put to sea a formidable fleet, with orders to seize on all the *Swedish* ports that were accessible. Armed with the pope's authority, he gave full swing to the bloodiness of his disposition, ordering his troops to commit all kinds of cruelty and excess, in order to intimidate the enemy, and wean the affections of the *Swedes* from the administrator. His instructions were but too well observed; *Crumpen* penetrated to the heart of *Sweden*, and committed frightful disorders; after which he returned to *Denmark*, laden with rich booty, without exchanging a blow with the enemy.

The Swedish army defeated.

CHRISTIAN's soul was wrapped up in the conquest of *Sweden*. Impatient for the return of spring, he ordered *Crumpen* to enter *West-Gothland* in the depth of winter, at the head of a numerous army, and by every possible method to endeavour bringing the enemy to a battle. In this he succeeded, the administrator marching against him with equal forces. Three battles were fought, in the first of which nothing was decided; in the second the administrator lost an arm, and was greatly hurt by a fall from his horse; and in the third the *Swedish* army was totally defeated and dispersed, the administrator dying soon after of the wounds he received. A fourth engagement happened the day succeeding the last battle. The administrator had lodged a body of infantry, strongly intrenched in a neighbouring forest, to secure a pass which *Crumpen* determined to force. The *Swedish* peasants amounted to ten thousand, and repulsed the *Danes* in the first assault. A second was given, in which the *French* auxiliaries led the van, while *Crumpen* made a tour round the intrenchments to discover some place of less strength. The prince of *Foucarmont* behaved with that gallantry that has always distinguished his nation; he leaped over the ditch sword in hand, but fell back in consequence of a wound. His soldiers were now animated with the desire of revenge, they pushed forwards, and were happily seconded by *Crumpen*'s attack on the rear, which soon put the enemy in disorder, though they disputed every inch of ground with obstinacy. At last, despairing of longer defending themselves, they sallied out sword in hand, and after prodigious slaughter on both sides, escaped under favour of the night, after losing two-thirds of their number.

Affairs of Sweden.

CRUMPEN having nothing to oppose him marched into the heart of the kingdom. At this juncture the archbishop of *Upsal* declared immediately for *Christian*; and the people being desirous of nothing so much as a sovereign, who might re-establish the repose of the country, did not seem averse to the motion, though there still remained a faction that used all their influence to elect a new administrator. In conjunction with some others, the prelate sent deputies to *Crumpen* to demand a truce; but the *Danish* general, fearing the intention was only to gain time, would agree to no other terms than a suspension of arms for eleven days, during which the states were to assemble at *Upsal*. Here he appeared for his master, proposed an extinction of the dignity of administrator, and re-establishment of the union of *Calmar*, in both which he met with little difficulty, in an assembly wholly devoted to *Christian*. He promised, in the king his master's name, to procure an act of indemnity, to preserve the liberties, privileges, and immunities of the several orders of the kingdom, and exactly to observe all the conditions of the treaty of *Calmar*.

Christian crowned king of Sweden.

As soon as business was finished, the archbishop declared *Christian* king of *Sweden*, in the name of the states of the kingdom; and he wrote to the provinces requiring them to comply with this resolution of the assembly, threatening those who should refuse to submit, with the most rigorous punishment of the law. The greater part of the kingdom submitted to the will of the states; but the administrator's widow still held out the cities of *Stockholm*, *Calmar*, and others. Many bloody battles were fought, and sieges undertaken, after it was imagined that *Christian* was fully established in the government. These however we must avoid relating in this place.

In the year 1520, the king arrived in *Sweden*, where, after reducing *Stockholm*, he was crowned with great solemnity, soon after which he returned to *Denmark*. In his absence the disaffected in *Denmark* grew more bold: they spoke their sentiments freely of his government, and openly and insolently refused to pay the taxes to his officers. The senate and nobility, instead of opposing these discontents, seemed to countenance them: they bore with impatience the immoderate authority he assumed, and the despotism he affected, only to translate it into the hands of a haughty capricious woman. However, his sudden return as conqueror of *Sweden* struck dumb the tongue of faction, and hushed every murmur of discontent. Every man endeavoured to conceal his sentiments, and put on a face of joy. His ministers, always ready to play on the passions of kings, told him that he must secure

a secure his conquests by abolishing the senate, and rendering himself arbitrary: there was not, they said, a single senator who was not desirous of heading a rebellion, in hopes one day of rising to the dignity of administrator; the nobility must be humbled for the same reasons; and indeed his majesty ought, said these wicked tools, to cherish only the peasants, and those destined from their births to cultivate the fruits of the earth, and the useful arts.

b But the suggestions of *Sigebrette* co-operated more with the king's own natural disposition, in infusing those maxims of arbitrary policy, than all the insinuations of the other courtiers. She had a particular manner of conveying her infernal instructions, which never failed in engaging the king's attention, and drawing him into her sentiments. Violent, impetuous, and ambitious, *Christian* was rendered still more so by her persuasions. He wanted to derive his authority solely from his dignity; not from the laws; and she wanted to raise him above all law, in order to elevate herself the higher, and govern both the monarch and the laws. Upon this principle it was, that she resolved to sacrifice the *Swedish* nobility and senate, the more securely to trample on the neck of liberty: but she wanted a specious pretext for the king's committing an action so cruel and so extraordinary. To murder so great a number of men, who had put themselves in his power, without the faith of treaties, required the strongest reasons to palliate it. Several schemes were projected for accomplishing this horrid massacre; but none appeared feasible to *Christian*, besides reviving the affair of the senate's excommunication, knowing well that no action can be too

c base and insidious to be covered under the cloak of false religion.

HAVING fixed on this plan, he laid it before the archbishop of *Lunden* and bishop of *Odensee*, with whom he concerted the means of execution. He passed over to *Sweden*, convoked the assembly, was publicly crowned, and bestowed the order of knighthood and the Elephant on a great number of *German* and *Danish* nobility; but not on a single *Swede*, which occasioned loud complaints against his partiality. After this he invited the *Swedish* nobility to a magnificent entertainment in the citadel. They came, and were received with the utmost affability and politeness by the king. For two days the whole kingdom was absorbed in luxury and pleasure. At length, when matters were found ripe for execution, and the nation was lulled in perfect security, a body of soldiers were ordered, under various pretences, to seize upon the administrator's widow, the senate, nobility, and the bishops themselves; and the *Danish* commissioners, and officers of the holy see, were to prosecute them as heretics. But this process being too long for the impatience of *Christian's* temper, the executioner was commanded to do his office, without allowing the unhappy prisoners the liberty of seeing their confessors at their last moments.

NOTHING could equal the consternation that immediately appeared in every face, when the illustrious victims marched out in the middle of the day, surrounded by files of soldiers, to be immolated at the shrines of ambition, cruelty, and perfidy. Among the first was that respectable senator *Eric Vasa*, whose son *Gustavus* was soon after raised to the dignity of administrator, and then to the throne of *Sweden*. The rest followed in a long train to the place of execution, amidst the profound silence of the inhabitants, who were struck dumb with terror and surprize. At length they arrived; and seventy senators, lords, and bishops, some say eighty-four, were beheaded in one day. *Christian* made no distinction between friends and enemies, the better to convince the people, that he acted less from motives of revenge than obedience to the holy see. But we cannot dwell here upon a scene so horrible, as will blast the memory of this tyrant, and transmit his name with stains of the deepest infamy to the latest posterity. In our account of *Sweden* we shall, however, endeavour to relate this transaction with all the perspicuity which an event, the most memorable on record, deserves^a.

f But *Christian*, not satiated with the blood of so many noble personages, let loose his troops upon the citizens, to commit enormities which freeze the blood even in recital. A conduct so barbarous was beheld at the time with resentment, and cannot be related so many ages after without horror. It called loudly for the divine vengeance, and heaven laid up store of punishment to thunder down upon his guilty head. In his passage from *Sweden* to *Denmark*, instances of his cruelty are to be met with: it now became habitual; and *Christian* might as well refrain from food as from thirsting after the blood of his subjects. Stopping in his journey at the monastery of *Nuvac*, he was told, that a part of the corn and provision of the monastery was concealed in a neighbouring forest. Although there remained abundance for his retinue, he gave orders to seize the abbé and monks, immediately after mass was performed, and to throw them, bound hand and foot, in the river. The abbé found means to escape out of the hands of the ruffians employed to bind him;

His horrid plan for massacring the Swedish senate.

He executes the plan.

Other instances of Christian's cruelty.

^a MEURS. Vit. Christ. p. 77. PUFFEND. tom. 4.

he run towards the river ; but was pursued and massacred by the king's order, before he could save himself by swimming. a

CHRISTIAN's stay was but short in *Denmark* ; for soon after his arrival, he set out on a visit to his brother-in law the emperor ; the intention of which is not mentioned, except that he obtained the reversion of *Holstein* to the crown of *Denmark*.

Revolutions in
Sweden.

In the mean time *Gustavus*, son of *Eric Vasa*, projected great schemes for the delivery of his country from the tyranny of *Christian*. At *Mora* he raised a body of peasants with such secrecy and celerity, that he attacked and defeated the governor of the province, before he was apprized of an insurrection. His army soon increasing with his prosperity, he attempted greater matters ; and over-run most of the provinces of *Sweden*, before any army could be got in the field to oppose him. The people, in general, cried out to revenge the b
butcheries committed by the *Danes* : however, the brave *Gustavus* was somewhat startled with a message sent to him by *Christian*, that unless he laid down his arms, and quelled the sedition, he would put his mother and sisters to the most cruel tortures. But patriotic love suppressed even the feelings of nature : *Gustavus* marched on, followed by the faithful *Dalecarlians*, put all the *Danes* he met to the sword, and even gave no quarter to *Swedes* who were obstinately attached to *Christian*.

ALL this while *Theodore*, the king's viceroy, was levying forces, with which he at last marched to the river *Brunebec*, with intention to dispute the passage with *Gustavus* : however, some motions, made by the latter, determined him to return to *Stockholm*, which city he plunged into the depths of luxury, as if it had been in the midst of profound peace. Taking advantage of the viceroy's retreat, *Gustavus* pushed on to *Westeras*, where was encamped a large body of *Danes*, whom he attacked and defeated, after an obstinate engagement. Then he entered the town, where, finding no resistance, the soldiers abandoned c
themselves in drinking and pillaging : an imprudence that had nearly ruined the cause of liberty ; for the garrison of the citadel sallying out upon them unprepared, would have destroyed the *Dalecarlians*, had not the vigilance, bravery, and good fortune of *Gustavus* parried the impending blow. Ordering a corps of officers to make head against the *Danes*, he flew like lightning to recal his men from pillaging, rallied them, and led them on so furiously, that the enemy were soon repulsed, and the citadel immediately forced to surrender.

Rise of Gus-
tavus.

ANIMATED with his late victories, every day twined new laurels round the conqueror's d
brow, and at length encouraged him to march strait to *Stockholm* ; but not with a view of besieging it, having no fleet to block up the harbour : his design was no more than to strike terror, and perhaps countenance the insurrection of his friends in the city. In this he was mistaken ; but his appearance had one good effect : it drove the viceroy and archbishop, intimidated at his approach, to seek protection in flight, and commit the command of the city to an old *Danish* officer.

CHRISTIAN beheld the rapid progress of this revolt with uneasiness and chagrin ; but many circumstances concurred in preventing his sending succours to the viceroy. The first was the queen-mother's death ; and the next, and more powerful, the general discontent which prevailed all over *Denmark*. He knew that nothing but a strong standing army kept e
the nobility in awe, and that the moment he either sent an army or went in person to *Sweden*, he exposed himself to the consequences of a revolt in *Denmark*. In this situation were matters when the viceroy and archbishop arrived at court, where they were received with reproaches of cowardice and treachery. The viceroy was seized, put to the torture, and forced to confess a number of horrid crimes of which he had been guilty ; upon which the king appointed a day for his execution. Even the tears and intreaties of *Sigebrete* could not save this favourite of her's ; so provoked was *Christian* at the loss of *Sweden*, which he now looked on as irrecoverable. Finding himself in no condition to oppose *Gustavus*, he resolved upon executing his revenge in the most cruel and brutal manner on his mother and sister, both which ladies he ordered to be tied in sacks, and thrown into the sea. Next f
he ordered his governors of provinces and garrisons to put all the *Swedes* within their jurisdiction to the sword ; a barbarity which induced *Gustavus* to publish an edict, commanding his adherents to exterminate the *Danes*, without giving quarter, wherever they found them.

A. D. 1522.

TOWARDS the year 1522, *Christian* sent *Norby* with a strong fleet and army to raise the siege of *Stockholm*, before which city *Gustavus* sat down with his whole army. *Norby* was vigilant in performing his duty, though from motives selfish and ambitious. He flattered himself, that if he could defeat *Gustavus*, it might pave his way to the throne of *Sweden*. He knew the people would never support the tyranny of *Christian*, and might perhaps be g
prevailed on to accept for their king a person whose power and military capacity would be able to protect them. Full of these notions, he debarked his troops, and led them against the *Dalecarlians*, whom he drove out of their lines. *Gustavus* however rallied his men, and fought

a fought with such vigour, that *Norby* embarked the *Danes*, and suffered him to prosecute the siege, after he had thrown in supplies of stores, men, and provision into the city.

GUSTAVUS, finding it impossible to compass his design without a fleet, had recourse to the regency of *Lubeck*; and obtained an auxiliary squadron on such grievous terms as would have been dishonourable, in case of less emergent necessity. Now the harbour was blocked up, and the city reduced to great straits, a *Danish* convoy having been intercepted. Upon advice of this, *Norby* again set sail for *Stockholm*, and found in the road a squadron of *Lubeckers* and *Flemings*, which he attacked, and fought furiously for the whole day, renewing the combat again next morning. A storm of wind however arose, which parted the combatants before victory declared herself on either side, which obliged the *Danish* admiral b to moor his ships in the creek of a little island, at a small distance from the place of action. Here in the night he was fixed by a sudden frost, that congealed the surrounding water, and exposed him to all the attacks of the enemy. *Gustavus* took advantage of the favourable opportunity, and, resolving to burn *Norby's* squadron, put himself at the head of the *Lubeck* troops encamped on the coast, passed over on the ice to the island, and advanced in the night as near as he possibly could to the enemy. *Norby*, on discovering him, began a continual fire with his cannon and small arms; which, however, did not prevent *Gustavus* from advancing boldly to the sides of the ships, some of his men pouring in volleys of small shot and arrows, while others held lighted torches in their hands to set fire to the rigging. Both sides fought with obstinate bravery; but the *Danes* had the advantage from their high c situation, their cannon, and the slippery footing of the enemy. All the endeavours of *Gustavus* could not overcome these difficulties, which began to break the courage of the *Lubeck* general, and at last made him sound a retreat, in the very middle of the battle. The heat of the sun soon dissolved the ice, and furnished *Norby* with an opportunity of setting sail before another attempt could be made ^b.

In the mean time all *Denmark* was in confusion. The number of the disaffected in- creased daily; and the king, always violent, became now furious, resolving to trample Discontents in Denmark. upon all law and government. He endeavoured to extort, by menaces, his dukedom of *Holstein*, and claim on *Norway*, from his uncle *Frederick*; but was disappointed by the vigilance, prudence, and moderation of that prince. He irritated the *Vandal* cities to lay d siege to *Elfsineur*, which they reduced to ashes. To oppose them, he assembled an army of twelve thousand men in *Zealand*, at the time when the general diet was assembling at *Arhus*. The *Futlanders*, who knew the cruelty of his disposition, began to apprehend that this military force was set on foot to enable the king to sacrifice them, as he had done the nobility of *Sweden*. He appeared at the diet of *Holstein* in arms; and would probably have enforced his demands by dint of superior strength, had not the duke wisely taken measures to oppose him. His whole conduct assured them of his intention to govern by military laws; and they determined to risque all, rather than support so intolerable a yoke. They knew the sentiments of the whole nation concurred with their own; but they believed it glorious to arm the first in the cause of liberty. All *Futland* rose in one general revolt; e *Christian* was formally deposed at a general diet held at *Wiburg*, and a particular decree passed, specifying the reasons for such a proceeding. *Magnus Muncie*, chief-justice of *Futland*, was intrusted with the dangerous commission of acquainting his majesty of the resolution of the diet. He met *Christian* on his way to attend the diet at *Arhus*, complimented him on his happy passage to *Weel*, where he then was, dined with the king, and, after dinner, left in the window the decree of the *Futland* states. It had not lain long here before the king, observing a large scroll of parchment, ordered it to be read, and no sooner perceived the contents than he ordered search to be made for *Muncie*; but that nobleman had removed himself out of the reach of danger. A. D. 1523. Jutland revolts.

CHRISTIAN, seeing there was no safety for him in the country, set out for *Kolding*, a f town situated on the frontiers of *Holstein* and *Futland*. He was master of *Copenhagen*, all the islands in the *Baltick*, and the kingdom of *Norway*; yet distrusting foreigners and subjects, and his conscience representing the evil beyond remedy, he took no steps towards quashing the rebellion. Instead of that, he began supplicating those subjects whom he had used with such pride and barbarity. Insolent prosperity is ever the most abject in adversity. His chief counsellors, in this situation, were *Olaus Rosencratz*, *Magnus Bilde*, governor of *Kolding*, and *Renold Heiderstorp* general of the infantry. On asking their advice, the first gave it as his opinion, that his majesty ought to demand powerful succours from the emperor, his brother-in-law: *Bilde* advised him to offer terms of accommodation, and all the satisfaction he could make to his subjects; and *Rosencratz* contented himself with observing, g that his majesty ought to provide for the safety of the queen, and the young princes. Christian abdicates the throne.

^b Revol. de M. VERTOT, t. i. p. 127.

Endeavours to restore himself. **CHRISTIAN** would seem to have asked their opinion only to mortify them by preferring his own: Instead of making proposals to the diet, he went to *Ringstadt*, where there happened to be a great fair. He harangued the populace with tears in his eyes, and so pathetically set forth his penitence and misfortunes, that, moved with his condition, the generous peasants took a fresh oath of allegiance, and offered their assistance against all his enemies. The king thanked them for their good intentions; but it was now in vain, he thought, to attempt re-establishing himself by force of arms. He distrusted his best friends, and imagined the whole world combined against him. His great dread was lest the *Baltick* should be shut up by fleets of the hanse-towns, and his escape from *Denmark* cut off. To prevent this greatest of evils, he equipped at *Copenhagen* a fleet of twenty sail, on board which he put all his private treasure, the jewels, ornaments, and plate of the crown. Next he sent to *Callenburg*, and removed from thence the public treasury into his own ship, together with all the records, charters, and public acts of the government. Attended by his queen, children, and *Sigebrette*, he set sail from *Copenhagen*, and was overtaken in his passage to the continent by a violent storm, which beat his fleet about the *Baltick* for the space of three weeks, until he was reduced to the last extremity for provisions. At length arriving at *Wesel*, he sent to his brother-in-law the emperor, not doubting but he would arm all *Germany* to restore him, and little considering that the friendship of princes dies away with the prosperity that gave birth to it, and often degenerates into contempt and rancour. Thus *Christian*, who arrived at a greater degree of power than any of his predecessors, by the union of the kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, of the duchies of *Sleswick*, *Holstein*, and *Stormar*, and the alliances of *Germany*, *Spain*, *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*, was deposed by his own subjects, deserted by all his friends, and left a most piteous monument of the effects of pride, cruelty, and despotism, exerted over a free-spirited, generous, and warlike people. He seemed, indeed, to be one of those princes which heaven in wrath sets over a nation, as a punishment for the sins of the people, and a trial of their patience. Yet, with all his faults, *Christian* was brave, and perfectly skilled in the art of reigning, could a corrupted heart receive the dictates of a solid understanding and clear head.

He is formally deposed.

By his queen, *Isabella* of *Austria*, he had five children; *John*, who shared for some years in his disgrace; *Philip*, and *Maximilian*, who died young; *Dorothy*, married to the elector-palatine; and *Christina*, who had for her first husband *Sforza* duke of *Milan*, and for her second *Francis* duke of *Lorain*.

F R E D E R I C K I.

Frederic I.

THE abdication of *Christian* II. paved the way to the throne for his uncle *Frederick*, duke of *Sleswick*, *Holstein*, *Stormar*, *Wagria*, and the country of the *Dithmarsians*. These dominions he inherited by the will of his father, though his brother king *John* wrested from him half his territories. He had often attempted to recover not only the countries taken from him during his minority, but to make good his claim upon a certain portion of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*; without, however, bringing his projects to bear, for want of strength to support them.

THE *Jutlanders* were the first who declared for *Frederick*; and their voice was echoed by all the other provinces of *Denmark*. *Copenhagen* still adhered to *Christian*; and the example of the capital was followed by the kingdom of *Norway*. His majesty's first endeavour, therefore, was to reduce *Copenhagen*, which *Magnus Gye* the governor resolved to defend obstinately, relying on the succours which *Christian* promised to send from *Germany*. Being disappointed, however, in his expectations, he surrendered the city in the beginning of the year 1524.

A. D. 1524.
Frederick proclaimed king.

IMMEDIATELY after he had got possession of the capital, *Frederick* convoked a general diet, by which he was solemnly proclaimed king of *Denmark*, after an edict had been first published, declaring the reasons of the diet for withdrawing their allegiance from *Christian*. The states of *Norway* acceded to the resolution of the *Danish* diet, and proclaimed *Frederick* with the same formalities. Still, however, the satisfaction of the new king was incomplete and imperfect. He could not behold *Gustavus*, raised to the throne of *Sweden*, but with an eye of jealousy: he eagerly wished, from motives of ambition and interest, to see the three kingdoms reunited, and with that view wrote to some of the chief nobility of *Sweden*. The answer he received was not agreeable to his wishes; but it did not damp his hopes.

He harbours designs against Gustavus.

ARCHBISHOP *Troll* added the breath of adulation to the sparks of ambition, which soon blazed forth with more strength than was natural to the pacific disposition of the new monarch. This prelate regarded the elevation of *Gustavus* as an insurmountable obstacle to his own return to his archbishopric of *Upsal*. He seized, therefore, all occasions of representing

a sending to *Frederick*, that the crown of *Sweden* belonged to him, as the son of *Christian I.* and that he could not, without incurring the contempt of *Denmark* and *Norway*, suffer it to remain long in the hands of an usurper. Nor did he forget to add the inclination which the *Swedish* clergy always entertained for the kings of *Denmark*, assuring him at the same time, that his adherents wanted only his countenance, and his claiming publicly the crown of *Sweden*, to declare openly for him.

b *FREDERICK* made no great resistance: he yielded quietly to arguments so congenial to his own thoughts, so flattering to his ambition, and agreeable to his interest. Before the diet broke up, he procured their approbation for his being crowned king of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*; and he dispatched ambassadors to the *Swedish* senate, complaining of the election of *Gustavus* in prejudice to his right, and in direct violation of the treaty of *Calmar*.

c THE *Swedes* were no longer in a disposition to give ear to such remonstrances. The union of *Calmar* had more than once almost proved fatal to their liberties, which they now enjoyed in the greatest felicity, under a prince possessed of every quality that could engage their affection, render the nation respectable, and secure happiness to his subjects. It was therefore the intention of the senate to dismiss the ambassadors with a very abrupt answer; but *Gustavus* prevailed on them to treat them as the representatives of a great monarch. After entertaining them magnificently at his own table, he had them introduced into the senate, gave them permission to set forth their master's claim, and referred the answer, in order to render it more satisfactory, to the general diet. When the diet met, the ambassadors pleaded their master's claim in a laboured harangue; and were answered in a spirited manner by the speakers of the diet, that the crown of *Sweden* was elective, and as such bestowed upon *Gustavus*, their present monarch, as the just reward of his merit, and the tribute due from the gratitude of a people delivered from tyranny and oppression by his valour and conduct. They then declared, in the name of the diet, *Troll*, archbishop of *Upsal*, a traitor, an enemy to his country: nay, in the heat of their zeal and affection for *Gustavus*, the speaker was authorised to declare before the ambassadors, that *Gustavus* should have power to declare peace or war, and to enjoy many other prerogatives never before granted to a *Swedish* monarch, out of pure respect to his person.

d AN answer so explicit left no room for expostulation; the ambassadors were for withdrawing out of the kingdom; but *Gustavus* politely entertained them for some days with a review of his troops, a sight of his arsenals, and every thing else that could set forth his power, and strike a damp on the pretensions of *Frederick*: after which he dismissed them with magnificent presents, and the highest esteem for his person and character. He accompanied the *Danish* ambassadors with an envoy from himself to *Frederick*, to demand the release of the administrator's widow, and other ladies, imprisoned by *Christian*. Nor was this the only object of his commission. *Gustavus* knew well, that the emperor was brother-in-law to *Christian*, and powerful enough with the union of *Spain* and the *Indies*, to re-establish *Christian*, in defiance of the united endeavours of the three kingdoms, and much more so, if they were divided and at war with each other. The agent was ordered to examine narrowly into the character and designs of *Frederick*, and to see whether there were hopes of engaging him in a solid peace, so necessary to both nations in the beginning of their reigns, and the very dawn of their authority. So well did this minister acquit himself, that he filled *Frederick* with esteem for the character of *Gustavus*, and respect for his power, very different indeed from what the archbishop of *Upsal* had represented. This was not the time to revive his pretensions, and begin a war with a prince so much master of the affections of his subjects; he therefore offered the envoy to terminate all their differences amicably, and to form a league offensive and defensive with *Gustavus*. The more to shew his esteem for the *Swedish* monarch, he sent back all the prisoners under a strong escort, and particularly the administrator's widow, attended by a splendid retinue to the frontiers of *Sweden*.

f IN the mean time the conduct of admiral *Norby* called loudly for chastisement. That officer had retired with his fleet to the isle of *Gothland*, of which he was governor, claimed independency, commenced a pirate, and committed ravages on the high seas, on the shipping of all nations without distinction. The *Lubeckers* and hanse-towns, were, in particular, great sufferers by him; and they carried their complaints to *Gustavus* of *Sweden*, with such promises of assistance, as induced that monarch to undertake the conquest of the island. Accordingly 8000 men were landed in *Gothland*, under the conduct of *Bernard Mellen*, while the *Lubeck* fleet cruized round the coasts, to prevent all succours from *Frederick* from entering the island. *Norby* was soon reduced to difficulties; upon which he sent one of his creatures to *Frederick*, to assure him that he was ready to acknowledge his sovereignty, provided he would send him assistance against the *Swedes*; a proposal with which the *Danish* monarch did not hesitate to comply. He became jealous of the enterprising genius of *Gustavus*; and saw that it was his interest to check the aggrandizement of a neighbouring prince. The island of *Gothland* was besides a dependence on the crown of *Denmark*; and

this more particularly led him to accept the terms offered by *Norby*. However, as it was not possible to succour him, while the *Lubeck* fleet kept the seas, without engaging in a direct war with the hanse-towns, at a time too when he feared a descent on his dominions, by *Christian*, he resolved to try the effects of a negotiation. He dispatched an ambassador to *Lubeck*, complaining of the attempt made by *Gustavus* on his dominions, and prayed the regency to use their mediation in prevailing on him to withdraw his forces.

Frederic's negotiations with the regency of *Lubeck*.

FREDERICK knew perfectly well the treaty lately executed between *Lubeck* and *Gustavus*; but he exerted his endeavours to break it. To effect this, he represented by his ambassador, the concern the regency had in preventing *Sweden* from growing too powerful. That *Gustavus* was an enterprising prince, full of courage and ambition, who would require the union of all his neighbours against him, to keep bounds to his conquests. That *Gothland* was a dependence on the crown of *Denmark*; and that *Norby*, now returning to his duty, he should be under the necessity of supporting him as his subject. That, however, he would submit the whole affair to the arbitration of the hanse-towns, rather than kindle a war in the North: and finally, that he consented to sequester the island into the hands of the regency, until the disputes regarding it were finally decided.

He relieves *Norby*, who was besieged by the Swedes.

FREDERICK's proposals were too moderate, too politic, and too agreeable to the interest of the regency, not to be perfectly well received. They saw themselves relieved from the piracies of *Norby*, and at the same time exempted the expence of maintaining a fleet at sea, to protect the conquests of the *Swedish* monarch. They preferred seeing *Gothland* defended by their own garrison, though attended with some expence, to putting it into the hands of *Gustavus*, and thereby enabling him to molest their commerce. It was for these reasons the regency concluded a secret treaty with *Frederick*, by which they promised to connive at his endeavours to throw in succours into *Wisby*. It was likewise stipulated, that the king of *Denmark* should send an ambassador to *Sweden*, to complain of *Gustavus*'s invasion of *Gothland*; and that he should be followed by deputies from the hanse-towns, offering their mediation, and declaring they would take arms against the party who should oppose a reasonable accommodation.

In consequence of this treaty supplies were thrown into *Wisby*; an interview passed between *Frederick* and *Gustavus*, at which the affair of *Gothland* was warmly debated, and referred for a full decision to a congress of commissioners from *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and the hanse-towns. The *Danish* deputies came at the time appointed, but made only a short stay for the *Swedes*, who were kept back by contrary winds. *Frederick* made use of this occasion to break off a congress to which he had no inclination, having now thrown in supplies into *Wisby*, and received an oath of allegiance from *Norby*. His *Swedish* majesty remonstrated, but to no effect, as *Frederick* was in no humour to submit to the hazard of arbitration an island of which he thought himself already secure. In a word, he over-reached the commissioners of *Lubeck* and *Sweden*; but was himself almost outwitted by *Norby*, who had entered upon a negotiation with the *Swedish* general *Milen*, his old friend, and obtained from him a suspension of arms. The siege was raised without the knowledge of *Gustavus*, and to the great discontent of the whole *Swedish* army. No sooner was *Norby* delivered from the terrors of a siege, than he resolved to break his oath to *Frederick*, and preserve his independence. In vain was he summoned, in vain was he threatened with punishment by the *Danish* monarch: he not only refused keeping his parole, but made a descent with his fleet on *Schonen*, where he was joined by all the burghers and peasants attached to the late king *Christian*. Here, after burning a number of villages, he made himself master of *Salsburg*, *Lunden*, *Landscroon*, and some other places.

Norby refuses to execute his promise to *Frederick*.

JOHN RANTZAW was sent by the king to oppose his progress with two battalions of infantry, and a few squadrons of horse. *Norby* was at this time employed in the siege of *Helsingburg*; and that his operations might receive no interruption, he detached one of his generals with eight thousand men, to give battle to *Rantzaw*, whose whole force scarce amounted to half that number. It was indeed expected, that *Rantzaw* would not have stood his ground; but this experienced officer knew what degree of confidence was to be placed in discipline and valour. He attacked the enemy with such firmness, that their ranks were soon broken and put in disorder, about a thousand of them killed, and the rest put to flight. Five hundred prisoners taken in the pursuit were sent to king *Frederick*, with a great number of ensigns, and other military trophies.

He is defeated by *Rantzaw*.

This defeat greatly disconcerted *Norby*, and obliged him to raise the siege of *Helsingburg*. After some motions to collect his scattered troops, he retired to *Landscroon*, which he put in the best posture of defence. *Rantzaw* immediately followed and blocked up the city, until a sufficient reinforcement arrived to commence the siege in form. Here he did not remain long, before *Otton Stiggot* collecting together several thousand peasants, who adhered to *Christian*, marched with intention to raise the blockade; and *Rantzaw* having advice of his motions, marched out of his intrenchments to give him battle, which he did with all imaginable success, dispersing the peasant army, and returning the same day to his camp before

- a before the city. This stroke operated powerfully on the courage of *Norby*; he immediately demanded a parley, delivered proposals of capitulation, which *Rantzaw* sent for the approbation of king *Frederick*. The king fearing lest *Norby* would deliver the isle of *Gothland* to the *Swedes*, should he insist upon too rigorous terms, erred perhaps in the other extreme, by shewing too much lenity and indulgence to a man who had so often broke through oaths and the most solemn engagements. He contented himself with a promise from *Norby*, that he would refrain from all further violences, put the city and citadel of *Wisby* into his hands, and take a fresh oath of allegiance; terms with which *Norby* made no scruple of complying, as he intended to regard them no longer than necessity and his interest required. Taking with him some *Danish* lords into whose hands he was to surrender *Wisby*, he set sail for *Gothland*; but when he arrived there, put off the performance of his promise, and prevaricated in such a manner, that it was plain he had other designs. *Frederick*, however, took his measures so vigorously, that he reduced him to the necessity of surrendering the city, and evacuating the island ^a (A).

Further proofs of *Norby's* perfidy.

- THE following year it was, that *Magaret* of *Austria* sent some ships into the *Baltick*, to make a diversion in favour of *Christian*; but nothing considerable was performed by this squadron. *Frederick* seemed to enjoy perfect tranquility in temporal affairs; but it was not so in spirituals. *Lutheranism* had made such progress in *Denmark* under *Christian*, in defiance of all the endeavours of the bishops and the *Romish* clergy, that, under *Frederick*, who himself embraced Protestantism, the nation was divided into two parties, each of which supported their sentiments with all the zeal and heat peculiar to religious disputes. To prevent civil discord, the king published an edict, prohibiting all his subjects, under severe penalties, from laying any restraints on conscience, or any way depriving a man of his reputation, fortune or liberty, on account of his religious opinions. The doctrines of the reformation were permitted to be preached publicly; and thus the *Romish* religion lost its influence every day. The *Lutherans* ascribe the king's conduct to piety, while their adversaries affirm, that policy alone governed his actions^b: be that as it will, his moderation conveys no slight idea of his understanding, and certainly, at the time, contributed greatly to his firm establishment on the throne.

Religious disputes in Denmark.

- THIS year the king held a general diet of the states, to make some new regulations in religion, for the quiet and repose of the kingdom. Here it was that he first openly avowed himself a Protestant, bitterly inveighed against the spiritual tyranny of the church of *Rome*, and stopped the persecutions of the popish clergy, by the following act passed by the diet: 1st, That every subject of *Denmark* should be free to profess either the doctrines of *Luther*, or of *Rome*. 2dly, That no person should be molested on account of his religion. 3dly, That the king should exert his royal prerogative in defending the reformists against the tyranny and oppression of their enemies: and 4thly, That the religious of all orders should be permitted to marry and live in any part of the kingdom they thought proper, without respect to particular monasteries, foundations, or societies.

A. D. 1527.

Frederick openly declares in favour of the reformed religion.

- IN consequence of this decree all abbeys and cloisters were deserted, all austerities and celibacy in particular disregarded; *Lutheranism* was publicly preached, and embraced in all quarters; yet still many warm contests arose between the clergy of either party, in which the king was forced to interpose. At last the city of *Malmoe* erected the standard of *Luther*, publicly prohibited masks, idols, and the other superstitions of the *Romish* church; and set an example, which was soon followed by the rest of the cities, to the utter extinction of popery. The New Testament, and Psalms of *David*, were translated into the vernacular language; professorships of theology founded, and filled with Protestant doctors. The bishops took the alarm, and waiting upon the king in a body, could obtain nothing more, than that the affairs of religion should receive farther regulations at the next general diet.

The city of *Malmoe* destroys all the badges of *Romish* superstition.

- BEFORE the diet assembled, some attempts were made by *Christian* for recovering his crown. He had constantly resided in *Flanders*, and never failed imploring the emperor *Charles V.* to assist him with forces and money, but without success. That wise prince saw too clearly into his character, to believe that he could keep possession of an authority which he so grossly abused, or recover the affections of a free-spirited people, whom he had endeavoured to enslave. His prayers, however, prevailed with *Margaret* of *Austria*: she fitted out a fleet, and raised a body of forces in his favour. The fleet was scattered, and ten ships lost in a storm; but others landed the troops in *Sweden* and *Norway*, where they were joined by great numbers of discontented persons, and particularly by the *Roman*

A. D. 1531.

^a Vid. PUFFEN. t. iv. CHYTRÆI Chron. p. 86.

^b SECKENDORFF Ep. 149.

(A) *Norby* afterwards enjoyed the prefecture of *Zelziburg*; but his restless and ambitious spirit set him on fresh revolts, which deprived him of his government: after

which he entered into the service of *Russia*, next of *Charles V.* and lastly, was slain at the siege of *Florence*.

Catholics,

Christian
makes some
attempts to re-
cover his
crown.

Catholics, who sought their revenge in rebellion. His arms made such progress, as to call upon Frederick's serious attention. Accordingly he fitted out a fleet, under the conduct of Canute Gyllenstiern, and Erick Gyllenstiern, brothers to the viceroy of Norway. These generals set sail, and came up with Christian's fleet before Bahus. Here they attacked them, and, after an engagement which lasted the whole day, took, sunk, burnt, and destroyed the Flemish squadron, without letting a single ship escape.

He is made
prisoner.

A. D. 1533.

CHRISTIAN was at this time laying siege to Aggerbus, which he raised on advice of the defeat of his fleet. The Gyllenstierns landed their forces, and obliged him to attempt a retreat to Sweden, through West Gothland; but he found himself opposed by a body of three thousand horse, sent to block up the passage by king Gustavus. Christian was now greatly embarrassed. On the one side he saw the forces of Denmark, and on the other those of Sweden, neither of which his situation would permit him to engage with any probability of success. In this dilemma he threw himself into the town of Congel, which he fortified in the best manner circumstances would allow, rather with a view to procrastinate his fate, than in expectation of being able to defend himself for any time. Here he was pressed with famine, deserted by his men, and reduced to so piteous a condition, that Gyllenstiern, bishop of Odensee, taking compassion on his sufferings, used all his arguments to prevail upon him to surrender, rather than perish with hunger, which he necessarily must in a short time. He remembered that Christian had formerly been sovereign of three powerful kingdoms, and was led by his humanity to stipulate terms which he had no power to grant. In a word, he persuaded that prince to put himself in his power, that he might conduct him to Frederick, assuring him that the force of blood would operate so strongly on the king, as to procure Christian the kindest reception. Gyllenstiern intended no artifice; he firmly believed all that he had advanced, and was greatly astonished to find Frederick incensed at his conduct. He was even stung to the heart, on hearing that unfortunate monarch was seized and imprisoned on his arrival at Copenhagen. He remonstrated to Frederick, but could obtain no redress. Christian was confined and strictly guarded in the castle of Sunderburg, until Frederick's death, which happened at Gottorp on the thirteenth of April, in the year 1533.

Death and
character of
Frederick II.

FREDERICK obtained the name of *Pacific*, from his aversion to war, and the moderation of his conduct. He was the first Danish monarch who had openly embraced and espoused the reformed religion; for though it was introduced in the reign of his predecessor, yet had it made no considerable progress. Historians greatly celebrate the piety, prudence, and steady government of this prince. His reign indeed was prosperous to himself and his people; he lived in their affection, died highly esteemed and regretted by one part of his subjects; while the Roman Catholics, in general, detest his memory to this day, for effecting a reformation in religion to the utter extinction of their tyrannical superstition and spiritual power.

S E C T. XIV.

The History of the Reign of Christian III.

C R I S T I A N III.

Disputes about
a successor, and
the kingdom
divided into
three factions.

FREDERICK was succeeded by his son Christian III. governor of Sleswick and Holstein in his father's life-time. A general diet assembled at Copenhagen on the twenty-fourth of June, to deliberate on the election of a king, to which Christian sent two noblemen of distinction to appear in his name. All the bishops and Romish clergy strongly supported the interest of prince John, second son of Frederick, in opposition to Christian, who had embraced the reformed religion. They alledged, in favour of this young prince, that he was born after his father's accession to the throne, though their true motive was, the hopes they entertained of breeding him up in their own religion. A third party were for recalling Christian II. but this faction was small, and intirely absorbed in the two others. The nobility in general supported Christian III. and the clergy, finding they could not carry their point at that time, proposed that the election should be deferred to the following year, in order that the states of Norway might be assembled, and the same king seated on the throne of both kingdoms. This proposal having gained the assent of the majority, the states next resolved to send an ambassy to Mary, governante of the Low Countries, to propose a peace, or at least a truce for some years.

In the mean time some of the chief nobility, among whom were Magnus Goe and Eric Bonner, entered a protest against adjourning the diet. In this they bitterly exclaimed against

- a against the bishops, whose private interest they affirmed prevailed over every measure for the general good. Having entered this protest they retired into the country, followed by a great number of the other nobility, and thus left a clear majority to the clergy in the diet. The bishops did not fail to take advantage of this circumstance : they proposed the following decree, and had influence enough to get it passed ; first, that the election of a king should be deferred for one year : secondly, that church-lands and monasteries should remain in their present situation, until the next diet ; thirdly, that as the bishops had drawn up different charges against certain ministers of the reformed religion, and particularly an accusation of a heinous nature against *J. Tousson*, he should be obliged to appear and answer to the charge ; fourthly, that *Christian* the oldest son of the late king *Frederick*, should be disqualified from succeeding to the throne, on account of his having embraced the reformed religion ; and that *John*, the second, should be bred in the faith of the *Romish* church, and for that reason preferred to his brother in the future election ^a.

Artifices of the Popish clergy.

In this manner was the kingdom of *Denmark* divided after the decease of *Frederick*. The civil discontents furnished the regency of *Lubeck* with an opportunity of renewing their attempt to engross the whole traffic of the *Baltick*. The means they used to accomplish this design were indeed extraordinary, and such as require being attested by good authority before they could gain credit ; but the relation of them does not belong to this part of our history (A).

- c ABOUT this time was held a general diet at *Odensee*, for the election of a sovereign. *Christian* of *Sleswick* sent ambassadors thither, who used every artifice to gain a majority. They represented, that *Denmark* being without a head, and exposed to a number of enemies, it would be for the public good that a treaty of perpetual union and alliance were concluded between *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Holstein* ; a proposition quite agreeable to the sentiments of the diet, though it did not take place at that time. They engaged that *Christian* would govern the kingdom rather as the father than the sovereign of his people. They promised that he would preserve the liberties of his people, and would extend as far as was in his power, the rights and influence of the nobility ; but that if the diet thought proper to prefer his brother *John*, he would acquiesce in their judgment, and never give him any molestation. They added however their master's request, that the diet would proceed to the election of a king, in order to stop the confusion and discord that now distracted the kingdom. Yet after all, this diet likewise broke up without coming to any agreement.

A. D. 1534. Several diets held for the election of a sovereign.

- d THIS year ambassadors arrived from *Sweden*, with an account of the conspiracy formed by the regency of *Lubeck* against the king. The *Danes* offered their mediation, without knowing that a similar plot was formed against themselves. This ambitious regency, in order to accomplish higher views, had projected the restoration of *Christian II.* and in this design they engaged prince *Christopher* of *Oldenburg*, a cadet of that family, archbishop *Troll*, *John* count of *Hoya*, a great number of exiles, many of the discontented clergy, and the chief magistrates of *Malmoe* and *Copenhagen*. *Christopher* of *Oldenburg* was charged with the enterprize of setting *Christian II.* at liberty. With this view he passed the *Elbe* at the head of four thousand foot, and then wrote to *Christian* of *Sleswick*, demanding to know why he detained king *Christian* a prisoner of *Sunderburg*. He complained that his majesty was confined contrary to the faith of a treaty, and the safe-conduct granted him by *Frederick's* general. He insisted that he should be released, otherwise he threatened to employ all his own forces, together with those of his friends and allies, to procure him justice and his enlargement.

The ambitious designs of the regency of Lubeck.

- e DUKE *Christian* answered, that the king was confined by the order of his late majesty, in consequence of repeated remonstrances from the states of *Denmark* and *Sweden* : that he could not therefore set him at liberty, without the joint consent of both these nations : and finally, he gave him to understand, that in this particular he was not his own master. But this answer was by no means satisfactory to *Christopher*, who replied, that he was astonished *Christian* should excuse himself by such a pretence, as he was independent of both king-

^a PUFFEND. t. iv.

(A) It may be necessary to observe, that the *Lubeckers* had formed schemes the most ambitious and ideal that ever entered the brain of a sensible people. They projected nothing less than the universal empire of the North ; and in endeavouring to execute their plan, had almost annihilated the very being of their little state, whose whole strength consisted in commerce, and a confederacy with the other hanse-towns. Our author al-

ledges, that they proceeded so far as to sell the kingdom of *Denmark* to *Henry VIII.* of *England*, and that he advanced on this bargain the sum of twenty thousand crowns, with a promise of paying the remainder on their fulfilling the contract ; a piece of secret history intirely passed over by our best *English* historians (1).

(1) *Des Roches*, t. v. p. 82.

doms. It was notorious he said, that *Sunderburg* belonged to him, and consequently he had power to set at liberty a prince confined against all law and equity; concluding that the regency of *Lubeck* and the *Vandal* cities would interest themselves in the affair, and employ force of arms to obtain what was denied to fair remonstrances^b.

Christian lays
siege to Lu-
beck.

HAVING made the same remonstrances to the senate of *Denmark*, and with the same effect, he returned to *Lubeck*; upon which the regency ordered their army to march, under the command of *Wallenweber* and *Marc Meyer*, into *Holstein*. Here they raised heavy contributions, and took the fortresses of *Trittau* and *Eudin*. They formed the siege of *Segeberg*, took the town, and were preparing to attack the citadel, when they heard that *Christian* having received a reinforcement from *Denmark*, was on his way to give them battle. It was the same *Rantzau*, of whom we have spoke in the preceding pages, that now commanded *Christian*'s forces, attacked the *Lubeckers*, defeated them, and retook *Eudin*^c.

THIS defeat did not discourage the prince of *Oldenburg*, and his confederates the *Lubeck* generals; it only obliged them to alter their measures, evacuate *Holstein*, and embark their army, in order to invade *Denmark*, and thus divide the forces of that kingdom. The *Holstein* general made the best use of their absence. He penetrated to the town of *Travemunde*, which he besieged and took. Having demolished the fortress of *Muggeberg*, he began to throw a bridge over the *Trave*; a proceeding which greatly alarmed the city of *Lubeck*, who immediately sent all their forces to oppose him. These *Rantzau* defeated, pushed farther, and put *Christian* in possession of both sides of the river, by which means he became intire master of all the ships in the harbour. Here he remained for some months, burnt all the shipping, and greatly distressed the city of *Lubeck*^c.

IN the mean time *Denmark* was in the most perilous and distracted condition. *George Munter*, consul of *Malmoe*, had treacherously seized upon *Gyllenstiern*, governor of the citadel, after which he razed it to the ground, and declared in favour of king *Christian II.* just as *Christopher* of *Oldenburg* entered the *Sound* with his fleet. *Munter* immediately went on board the prince's ship, and relating the success of his enterprize, induced *Christopher* to land his forces. Soon he became master of *Roschild*, *Koge*, *Stockholm*, *Stega*, and *Copenhagen*, which last city was surrendered to him, on condition that he enlarged its privileges, and swore to preserve the inhabitants in the free use of the *Lutheran* religion, which they had embraced. All these places he held in the name of *Christian II.* exacting an oath of allegiance to that prince from the inhabitants of the several towns and fortresses in his possession. In a word, he became master of *Zealand* and *Schonen*, and was upon terms with the diet of *Norway* for restoring the deposed *Christian*^d.

The Lubeck-
ers masters of
a great part
of Denmark.

THE islands of *Laaland*, *Falstie*, and *Langland*, having followed the example of *Zealand* and *Schonen*, the *Lubeckers* beheld with satisfaction the rapid progress of their arms, and now thought it necessary to justify their proceedings by a manifesto, setting forth their reasons for entering upon this war. But they were such only as convinced the whole world of their ambition, which, by being directed to wrong objects, soon turned them into ridicule. In this manifesto they had the presumption to prescribe in points of religion to *Denmark*, and talk with an air of authority altogether vain and absurd, because it was unsupported by adequate power; for at this time *Christian III.* was laying siege to the city; and however successful their arms were in *Denmark*, they were reduced to the greatest necessity at home. Happily however for them, the states of *Jutland* resolved to meet for the election of a sovereign. *Holstein* took the same resolution, and they assembled on the fourth of *July*, at a place called *Rye*, near *Sunderburg*. It became the general opinion that their choice ought to fall upon a prince capable of governing by himself, and whose experience and conduct might again re-establish the tranquility of the kingdom. A majority of voices declared for duke *Christian*, who had an army powerful enough to execute his designs. The states of *Fionia* were invited to accede to their election, and they accepted *Christian*, to whom ambassadors were immediately sent with an offer of the crown.

Christian III.
elected king of
Denmark.

THE clergy had made some complaints, on account of his religion, but they were disregarded. *John Fris de Hesselagar* was sent upon this commission, and likewise charged to acquaint *Christian*, that it was of the utmost consequence to provide against the enemy's getting possession of *Fionia*, which had now declared for him. *Christian* set out directly for *Hersens*, where the nobility and commons of *Jutland* were assembled to receive him. Here he was solemnly crowned, and acknowledged king of all *Denmark*, and as such received the oaths of all present.

KING *Christian*'s first care was to apprise *Gustavus* of *Sweden* of his election; to complain of the irregular conduct of the *Lubeckers*; to exhort him to enter *Schonen* with a force sufficient to wrest that province out of the hands of the enemy, and re-annex it to *Denmark*, and, in a word, to humble the pride and clip the soaring wings of this ambitious re- g

^b CHYTRÆI Chron. p. 92.

^c DES ROCHES, t. v. p. 51.

^d Idem ibid. PUFFEND. ibid.

a public. *Gustavus* did not hesitate in what manner he was to act. He longed for an occasion to revenge himself on the *Lubeckers*, and embraced this opportunity. He exhorted the inhabitants of *Schonen* to acknowledge *Christian III.* for their sovereign, and he seconded his remonstrances with force. A body of troops was marched into the province, and effectual measures taken for driving the *Lubeckers* out of *Denmark*.

WHILE *Christian III.* was at *Kolding*, he was struck with the revolt of the island of *Fionia* *Fionia revolts*, at the instigation of the count of *Oldenburg*. The burghers and peasants rose up against the nobility, and were determined to throw off their subjection to them, by driving them out of the island. To compose these troubles, and assist the nobility, *Christian* sent a body of forces, which soon obliged the people to take a fresh oath of allegiance to him; but the count, landing a superior force, had the town of *Neoburg* treacherously surrendered to him, and a new insurrection made in his favour, which in a short time put him in possession of the whole island.

At the same time the duke of *Mecklenburg* and landgrave of *Hesse*, mediated a peace between the city of *Lubeck* and duchy of *Holstein*, in which both sides agreed to give no assistance to each other's enemies. By this means *Christian* was enabled to employ all his forces in *Denmark*; and he accordingly marched an army into *North Jutland*, under the command of the celebrated *Rantzau* and *Eric Banner*. These two generals marched directly to *Alburg*, a town taken by *Clement*, a *Lubeck* pirate, who was encamped with a body of peasants before the walls. *Rantzau* attacked this corps, defeated *Clement*, and took the town by assault, putting the garrison to the sword. *Clement* escaped out of the battle, but was afterwards taken at *Kolding*, confined in prison till the year 1536, and then beheaded. His head was fixed on a stake in the market-place, and crowned in derision with a leaden crown, on account of his insolence in proclaiming *Christian II.*

ALTHOUGH this advantage decided nothing, yet it produced overtures for peace, and an interview between *Christian* and the count of *Oldenburg*, which broke up without any determination, besides that of deciding the difference by the sword. When the count returned to *Copenhagen*, he assembled the states, and demanded a supply of money. As the treasury was extremely exhausted, and the country impoverished, he proposed that the nobility and gentry should dispose of their wives, jewels, and trinkets; but this was an expedient with which they did not chuse to comply, though they found means to raise the sum required. Scarce was this affair finished, when *George Munter* and *Ambrose* entered the assembly with a bitter complaint against the nobility and senate, whom they accused as the authors of all the national misfortunes, by deposing *Christian II.* They demanded therefore that the count would punish them according to their deserts. Fear seized the whole assembly, and no man ventured to withdraw, until the count had given them a solemn assurance, that no violence should be offered.

It was now that the count's wicked designs came to be disclosed. He had laid a scheme for the destruction of the nobility of *Schonen*, whom he assembled at *Landscroon* for that purpose, and was just ready to give the finishing blow, when *Gustavus* appeared very providentially at the head of an army, on the borders of the province. He was instantly joined by five hundred nobility and gentry, who assisted in driving the count's forces out of *Schonen*, with which transaction the year 1534 concluded.

In the month of *January* the *Swedish* army entered *Halland*, and began their operations by laying siege to *Helmstadt*. After remaining some days before the town, the magistrates declared voluntarily for *Christian III.* upon which the *Swedish* army proceeded on their march. Passing through the country round *Helsingburg*, *Landscroon*, and *Malmoe*, they were joined by great numbers of the nobility and gentry, and soon after gave battle and obtained a complete victory over the earl of *Oldenburg*, and the forces of *Lubeck*. Here the earl lost his best officers and soldiers, who were either killed or made prisoners. A strong reinforcement was then sent by *Christian III.* by means of which the *Swedish* army was enabled to lay siege to *Malmoe* and *Landscroon* at the same time. But the victory at *Helsingburg* had more important consequences. It induced the nobility of *Norway* to declare in favour of the new king; but this advantage was counterbalanced by some inconveniences. *Meyer* the *Lubeck* general and burgomaster being taken in the engagement, a dispute arose between the *Swedes* and *Danes*. The former insisted upon his being their prisoner, because the victory was obtained by their forces, and the latter urged that it was more reasonable he should belong to them, as he had immediately surrendered to the *Danes*. This indifference was carried high; but at length terminated by an agreement, that he should be confined in the frontier town of *Wardberg*. Here he was a prisoner on parole; and *Meyer* used this opportunity not only to obtain his liberty, but to prevail on the magistrates to declare for *Christian II.* and afterwards to seize on the citadel; both which succeeded to his wish.

A. D. 1535.
Progress of Christian's arms.

In the mean time the regency had engaged the duke of *Mecklenburg* in their interest, and sent him with a fleet to *Copenhagen*, in order to attempt the release of *Christian II.* (A) but a difference arising between him and the earl, about the command of the army, *Lubeck* derived but little advantage from this alliance. Not long after their army in *Fionia* was defeated and cut to pieces by *Rantzaw*, a great number of soldiers and officers killed or taken prisoners, and among the latter archbishop *Troll*, who soon after died of his wounds.

From *Fionia Rantzaw* passed into *Zealand*. Here he was joined by the king in person, and siege laid to *Copenhagen*. The sieges of *Malmoe* and *Landscreon* were likewise vigorously pushed in *Schonen*, and *Wardeberg* wrested out of the enemy's hands by *Nadon Ulfton*. Thus every thing conspired to ruin the designs of the *Lubeckers*, and firmly to establish the new king on the throne, who was now solemnly crowned at *Odensee* king of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

Interview between Christian and Gustavus.

DURING the siege of *Copenhagen*, *Christian*, contrary to the advice of his council, made a dangerous visit to *Gustavus* at *Stockholm*. His intention was to concert measures with that prince against the designs of the emperor, who, under the pretence of procuring the crown of *Denmark* for the elector *Frederic* Palatine, projected a scheme for reducing the three northern crowns under his own obedience. The *Danish* historians alledge, that *Gustavus* made certain demands, with which *Christian* could not comply; and that the manner in which the *Swedish* monarch received this denial, obliged *Christian* to retire with the utmost expedition out of *Sweden*. It is affirmed, that queen *Christina* gave him notice of certain plots contrived against him, and that *Gustavus* afterwards used this princess so ill, that she died of grief; but these are the wise insinuations of writers, who would appear knowing in the mysteries of state, by affecting an air of obscurity^d. It is certain that these conjectures are diametrically opposite to the assertions of the *Swedish* historians, and indeed to the character of the heroic *Gustavus*. Whatever resentment *Gustavus* harboured, he entirely concealed it, and took every measure to perform his engagements, and establish *Christian* on the throne. Nay, to the *Swedish* troops may we in a great measure ascribe the reduction of *Copenhagen*, which together with *Landscreon* were surrendered the following year after a long siege.

A. D. 1536. The emperor deavours to procure the crown of Denmark for the elector-palatine.

Now it was that the emperor began to concern himself in the affairs of *Denmark*, and to push the interest of the elector-palatine. With this view he sent an ambassador to the duke of *Saxony* and landgrave of *Hesse*, declaring *Christian III.* an usurper, and pleading the right of the elector. This embassy had no effect; for these princes jointly replied, that his imperial majesty had no business with the affairs of *Denmark*; and that *Christian's* claim was undoubted, as the oldest son of king *Frederic*, solemnly called to the throne by the states of the kingdom. The emperor received another check from the pretensions of the earl of *Oldenburg*, who began to aspire at the crown; with which intention he sent a faithful emissary to the *Low-Countries* to sound the inclinations of the governante, to demand succours to raise the siege of *Copenhagen*, and the widow of *Francis Sforza* duke of *Milan* in marriage. But he met with a repulse, the governante declaring in favour of the elector palatine.

THE new king *Christian* was not ignorant of what was transacting at the emperor's court. Some letters of the governante's which he intercepted, gave him a more distinct idea of the intrigues carrying on against him, and of the elector's strength. One of these letters was addressed to the garrison of *Copenhagen*, exhorting them to be of good courage, as the elector would speedily raise the siege with a numerous fleet and army. It was now the whole scope of *Christian's* politics to frustrate all these machinations. In the first place he entered into a treaty with *Menard de Hour*, who had long commanded the forces of the duke of *Gueldres*, whereby that officer undertook to make a diversion in *Ems*, by attacking the emperor's troops in these quarters. This general, whose predominant passion was the love of fighting, immediately entered upon action, and made himself master of several places in that country, in the name of *Christian III.*

Various operations on both sides.

WHILE *Menard* was employing the forces of the empire round *Groningen*, an interesting scene passed in *Norway*. *Christian* had sent deputies to the archbishop *Olaus*, to keep him and the states of *Norway* firm in their alliance and union with *Denmark*. Every thing appeared to succeed according to his wish, when an embassy arrived from the *Netherlands*, with magnificent presents to the prelate from the governante. The instructions of the *Flemish* ambassadors were to exhort the archbishop and states, in the emperor's name, to remain firm in the duty they had sworn to *Christian II.* when that prince was in *Norway*. The ambassadors promised that in this they should be powerfully supported

^d DES ROCHES, t. v. p. 72.

(A) *Christian* was confined in the citadel which had not surrendered to the *Lubeck* fleet.

a by a fleet, which the elector-palatine would command in person, on their coast. Gained by their presents and promises, the treacherous prelate ordered the *Danish* deputies to be seized and put in irons. He strangled in prison the president *Vincent*, against whom he bore an antient grudge. He dispersed troops in the different quarters of the kingdom, to oblige the people to declare in favour of the elector. He went still farther, and had himself crowned king, in the name of that prince. Most of the nobility were strongly attached to *Christian III.* but the dread of incurring the resentment of this powerful prelate, kept them silent and inactive. *Eric Gyllenstiern* alone had the courage to set the remaining *Danish* deputies at liberty, with whom he set sail for *Denmark*.

b THIS sudden change in the affairs of *Norway*, and the rapid progress of the elector-palatine was making to ascend the throne, obliged the regency of *Lubeck* first to think of peace. Their eyes were now opened, the expences of the war became grievous, and their fine ideal plan of empire vanished and mouldered in the test of rigid enquiry. They solicited the elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the cities *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Magdeburg*, and *Brunswick*, to interpose their mediation between them and *Christian III.* and to regulate the conditions of peace.

c DEPUTIES from all these powers met at *Hamburg*, and ordained, that hostilities should immediately cease between *Denmark* and *Lubeck*, and that their antient friendship should be renewed; that the island of *Bornholm* should be ceded in surety to the regency of *Lubeck*, for the space of fifty years, and until the king paid them fifteen thousand ducats, on account of their obliging the earl of *Oldenburg* to evacuate *Denmark*. *Christian* acceded the more readily to these conditions, that he saw a new enemy rise up against him, the kingdom drained of money, and the people tired out with the long continuance of the war. One circumstance alone embarrassed him; it was his having concluded this peace without consulting *Gustavus*, and even contrary to the treaty with him. In effect, *Gustavus* resented his conduct, and gave orders to his forces to evacuate *Denmark*. He likewise demanded the money he had lent *Christian*, or rather the provinces of *Wyck* and *Babus*.

Peace between
Denmark and
Lubeck.

d THE *Danish* monarch was not ignorant of what consequence it was to live on terms of amity with *Gustavus*. He immediately sent an embassy to him to excuse his conduct, by assuring him, that the time allowed for concluding the treaty was too short to admit of consulting his inclinations; and that he feared if he did not embrace the occasion, the city of *Lubeck* would join with the elector-palatine. In fact, it was no less the interest of *Gustavus* than of *Christian*, that the two nations should continue in friendship. He therefore prudently admitted the ambassador's apology, demanded a renewal of the league between the two kingdoms, and countermanded the return of his troops. Still, however, he refused to sign the peace with *Lubeck*: and his perseverance in this drove the regency to such despair, that they even conspired against his life, and hired ruffians, who undertook to poison, or blow him up with gunpowder, placed under his seat at church.

e IT was in consequence of this peace, that *George Munter* seeing no hopes of succours from the *Low-Countries*, from *Lubeck* or from the elector-palatine, and that his fellow subjects were tired out with the war, determined to throw himself upon the king's clemency, and do all in his power to forward his cause, and promote the tranquility and repose of the country; *Malmoe*, of which he was governor, he surrendered before the operations of the besiegers had compelled him, and he set out for *Copenhagen* to endeavour to persuade the garrison and inhabitants to submit. By this means it was that these important places came into the king's hands, though, indeed, at *Copenhagen* the garrison was reduced to such straits, that dogs, cats, rats, and the most loathsome animals, were thought delicious food. Children, after sucking all the milk in the mother's breasts, drank their own blood, and perished in the arms of their parents. The people became so feeble with hunger, that they dropt down dead in the street, were often found dead in their beds, and yet did they still f persevere in their refusal to surrender, until *George Munter* came among them.

AFTER inexpressible miseries sustained, at last *Copenhagen* surrendered; and duke *Albert*, and the earl of *Oldenburg*, were forced to throw themselves at the king's feet to obtain pardon. While the earl was in this supplicating posture, the king reproached him with having entered *Holstein* without any subject of complaint, without any declaration of war, to plunder and lay waste like a robber. He accused him of having taken arms to support the unjust quarrel of *Lubeck*, and of being the occasion of all the bloodshed in *Denmark*; adding, that now was the time to gratify his vengeance, but that, in consideration of their affinity by blood, he pardoned him.

Copenhagen
surrenders to
Christian III.

g As soon as the new king found himself in possession of the capital, he laboured to execute a plan communicated to him by *Gustavus*, for reducing the temporal power of the bishops and clergy, who were the great sticklers against his election. He saw himself supported by the senate and nobility, who had placed the crown on his head; without fear therefore he attacked the clergy of highest dignity and influence. With this

Christian
establishes the
reformed reli-
gion.

view he assembled a diet at *Odenfee*, and took the first steps towards deposing the bishops, and favouring the reformed religion. An order was issued for apprehending them all; and *Bilde*, bishop of *Arhus*, alone found means to escape. A few of them became martyrs to their religion, particularly the bishop of *Roschild*, who suffered his family to be persecuted, himself to be deprived of his dignity and see, to be confined in prison, and even in irons, in which he died, without making the least recantation, or, like the other bishops, accommodating himself to the king's humour.

THE diet passed a decree, whereby all the church-lands, towns, fortresses, and villages, were annexed to the crown, and the temporal power of the clergy for ever abolished. They even went so far as to incur the displeasure of *Luther* himself, who wrote the king a letter from *Germany*, exhorting him to use the clergy with more lenity; and though he disapproved the doctrine, yet to pay the due respect to the ministers of the antient religion of the kingdom. He told him, that intirely abolishing the temporal power of the church was robbing the crown of one of the strongest pillars of its prerogative; and indeed, *Christian* did not enough attend to the consequences of the exorbitant power now lodged in the hands of the nobility. The equipoise of government was destroyed with the power of the bishops; the four different orders of the people were all absorbed in the grandeur of the nobility, and even the royal prerogative dwindled to a dependence on their will.

IN this situation stood the affairs of *Denmark*, when the king began seriously to prepare for the reduction of *Norway*, in consequence of a treaty concluded with the goverante of the *Low Countries*. The archbishop *Olaus* having notice of his intention, and of the revolution in the church of *Denmark* sent deputies to solicit his majesty's pardon, promising to place the crown of *Norway* upon his head, and get him acknowledged by the states of the kingdom. But instead of receiving his deputation, *Christian* ordered his fleet to invade *Norway*, which obliged the archbishop to embark with all his jewels and effects for *Holland*. Immediately on his departure, the whole kingdom returned to the obedience of *Christian*, who was solemnly crowned king.

It could not be imagined, that a prince who had persecuted the bishops with so much severity, would leave the inferior clergy of the *Romish* religion unmolested. A confession of faith was drawn up, and presented to them, with the alternative either of signing it or quitting the kingdom. The latter was preferred by great numbers, who retired into *Germany* and the *Netherlands*: thus the reformed religion was compleatly established in *Denmark*, the power of the nobility raised to excess, on the ruins of episcopal grandeur; the burghers and peasants reduced to a more servile state under their haughty lords, than they had ever known under the most despotic exertions of papistical tyranny; and the royal prerogative rendered merely titular, and a shadow which vanished at the will of the nobles. It is true, that *Christian* supported his crown with its antient lustre; but the nobility were not yet become sufficiently acquainted with their own power, which increased daily, until their pride at last effected a revolution, that turned the scale wholly in favour of the crown, and rendered *Denmark* as absolute a monarchy as any in *Europe*.

Denmark enjoys profound peace.

FOR the space of two years *Denmark* enjoyed a profound peace at home and abroad; an opportunity which *Christian* assiduously improved to the good of his people, establishing such regulations as he thought would best promote their felicity. He was likewise endeavouring to confirm this repose by foreign alliances, and to terminate all his differences with neighbouring states, when, of a sudden, he saw his crown threatened with a storm equally violent and unexpected. The elector-palatine, having levied forces in *Lower Saxony*, marched in an hostile manner into the duchy of *Holstein*, destroying all before him with fire and sword; but this expedition was but of short duration; the *Hamburgers* interposed, and obliged the elector to return with more precipitation than he had marched with into the country.

A. D. 1539.

Disputes between Denmark and Sweden.

NOR was this all; *Gustavus* had this year presented *Christian* with a long bill of complaints, containing a variety of articles, to each of which he demanded an explicit answer. Among other articles, he accused *Christian* of debauching his soldiers and officers from their allegiance to him, and incorporating them with the troops of *Denmark*; a bad requital of the many services he had done to him. In particular he alledged, that when the *Swedish* fleet arrived in the *Sound*, *Melchior Rantzaw* had encouraged the desertion of his sailors, and manned the *Danish* fleet with those deserters; that *Christian* had refused to accommodate his fleet with provisions, agreeable to the treaty between the two crowns; that the *Danes* had seized upon *Meyer*, burgomaster of *Lubeck*, though in fact he was the prisoner of the *Swedish* general, together with a variety of other articles of less consequence, and which only shewed *Gustavus's* desire of coming to a rupture with *Denmark*.

To answer these complaints *Christian* sent ambassadors to *Calmar*, where the *Swedish* monarch at that time resided. They apologized in the best manner for their master's conduct, but

a but referred the final regulation to plenipotentiaries, which were to meet the following year on the frontiers.

WHILE the king was busied in preparing their instructions for the plenipotentiaries, the prefect of *Saltholm* was murdered, together with several of his domestics, at the instigation of bishop *Augmund*. On the first notice of this horrid act, the king issued orders to *Christopher Wilfeldt*, governor of *Drontheim*, to pass with two ships of war to the island, to take a fresh oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, seize upon the bishop, and place in his room a Protestant minister. About the same time a letter came to his majesty from the landgrave of *Hesse*, seriously advising him to treat with the elector-palatine concerning the dowry of *Dorothea* his wife, as the best means of paving the way to an accommodation with the emperor. He offered likewise his mediation on this occasion; but *Christian* answered, that as he had ambassadors in *Ghent*, he would square his conduct by the accounts he should receive from them. A negotiation in the end was set on foot; but after much altercation, the breach seemed rather wider than before; and both the emperor and governante declared to the *German* princes, that they had made overtures the most reasonable, which *Christian* rejected, while the *Danish* monarch on the other side made similar complaints and protestations.

Negotiations between Christian and the German powers.

NOR were the differences between *Denmark* and *Sweden* more easily terminated. Their mutual interests kept them united; yet did they live in a state of perpetual enmity and defiance. *Gustavus*, unsatisfied with the acquisition of a kingdom dismembered, thought of nothing but re-uniting it; while *Christian*, on his side, could not altogether forget his claim to the crown of *Sweden*. Frequent congresses were held; but they all concluded in nothing more than fixing the sum due to *Gustavus* by the *Danish* monarch, and the time of payment. As the *Swedish* monarch thought himself hardly used in the reduction of this sum far below his expectation, he made new claims, which frustrated the effects of all former agreements, prolonged the negotiations, and at last occasioned their breaking up without establishing a coalition, or even tolerably reconciling the parties to each other. At last the two princes had an interview, which terminated happily in a peace for five years, during which time they were to decide all their disputes, except what regarded the island of *Gothland*. It was believed that this affair required more time, as the case was intricate, and many documents to be examined on both sides, in support of their several claims. It would indeed have been extremely impolitic in the northern princes, at a time when the emperor was lying in wait for such an advantage, in order to seize upon the crowns of the three kingdoms, as it evidently appeared was his design. *Christian II.* had made it an article in the marriage-contract with the emperor's sister, that his crown should devolve upon *Charles*, should he die without issue male; and his supporting the elector-palatine was nothing more than a previous step to further declarations. The ambition of *Charles V.* grew up with his power: he schemed universal monarchy, and *Gustavus* and *Christian* had every thing to fear from his abilities. This it was that kept them united, and obliged them to look round for other alliances, the more securely to fortify themselves against all attacks on the side of *Germany*. Accordingly a treaty was struck up with *Francis I.* king of *France*, whom they looked upon as the most convenient ally, on account of his courage, his animosity to *Charles*, and the powerful diversions which his situation enabled him to make in their favour. In this treaty of alliance, *Christian* promised to deny the passage of the *Sound* to all the enemies of *France* (A).

Peace concluded between Denmark and Sweden.

NOTWITHSTANDING *Christian* found himself strengthened by these alliances, he continued his negotiations for a peace with the princess-governante of the *Netherlands*, and the *Hamburgers* used their utmost endeavours to conciliate them; but the princess demanding the free passage of the *Sound* for the *Hollanders*, the conference was broke off, and all the ships and merchandize of the *Hamburgers* seized in the ports of the *Netherlands*, under pretence of that city's being subject to *Holstein*, and consequently to *Denmark*. This action was therefore looked upon as just reprisals for the ravages committed by general *Menard* round *Groningen*. Immediately after an edict was published, whereby all the subjects of the *Netherlands* were permitted to cruise upon the *Danes*. The sea was covered with privateers, who exercised the utmost cruelty on the prisoners they made. *Christian* repelled these attacks, by giving the same licence to his subjects; and thus a sort of piratical war was carried on, without any open declaration of a rupture between the princess-governante and his *Danish* majesty.

The governante of the Low Countries declares war on Denmark.

IN the mean time an insurrection appeared in the province of *Smalandia*, which obliged *Gustavus* to have recourse to *Denmark* for assistance against the rebels. *Christian* readily sent him a sum of money, and a body of infantry commanded by *Eric Banner* and *Holger Rosencrantz*, by means of whose valour *Gustavus* quashed the rebellion more easily than he expected. It was discovered, by intercepted letters, that the elector palatine, the bishop

Rebellion in Sweden.

(A) The treaty of alliance between *France* and the northern crowns, was concluded in the year 1542.

of *Scara*, and the other exiles, had fomented this rebellion. Many ftrngears, charged with letters, were seized in *Norway*, on their way to *Sweden*, and all of them sent by the king's order to *Gustavus*. *Christian* did more : he ordered his governors to keep strict watch at all the ports, and sent squadrons to cruize along the coasts to prevent being surprized. Nor was all this care merely on account of *Gustavus* ; many of the intercepted letters intimated designs on *Denmark*, which gave the first intimation of the league between the northern crowns and the protestant princes of *Germany*.

War between
the emperor
and northern
crowns.

Christian's
manifesto.

As the war, which now happened between the emperor and the northern crowns, relates chiefly to *Sweden*, we shall not here enter upon the particulars of it. Almost all the attempts of the elector *Palatine* were made on that side : the emperor's edicts were published against *Gustavus* in particular, and *Denmark* had little share in these transactions, otherwise than as the ally of the *Swedish* monarch, interested also to preserve the ballance of power, and prevent the house of *Austria* from growing too potent. Towards the close of the year 1543, *Christian* indeed published a manifesto, declaring, that he had repeatedly sought to terminate his differences with the emperor amicably, but without being able to obtain equitable terms : that he had been for several years kept in a state of irksome suspense, whether he was to expect peace or war, whether he was to enjoy the friendship of the house of *Austria*, or to prepare for the defence of his crown and kingdom against their ambitious designs : that his intention in seizing on the *Flemish* ships in the *Sound*, was to draw the court of *Brussels* to an open declaration either of peace or war ; but as this measure had not the desired effect, he would now exert the means given him by Providence to secure his people, and obtain his own just demands. Immediately after the publication of this manifesto, he sent a squadron of forty ships to sea, on board which he embarked ten thousand land-forces. This formidable armament was destined against the *Netherlands* ; but it was dispersed in a storm, that frustrated the whole project (A.)

A. D. 1554.
Peace with
the Nether-
lands.

AFTER this we read of no preparations against the *Flemings*, nor any hostilities committed between them and *Denmark*. On the contrary, a general peace was restored this year to *Denmark* by a treaty struck up with the court of *Brussels*, whereby the *Flemings* were permitted the passage of the *Sound*, and freely to navigate the *Baltick*. Soon after this another treaty of peace was signed at *Spires*, between the emperor, on the one hand, and *Christian* on the other, whereby each renounced all alliances contrary to the interest of the other.

Christian dis-
unites Hol-
stein and Sles-
wick from the
crown.

CHRISTIAN, finding himself now in the quiet possession of his crown, in peace with all foreign powers, in alliance with his neighbours, and sovereign of the hearts of his subjects, all in consequence of his own courage, perseverance, and prudence, turned his attention to domestic affairs. He began with dismembering his dominions, in order to provide for his brothers. With the princes *John* and *Adolphus* he shared *Holstein*, leaving it to some future occasion to make provision for *Frederick*. It was contrary to an act, passed on *Frederick's* accession, ever to separate *Sleswick* or *Holstein* from the crown. The many inconveniencies, the wars, and bloodshed, consequent on the investiture of *Sleswick* by *Olaus*, had determined the diet to this act. All the world was astonished at this dismemberment : the states exclaimed against a measure so contrary to law, and so pernicious in effect ; but *Christian's* tender regard for his brothers overbalanced every motive of policy. He persuaded himself, that he had sufficiently adhered to the above act by explaining away its meaning, and substituting a perpetual union of government between duchies and the crown ; that they should be separate in particular rights and privileges, but combined by the strongest and most indissoluble ties of amity, interest, and friendship. We shall have occasion to speak more particularly of this union, confirmed and explained in a treaty between *Christian IV.* and *Frederick* duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*, in the year 1623 : sufficient it is to observe in this place, that though the measure was in itself inconsistent with sound policy, yet was it attended with no bad consequence for a long time, as the union remained inviolate for the space of one hundred and fifty years.

Christian II.
renounces all
claim to the
crown of Den-
mark.

A. D. 1546.

NOTHING material occurs in the history of this country before the year 1546, when *Christian II.* renounced, in the most solemn manner, all right and claim to the crowns of *Denmark* and *Norway*, excluding likewise his heirs and successors from all pretensions to the succession. He acknowledged the elections of *Frederick* and *Christian III.* to be legal : he ceded all claim to the duchies of *Sleswick*, *Holstein*, and *Stormar*, together with the privilege obtained from the emperor of rendering it unnecessary to receive the investiture of *Holstein* at the hands of the archbishop of *Lubeck*. Finally, he solemnly promised never

(A) The *Danish* writers alledge, that this fleet caused considerable uneasiness to *Henry VIII* of *England*. Before it failed, he sent an envoy to *Christian*, demanding, whether that force was intended to assist the *French*

king, with whom he was at war ; but he could obtain no other answer, than that *Christian* had no quarrel with the king of *England*.

a to act secretly or openly to the prejudice of *Christian*, or the dukes of *Holstein*; never to go out of the fortress of *Callenburg*, but with the king's consent; or hold conversation with any stranger, but in presence of the governor of the citadel. He was allowed the privilege of hunting and fishing within the jurisdiction of *Callenburg*, and a handsome appointment was settled upon him, and certain other privileges, in consequence of the treaty concluded with the emperor at *Spires*.

b EVERY thing succeeded to *Christian*'s wish; and he was now one of the happiest and most prosperous princes in *Europe*, without any thing of consequence to disturb him either at home or abroad, unless we except an act passed in *Sweden*, out of the great regard the people had for *Gustavus*. This was an act whereby the crown was made hereditary in favour not only of the lineal, but of the collateral descendants of *Gustavus*; an act that wholly destroyed the very being of the union of *Calmar*, and for ever excluded *Christian* and the family of *Oldenburg*. The *Danish* monarch, finding there was no remedy, determined however to make some public declaration of his right. Accordingly he ordered money to be coined bearing three crowns, which are the arms of *Sweden*, thereby intimating his right to the throne of that kingdom. *Gustavus* immediately complained of this affront; but he could obtain no redress from a prince who could not forget his pretensions, and whose heart was elated with the success that ever attended all his enterprizes. He therefore chose rather to stifle his resentment than enter upon a war, the event of which was at best uncertain, and might be destructive to himself and his posterity.

c THIS year duke *Frederick*, eldest son of *Christian*, was crowned king of *Denmark* and *A. D. 1547.* *Norway*, the succession being settled by a decree of the diet in his person. At the same diet warm disputes arose, whether their antient privileges of trading to *Denmark* should be continued to the *Vandal* cities. Many persons were for excluding these cities, on account of the part they took in the late war against *Denmark*; while others as strenuously insisted, that this was punishing themselves, in order to be revenged on their enemies, as the subjects of *Denmark* must grow poorer in proportion to the diminution and decrease of their commerce. At last the question was carried in the affirmative, and these cities were confirmed in all the privileges they ever enjoyed.

d THE remainder of *Christian*'s reign affords no transactions that can make any figure in history. *Denmark* enjoyed the most profound repose, the happy fruits of that love of peace and justice which constituted the shining part of *Christian*'s character. It is true, he was intrepid, valiant, and fond of glory; yet his regard for the good of his subjects made him suppress every dictate of ambition, and even refuse any addition to his dominions, which he said were extensive enough for any prince who would reign conscientiously. An instance of this happened, in refusing the offer made by the magistrates of *Revel* of putting the city into his hands. As it is difficult, therefore, to state, in point of view tolerably entertaining or useful, a series of negotiations, all tending to preserve peace and harmony in his kingdom, we shall close the reign of this most exemplary prince with observing, that he was equally the father of all his subjects and of his own family; a glorious eulogy acquired, after a reign of twenty-four years. He died on the first of *January*, 1558, and was bewailed by his people as their common father, friend, and benefactor ^b.

Conclusion of
Christian's
reign.

His death and
character.

S E C T XV.

The history of Denmark continued, during the Reigns of Frederick II. and Christian IV.

F R E D E R I C K II.

f FREDERICK II. the son and successor of *Christian* III. was of a disposition very similar to his father, whom he imitated also in his conduct. The first years of both reigns passed amidst the din of war. Both fought with great courage and military ability; but, laying down their arms, they greatly exalted the character of the warrior by adding that of able statesmen, who knew how to render their people powerful and happy.

SOON after his accession, *Frederick* took up arms against the *Dithmarsians*, who had grown insolent after the defeat of king *John*, and refused all obedience to the kings of *Denmark*, or the dukes of *Holstein*. But the chief occasion of the war was the following. Duke *Adolphus*, who resided for some years at the court of *Charles* V. was one day rallied at ra-

He conquers
the Dithmar-
sians.

^b Vid. auct. citat. ibid.

ble about the defeat one of his ancestors had received from a handful of peasants. The reproach touched him so sensibly, that he resolved, on his return, to make war on the *Dithmarsians*, and to revenge at any price the indignity put on his predecessors. This design he was just ready to execute, when the late king, from his natural love of peace, put a stop to his operations.

No sooner was *Christian* removed by death, than *Adolphus* resumed his design. He communicated his plan to count *Daniel Rantzau*, and bestowed commissions on the principal officers he thought of employing. But his proceedings could not be kept so secret as not to be soon known at the court of *Copenhagen*, where they gave umbrage. Immediately *Adolphus* proposed an interview with the young king at *Nottorp*, to confer on matters of the highest importance; and the king came to the place appointed at the head of five hundred horse, accompanied by his uncle prince *John*. Here *Adolphus* laid before them his whole project; and it was determined among the three princes, that each should bear his proportion of the expence, and furnish a certain number of troops; and that the king should, besides, order a fleet to block the enemy up on the side of the river *Elbe*.

HAVING concerted the plan of operations, they separated, in order to prepare for the execution; and all things being got in readiness, the whole army was reviewed at *Habenswestede*, and marched from thence directly into the enemy's country. *Crantzius*, in his account of this war, takes notice of a declaration which the princes drew up and published, three days before they entered *Dithmarsch*. It set forth, that the *Dithmarsians* being not only obstinate in refusing obedience to their lawful sovereigns, but wantonly cruel in punishing their subjects, the king and dukes, no longer able to tolerate such excesses, had at length resolved to take arms, and reduce the rebels to their duty. With this view therefore they declared war, according to the military laws; and desired they would either prepare to defend themselves, or submit to what should be demanded of them.

THE herald pitched on to carry this declaration to the enemy, for a long time refused to take charge of the commission, as he knew the violence and fury of that people; but he happened to be a criminal, already condemned to death, who chose running the hazard, rather than undergoing the punishment of the law, which they threatened to inflict, if he disobeyed. Fixing the declaration, with the royal and ducal seals, on a white staff, he entered the town of *Heida*, where the forty-eight magistrates happened to be that day engaged in business. He presented the declaration to one of them, whose face was known to him. As soon as it was perceived to be a declaration of war, rage and madness seized the breasts of the people: they insisted on the immediate death of the herald; but the magistrates, who had some remains of the feelings of humanity, saved his life by concealing him, until the first ebullitions of passion were subsided. They returned a letter to the king, couched indeed in terms full of respect, but denying his sovereignty. They affirmed, that they were subject to the archbishop of *Bremen* for upwards of four hundred years: they expressed astonishment at the warlike preparations, and the declaration of war against them, without having first formally remonstrated, and demanded satisfaction in a manner contrary to equity, and their right signed and sealed by a great number of his majesty's ancestors and predecessors; even in direct violation of the Golden Bull itself. They concluded their letter with blaming his majesty for not citing them before a tribunal of justice, at which they should ever be ready to appear; and with a very pathetic prayer, that God would turn his majesty's heart from the bloody resolution he had taken of exterminating them, their wives, children, and widows, to the more godlike virtue of being a peacemaker; a virtue which gained his royal fire the noblest of appellations, that of father of his country.

A. D. 1559.

NOTWITHSTANDING these remonstrances, the army continued its march, attacked the city *Meldorp*, and carried it by assault, after a vigorous resistance. Next the confederates proceeded to *Heida*, where a bloody and decisive battle was fought. Duke *Adolphus*, who was wounded, returned three times to the charge: the last dispute was particularly sharp and obstinate; but fortune at length declared against the brave *Dithmarsians*, who were broke and cut in pieces. Such however of them as escaped out of the field, rallied in the fens and marshes; but could never again make head against the conquerors. They had therefore recourse to supplications, and sent deputies to the *Danish* camp, who obtained a truce; during which all the magistrates of the country were to repair to the head quarters, to receive such conditions of peace as the king should think fit to impose. These were, that the *Dithmarsians*, should do homage to the kings of *Denmark* and dukes of *Holstein*, and henceforward acknowledge them their sovereigns; that they should restore all the standards and trophies taken from king *John*, and his brother *Fredrick* duke of

^a CRANTZ. Bell. Dith. t. ii. p. 14.

^a *Holstein*; that they should reimburse the king and duke in the expences of the war, which amounted to six hundred thousand ducats; that the princes should have liberty to build three forts in any part of the country they pleased; that all the forts lately erected by the *Dithmarsians* be erased; with a number of other conditions, hard indeed upon the vanquished, but moderate with respect to the conquerors. These terms were delivered in writing to the magistrates, his majesty thinking it unnecessary to wait for their answer, as the day appointed for his coronation was approaching. The care of concluding the peace he left to *John Rantzaw*, in whose prudence and fidelity he was sensible he might confide.

It may be worth while to dwell a little upon the ceremonies of servitude through which ^b this brave people were obliged to pass. *Rantzaw* gave them no longer than three days to put in their answer to the conditions proposed by the king; and they returned within the time, promising an intire submission, provided a few particular articles were softened, and rendered more tolerable to a free people, who had never before stooped their necks to submission. *Rantzaw* complied with their request; after which the deputies, in the name of their whole nation, signed the peace, and acknowledged the king of *Denmark*, and dukes of *Holstein*, their heirs and successors, the true and lawful sovereigns of *Dithmarsch*; the princes, on their side, promising to govern them with equity, and defend them as their subjects against all their enemies.

^c THE twentieth of *June* was the day appointed for performing the ceremony of homage. On this occasion the whole nation, without distinction of age, assembled in the morning in the neighbourhood of *Heida*. They surrendered their cannon and small arms, which were carried to *Meldorp*; they asked pardon for their rebellion in the presence of the duke of *Holstein* and the *Danish* lords, charged with powers from his majesty; and they took an oath of obedience to three princes. The order of that ceremony was as follows: the princes, *Rantzaw*, and the counsellors of the king and dukes, were placed in the middle of the assembly; around them were the brave *Dithmarsians* on their knees, their heads uncovered, and the whole surrounded by a circle of armed men, which threw them into great consternation (A). Next they presented the hostages required in security of their good behaviour; upon which they were dismissed, and the *Danish* army evacuated the country. Thus the warlike *Dithmarsians*, who for so many ages had intrepidly defended ^d their liberties against all the attacks of their neighbours, were at last reduced under the obedience of the dukes of *Holstein* in less than a month ^b.

THIS year ambassadors arrived at *Copenhagen* from the *Swedish* king, demanding a passport for their master through the *Danish* dominions to *England*, where he proposed to marry queen *Elizabeth*. This demand was granted; but *Frederick* refused to hear their complaints with respect to his bearing the *Swedish* arms, and several other particulars, which, at the interview between *Christian III.* and *Gustavus*, were put off for the space of fifty years. They did not insist upon their demands, which were only the prelude to more open declarations, lest they should give *Frederick* a suspicion of the designs of the *Swedish* cabinet. ^e The more effectually to deceive him, a perpetual peace was signed between the two crowns in the following year, though the fresh remonstrances made about *Frederick's* quartering the *Swedish* arms gave room for suspicion that this treaty would be of short duration. It fell out so; for scarce were the *Swedish* ambassadors gone before an embassy arrived from *Russia* and *Poland*, requiring his majesty to enter into a league with them against *Eric* king of *Sweden*.

^f *ERIC* was at this time proclaiming the peace between him and *Denmark*. On advice, however, of the embassies arrived at *Copenhagen*, he dispatched a faithful envoy to the czar of *Muscovy*, offering to form an alliance with him against *Poland*; but the project miscarried. He wanted to break the confederacy which he saw forming against him; and was greatly surprised to find that *Frederick* had declined giving any answer to the propositions made by the courts of *Moscow* and *Cracow*, until he had first sounded his intentions by one of his council. *Frederick* had indeed sent *Causitz Ulfeld* to *Stockholm* with this view, and likewise to remove any suspicions which *Eric* might entertain respecting the embassies. *Ulfeld* conducted himself like a true politician: he assured *Eric* of his master's inviolable regard to the late treaty between them; and insinuated himself so artfully into the confidence of the *Swedish* monarch, that all his doubts vanished, and he reposed so much in

A. D. 1561.
Colane's be-
tween the
kings of Den-
mark and
Sweden.

^a CRANTZ. *ibid.*

^b Vid. *ibid.*, p. 16.

^c DES ROCHES, t. v. p. 87.

(A) One of their priests, looking on the ground, "per-fidy." "No," says *Rantzaw*, who overheard said, in *Latin*, to his neighbour, "I see we are to be" him, you are to be instances of the king's clemency, "made the sacrifice of our own simplicity and *Danish*" who never breaks the parole he has given (1)."

(1) *Crantz*, l. ii.

Frederick's promises, that he demanded a safe convoy through his dominions for ambassa- a
dors he proposed sending into *Germany*.

*Frederick ar-
rests the Swe-
dish ambassa-
dors.*

THE intention of this embassy excited the jealousy of *Frederick*, and he accordingly or-
dered the *Swedish* ministers to be seized, and all their papers examined; which might be
looked upon as the first direct signal of war, amidst all the friendly professions of the two
kings. Both sides immediately prepared for war, and the first hostilities commenced about
the beginning of the year 1563. The provinces of *Halland* and *Bleking*, but especially the
isle of *Gothland*, *Frederick's* pretensions to the *Swedish* crown, and the money lent by *Gus-
tavus* to *Christian III.* were the real causes of this war, though various other pretexts were
used by both sides. A rivalry in commerce and power, and some advantages which *Fre-
derick* had gained in *Finland*, during the late invasion of that province by the *Muscovites*, b
all contributed in effecting a rupture^a.

*He forms an
alliance with
Lubeck ..*

*The Danish
fleet defeated.*

THE city of *Lubeck* did not fail of embracing this occasion of revenging themselves on
Sweden, for the many restrictions laid on their trade. They sent ambassadors to *Copenhagen*,
concluded a treaty with the king, and joined his fleet with a squadron. Soon after this the
fleets of the two kingdoms met, and entered upon a sharp engagement; in which the
Danes were worsted, and their admiral *Jacob Brockenhuysen* made prisoner. The *Swedish*
admiral had the princess of *Hesse* on board; and would have declined engaging, had he
not been in a manner compelled to it by the *Dane*, who soon received the just reward of his
temerity (A.)

NOTWITHSTANDING the first designs were broached in the *Swedish* cabinet, and the ad- c
vantage gained lately by *Eric's* fleet; yet was he deterred from the war by the vast prepara-
tions he saw in *Denmark*, and the formidable alliance concluded between *Frederick*, the
czar, and king of *Poland*, not to mention the city of *Lubeck*, and several of the hanse-
towns. No sooner had the prince of *Hesse* and elector of *Saxony* offered their mediation,
than he dispatched *John Gyllenstiern* and his secretary *Knulsen* to *Copenhagen*, to complain of
the attack made on his fleet in time of full peace, to protest against this infraction of the
late treaty, to offer an exchange of prisoners, and endeavour to terminate all the differences
between the two nations in an amicable manner. But little satisfaction was to be expected
from *Frederick*, who had now in pay an army of thirty-eight thousand infantry, a consider- d
able body of horse, and a strong fleet, besides the *Lubeck* squadron. The ambassadors re-
turned without obtaining any redress, or even any answer to their remonstrances; and they
were soon followed by a herald, whom *Frederic* had sent to declare war at *Stockholm* against
Eric. It would be difficult to decide who was the aggressor. *Eric's* ambitious designs
first excited *Frederick's* jealousy, and made him arrest his ambassadors, contrary to the faith
of the safe-conduct granted them. The *Danish* admiral next attacked the *Swedish* fleet,
and was defeated, before any declaration of war. *Eric* then desired to terminate their
disputes amicably; but the *Danish* monarch was now too deeply engaged to admit of any
decision, but that made by the sword. Such was the beginning of a war that continued
for the space of nine years.

*Eric desires
peace, which
Frederick re-
fuses.*

A. D. 1563.

FREDERICK took the field, and encamped before *Elfsburg*, the garrison of which he
endeavoured to gain over by presents and promises; but meeting with no success, he left e
troops to besiege it, and entered with the main body into *West-Gothland*, where he com-
mitted terrible ravages; while his fleet was subjecting the poor inhabitants of *Oeland* to all
the horrors of war. He did every thing in his power to draw *Eric* on to a battle; but
that prince contented himself with encamping advantageously, and harassing the *Danish*
army with his detachments. As soon as the town of *Elfsburg* surrendered, *Frederick* placed
a good garrison in it, and finished his operations for the campaign, the severity of the ap-
proaching winter obliging him to put his troops in quarters.

*Frederick
takes Elfs-
burgh.*

A. D. 1564.
*Congress ap-
pointed; but
Eric now de-
clines peace.*

*His fleet de-
feated.*

THE winter was employed in negotiations for a peace, set on foot by the prince of *Hesse*
and elector of *Saxony*. A congress was appointed, at which ambassadors from almost all f
the *German* princes and northern powers attended; but it came to nothing, as no commis-
sioners on the part of *Sweden* appeared. *Eric*, in his turn, had no inclination to peace.
His army was now equal if not superior to *Frederick's*, his fleet was formidable, and he
resolved to try the issue of another campaign. He soon had reason to repent this resolu-
tion: his admiral was met, defeated, and above half his fleet destroyed by the *Danes* and
Lubeckers. *Eric* endeavoured to revenge this disgrace by a descent which he made on *Nor-*

^a PUFFEND. t. v. p. 123. CHYTRÆI Chron. p. 104.

(A) We have here copied the *Danish* historians, tho' *Puffendorff* expressly says, that the fleet returned from *Germany* without the princess, the landgrave declining the marriage to a more seasonable occasion. The same

writer says, that the landgrave offered his mediation to establish peace between the crown of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and was accepted in quality of mediator (1).

(1) *Puffend. Hist. tom. v. p. 152.*

a way, where he took *Drontheim*, and the citadel of *Steenwyckholm*. The *Swedish* writers say it was only a detachment from *Eric's* army that entered *Norway*; and this is the more probable from the facility with which the viceroy drove them out, on receiving a small reinforcement from *Denmark*.

b *FREDERIC* sent deputies to the hanse-towns, requiring of them not to supply *Sweden* with military stores; but he received no other answer than that, as he had begun a war without any apparent necessity, the hanse-cities were certainly at liberty to profit by it. The king was irritated at this reply: he knew that *Sweden*, deprived of this commerce, must soon sink under the weight of a war that required such fleets and armies. He resolved therefore to compel *Stralsund* in particular, from whence *Eric* drew the greater part of all his stores, to submit to his purposes. With this view he gave orders for a squadron to cruize for the whole year, within sight of that city. The project succeeded, until *Eric*, having notice of this station, ordered a squadron of forty-eight ships of war to fall upon the *Danes*, unprepared. The action was hot and bloody; and the *Danish* admiral behaved so well, that, though greatly inferior in number and strength of ships, he brought off his whole squadron with inconsiderable loss, maintaining a running fight, and bearing the brunt of the battle with his own ship, until all the others were out of danger. He took shelter in *Gripswald*, whither the *Swedish* admiral would have pursued him; but the duke of *Pomerania*, who was perfectly neutral, prevented him, disarmed the *Danish* ships, and kept possession of them until the end of the war.

c For a little time the *Swedish* admiral scoured the sea with impunity, and took several prizes in sight of *Copenhagen*, before the *Danish* grand fleet was ready to put to sea. At last the *Lubeck* admiral having joined it, both set sail in quest of the enemy, whom they met between *Wismar* and *Roslock*. Here an engagement begun, which continued with the utmost fury for three days, both sides seeming determined to perish or conquer. Incredible acts of valour are related of the *Lubeck* and *Danish* admirals by their historians; and *Swedish* writers are no less liberal in their praises of their own countrymen. On the one side they assert, that the *Danish* admiral was taken on the third day of the battle, after having lost above five hundred men of the crew of his own ship; and on the other, it is not denied but he withdrew from the engagement. Certain indeed it is, that the *Swedes* remained masters at sea for the remainder of the year, and made a descent on the island of *Mona*, from whence they carried off great booty (A). The Swedes masters at sea.
A bloody engagement.

While the fleets were thus employed on the ocean, the two kings at the head of their armies overflowed the land with blood, and waged a most cruel war. Towns were sacked, burnt, and the inhabitants put to the sword; whole provinces were laid desolate, and every sentiment of humanity lost amidst the horrid tumult of ambition and war. *Eric* invaded *Schonen* and *Bleking*, where he committed dreadful ravages; and *Frederick* retaliated by carrying all before him, like a whirlwind, in *Smaliandia*. The *Swedes* laid siege to *Elfsburg*, and the *Danes* obliged them to raise it: upon which *Eric* vented his rage against *Wardeburg*, and, after giving the first assault, retired to *West-Gothland* to wait the event of the siege, which he left to be carried on by his generals; a resolution that greatly hurt his reputation, and gave his subjects room to call his courage in question. Duke *Charles* then conducted the siege with such vigour, that, after an obstinate dispute in breach for five hours, the town and citadel surrendered; upon which the army marched off to join the king.

On their retreat the *Danes* laid siege to the place, with intention to become masters of it before the fortifications were repaired. This drew on a battle between the two armies, at which *Eric* commanded in person. He had marched to the relief of *Wardeburg*, and *Daniel Rantzaw*, having advice of his approach, marched out of his lines to give him battle. His majesty confiding in numbers, quitted an advantageous post which he passed, charged the *Danes* in a narrow path, where he could not extend his flanks, and was defeated with the loss of seven thousand men, together with all his artillery; a victory that cost the *Danes* exceedingly dear, and left them little to boast, except the glory of having kept the field. Besides a great number of private men and officers, no less than fifty noblemen of distinction were slain, and scarce a great family in *Denmark* but mourned for the loss of a son, husband, brother, or near relation. Eric's army defeated.
A. D. 1565.

f The war became so bloody, that most of the neighbouring powers offered their good offices to accommodate matters, and even the emperor wrote to the kings, exhorting them to put an end to their quarrel, which would soon bring ruin on both kingdoms, if pursued with such animosity. All remonstrances on this head were vain; neither prince had yet

g (A) *Puffendorff*, in relating the transactions of this year, takes notice of two sea-fights, in one of which the *Danish* admiral was defeated, and in the other taken. All other historians mention only one engagement; and indeed it must be owned the accounts are so various and opposite, that it is difficult, at this distance of time, to ascertain the truth; especially as *Puffendorff*, as well as other historians, has been very negligent with respect to dates.

A. D. 1566.
The Danish
fleet suffers in
a storm.

satiated their ambition or resentment, and it was determined by both to prosecute the war for another campaign, which might possibly produce something decisive. They did so; but the success was doubtful. *Denmark* was rudely handled by sea, and *Sweden* defeated by land; but the loss of the former was owing to a furious tempest, and of the latter to an epidemical disorder in the army, which had greatly weakened it. The two fleets engaged on the coast of *Oeland*; but were separated by a storm that drove the *Danish* admiral, and seven of the largest ships on the rocks, with the loss of nine thousand men (B); whereas the enemy escaped and got safe into port, all except one ship which foundered at sea.

NOTWITHSTANDING the contagious distemper that reigned in the *Swedish* army, *Eric* laid siege to *Helmstadt*, and effected a breach in the wall; upon which the garrison demanded a parley, and obtained a suspension of arms for three days, to deliberate on the conditions of surrender. The garrison made use of this delay to acquaint the *Danish* general of their situation, who immediately marched to give battle to *Eric*, and obliged him to raise the siege rather than hazard an engagement with superior forces.

Eric invades
Norway, and
is defeated.

ERIC's credulity was also the occasion of another considerable advantage to *Denmark*. One *Ennon Brurock* arrived at his camp, and passed for a person of the first distinction in *Norway*. He persuaded the king that the *Norwegians*, tired of the *Danish* yoke, had determined to revolt, and sent him to treat with his majesty about the crown of that kingdom. *Eric* gave an attentive ear to the *Norwegian*'s soothing discourse, and determined to support the people by a powerful diversion in favour of their insurrection. Accordingly he ordered a large body of troops to file off and march for *Norway*, through unfrequented paths, in order to avoid giving the alarm, or falling in with the *Danish* forces. This march was perhaps one of the most arduous that had ever been attempted, through thick forests and craggy steep mountains, without any other guide than the lights of the firmament. At length, however, the corps arrived in the country of *Hedemarch*, took the fortrefs of *Hammerbusz*, continued their route, and laid siege to *Aggerhus*; but were forced to remain idle before the walls for want of artillery. When their cannon arrived they began to batter in breach; but it was then too late; the *Danish* forces were assembled, and on their march so secretly and expeditiously, that they attacked the besiegers quite unprepared, drove them from their works, slew a great number, and obliged the rest to save themselves in the forest. In this manner ended the expedition into *Norway*, and the military operations of the year, which upon the whole seemed to terminate rather to the advantage of king *Fredrick*, as he experienced no other losses than those which his admiral sustained in combating the elements.

A. D. 1567.
Dispute about
Sleswick.

THIS year a dispute arose between the king and the dukes of *Holstein*, about the duchy of *Sleswick*, that eternal bone of contention when dismembered from the crown. His majesty insisted that the dukes were in all respects his vassals; and they on the contrary affirmed, that *Sleswick* was given them as a free and hereditary duchy. Many conferences were held on the subject; but nothing was decided before the year 1580, when it was agreed that his majesty should, within the space of a year and a day, invest *Adolphus*, the surviving brother, with the duchy of *Sleswick* as an hereditary fief, and that he should in return take an oath of allegiance, and do homage as a true vassal.

Swedes de-
feated.

A. D. 1568.

WHILE *Sweden* was torn with domestic factions, a *Danish* army commanded by *Daniel Rantzaw*, entered the province of *Smalandia*, and laid all waste with fire and sword. After laying the whole desolate, he passed by *Helweden* to *West-Gothland*, where he reduced the town of *Wadstena* to ashes. *Lindkoping*, *Sunderkoping*, and many other cities suffered the same fate before the *Swedish* army could be drawn together in one body. At length, however, *Eric* committed the charge of his army to *Peter Brabe* and *Hogenschild Bielke*, with orders to oppose the farther progress of the enemy. They marched accordingly to *Norby*, and incamped in a post covered on three sides by the river, and on the fourth by marshes and woody ground. The strength of this situation lulled them into a fatal security; they were surprised at day-break by the vigilant *Rantzaw*, who attacked them with incredible fury, and obtained a most complete victory, with very little loss on his own side. The *Danes* got prodigious booty, a great number of prisoners, and all the cannon and stores of the enemy; after which *Rantzaw* proposed returning to *Denmark*: but king *Eric* in person determined to oppose him with a considerable army under his command, marching with that view to *Ebesfo*, through which the *Danes* were to pass. By a forced march however *Rantzaw* got before him, defeated *Bielke* a second time, who lay in ambush in *Filshult*, to revenge his defeat at *Norby*, took him prisoner, together with *Steen Banner*, another officer of distinction. *Rantzaw* then marched along the coasts over the ice, and at last arrived in *Denmark*, loaded with spoils and covered with glory.

(B) From this and a number of other circumstances, we read of a ship that mounted two hundred pieces of cannon. we may conclude, that the *Danes* either built their ships very large, or crowded them with men. In one place

a THE civil wars breaking out again in *Sweden*, prevented the return of the *Danish* army in the spring. Duke *John*, and the king's other brothers, who were at the head of the rebellion, dispatched an envoy to *Copenhagen*, to demand a truce for six months, on terms so advantageous to *Frederick*, that he consented. So strenuously had the malcontents exerted themselves during this respite, that they deposed *Eric*, placed his brother *John* on the throne, and sent ambassadors to *Denmark* to procure a prolongation of the truce, or if possible to conclude a solid peace. Accordingly terms were signed at *Roschild*, as advantageous to *Frederick* as they were burthenome and oppressive to *Sweden*. Among other articles it was stipulated, that *John* should pay the *Danish* troops for the whole time of the truce; that he should restore all the *Danish* ships made prize during the course of the war; that he should surrender *Jemtland*, *Oesel*, *Sonneberg*, *Lealla*, *Hapsal*, *Lode*, and *Warberg*, and cede all claim to *Norway*, the isle of *Gotbland*, *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking*. It was likewise agreed, that *Frederick* should be suffered to quarter the arms of *Denmark*; and that *John* should pay to the city of *Lubeck* the old debt due from *Gustavus*, and indemnify the regency in their losses in the course of the war. Peace with Sweden.

It was not possible that a peace so injurious to *Sweden* could be of long duration. It was immediately pretended there, that the ambassadors had exceeded their instructions; for that reason they were ill received at their return, and the whole nation determined rather to prosecute the war, than ratify so oppressive a treaty. *John* made fresh overtures, and *Frederick* refused all new propositions. Accordingly the war was renewed, with more animosity than ever. *Wardeberg* was besieged by the *Danes*, and stoutly defended by the gar- The war re-
newed.
A. D. 1569.

c rison, but at length forced to surrender, after the brave *Rantzaw* had lost his life before it. The *Swedes* invaded *Schonen*, and the *Danes* retaliated by carrying desolation and all the horrors of war into *West-Gotbland*. However, as these expedients produced nothing decisive, and were equally ruinous to both nations, *Frederick* consented to the negotiation proposed, and the means of establishing peace on a solid and lasting foundation.

While the treaty of peace was in agitation, *Livonia*, always the theatre of war, determined to throw off its allegiance to the *Muscovites*, *Poles*, and *Swedes*, all of whom had claims upon this province. The design of the inhabitants was to put themselves under the protection of the duke of *Holstein*, who should take the title of king of *Livonia*. They A. D. 1570.
Duke of Hol-
stein chosen
king of Livo-
nia.

d had always expressed great affection for the *Germans*, and now promised themselves a golden age, under a sovereign of that country. The notion was perfectly agreeable to the duke's ambition; his nephew the king of *Denmark* not only confirmed him in these sentiments, but sent an ambassador to the czar to treat seriously of the affair. The embassy succeeded, *Magnus* duke of *Holstein* visited the court of *Moscow*, was received there with all the honours due to majesty, acknowledged king of *Livonia*, on condition that he paid a certain tribute to the czar; and it was farther agreed, that it should remain hereditary in the male line of his family, or in failure of issue, devolve on the duke of *Holstein* or king of *Denmark* for the time being, and never revert to the czar. Immediately the *Muscovites* and *Danes* joined to drive the *Swedes* out of the country; and the former immediately laid siege to *Re-
vel*. This it was that induced *John* to hasten the peace with *Denmark*. He saw himself pressed on the one side by the czar, and on the other by *Frederick*. He sent instructions therefore to his ambassadors immediately to sign a treaty with *Denmark*, on the best conditions they could obtain. The chief articles agreed to by both sides were, that *John* should resign all pretensions to *Norway*, *Schonen*, *Halland*, *Bleking*, *Jemtland*, and *Hermdallen*; that the *Danes* should restore *Elfsburg* on the one hand, and the *Swedes* eight ships which they had taken, on the other; that his *Swedish* majesty should pay to *Frederick* the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, to indemnify him in the expences of a standing army kept during the truce concluded with him, while he was only duke; and that the affairs of *Livonia*, and his *Danish* majesty's bearing the arms of *Sweden*, should be deferred to a future occasion. Their majesties, to render this peace the more durable, subjected the party who should infringe it, to a penalty of a million of gold. Peace with Sweden.

f *FREDERICK* did not content himself with having procured an advantageous and solid peace to his subjects; he laboured to insure their happiness by establishing the succession. With this view he married the princess *Sophia*, daughter of *Ulric* duke of *Mecklenburg*. The ceremony of his nuptials were performed at *Copenhagen*; besides which nothing considerable occurred for this or the preceding year, except the death of *Dorothea*, widow of *Christian III.* and the great dispute between the duke of *Holstein* and town of *Hamburg*, which does not immediately fall in with this part of our history, though the *Danish* monarch bore a considerable share in that business. We cannot however avoid taking notice of a quarrel A. D. 1572.

g between the duke of *Mecklenburg* and the city of *Hamburg*, which obliged *Frederick* to equip a fleet, that blocked up *Rostock* by sea, while the duke's forces besieged it by land; and likewise to seize upon all the merchantmen. But this affair was soon terminated, and *Livonia* remained alone the only cause why *Frederick* did not enjoy profound peace.

FRE-

A. D. 1575. *FREDERICK* kept a lieutenant in *Livonia*, and the czar an army, who committed horrible cruelties. Differences arose between the generals; the king remonstrated, and the czar excused himself, without redressing the complaints. Matters were at last carried, pretty high; but his *Danish* majesty chose rather to terminate the dispute by negotiations, than enter upon a war with this rude and potent nation. a

FROM this time to the year 1582, nothing memorable occurred, unless we reckon a solemn embassy from *England*, with the order of the Garter sent by queen *Elizabeth* to his *Danish* majesty, a transaction worth recording. It was the year following that several commercial powers began to complain of the duties exacted in the *Sound*. The *English*, *Dutch*, *Lubeckers*, and all the hanse-towns, remonstrated against this exaction, as arbitrary and a discouragement to trade. The hanse-towns carried their grievances before the emperor; b and the king, to shew that he did not acknowledge the imperial authority, ordered the duties on all their ships to be doubled; a punishment which, however, was but of short duration. On their submission he revoked those last instructions, and put the *Lubeck* traders on the same footing as other nations. Policy led him to this condescension; for he had formed a design of reducing *Rostock*; and the fear lest the *Lubeckers* might interpose, determined him upon keeping measures with them.

A. D. 1583.

Quarrel between Frederick and the commercial states.

THIS year the duchy of *Courland* reverted to the crown of *Denmark*, by the death of *Magnus*, duke of *Holstein*, without issue. It occasioned disputes between the king of *Poland* and his *Danish* majesty, which both consented to leave to the arbitration of *George-Frederick*, duke of *Prussia*. This politic prince turned the negotiation to his own advantage. He proposed, that the duchy in dispute should remain in his hands; that his *Danish* majesty would rest satisfied with the sum of thirty thousand *Joachims*, paid to him as an equivalent; and that his *Polish* majesty should acquiesce in the duchies being left in trust with the duke of *Prussia*. He succeeded in all, and in this manner became possessed of a province which fairly belonged to the crown of *Denmark*; the only instance perhaps where c

A. D. 1588. *Frederick* was over-reached in politics. This year it was that a treaty of marriage was set on foot between the young king of *Scotland*, *James VI.* and a princess of *Denmark*, which was frustrated for a long time by the intrigues of queen *Elizabeth*, as we shall see in its proper place. Several other embassies on various occasions arrived at *Copenhagen*, which shew nothing more than that his *Danish* majesty began to interest himself more in the politics of d *Europe*, than his predecessors had done. *Frederick* had indeed, for several years, preserved his kingdom in peace, rendered his commerce flourishing, and his counsels respectable. In the year 1558, he was attacked by a distemper, which daily encreased, and at last carried him off in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and twenty-ninth of his reign.

His death and character.

FREDERICK was a prince, respected at least as much as any of his predecessors. To an undaunted courage, deep penetration, and great stability of sentiment, he joined a magnificence that cast a lustre on all his actions; nor was he less remarkably distinguished for the qualities of the heart. His great tenderness and affection for his subjects gained their love, and his abilities secured their esteem. He always expressed the utmost regard to justice, and even directed his conduct by the dictates of equity. He avoided war merely e to free his country from the consequent troubles; and because his ability in the cabinet procured all the advantages he could expect from the sword. In a word, his public and private character equally merit admiration, and to be transmitted as an example to posterity, how much the conduct of an individual can influence the counsels, not only of one nation but of all the neighbouring powers, secure the felicity of kingdoms, and bestow the blessings of peace and tranquillity upon millions, whose well-being depends upon the wisdom of their governors^a.

C H R I S T I A N IV.

Christian IV. elected king, and a regency appointed.

IMMEDIATELY after the interment of *Frederick*, his son *Christiau IV.* then but eleven f years of age, was proclaimed king of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and four regents appointed to hold the reins of authority during his minority. As the kingdom had for several years enjoyed profound peace, the regency was in no danger of being now disturbed with the noise and tumults of war; and it greatly encreased their security, that the domestic factions in *Sweden* prevented that nation from resuming the affair of *Livonia*, and other subjects which had long been the occasion of differences between the two crowns.

FOR several years the chief care of the regency was to attend to the education of the young monarch, whose promising qualities every day unfolded themselves to the great joy of his subjects. Masters were procured in all the different accomplishments of mind and body, from *Germany*, *France*, *England*, and the politest courts in *Europe*. *Christian* more g

^a Vid. CHYTRÆI Chron. Passim. PUFFEND. Hist. l. i, p. 2. Des Roch. t. v. sub vit. FRED. Loc. Hist. sub hoc Reg. cum multis aliis.

- a than answered expectation; he not only was able to answer all the ambassadors in their several languages, but to write out instructions with his own hand to his ministers, at an age when other princes receive praise for writing a common letter of compliment. He was perfectly skilled in all the manly exercises, and took great delight in exhibiting his adroitness to the people. In a word, when he arrived at a proper age to take upon him the weight of government, he perfectly understood the true interest of his subjects, and directed all his views to promote this end. Nor did he confine his politics wholly to the good of *Denmark*; he extended them to distant countries, and laboured assiduously to establish the peace of *Europe*, in order to stop the rapid progress of the *Turks*. In the year 1596, he married *Anna-Catharina*, daughter to the elector of *Brandenburg*, which is the only occurrence in the *Danish* annals that merits notice, until about the year 1608, when a coldness, under the exterior of esteem and friendship, begun to discover itself between the monarchs of *Denmark* and *Sweden*^b.

- CHRISTIAN* could not forget that his ancestors had formerly worn the crown of *Sweden*, A. D. 1609. and *Charles IV.* beheld with uneasiness so many fair provinces, which he looked upon as fiefs of his crown, in the hands of the king of *Denmark*. This mutual jealousy occasioned reciprocal complaints and upbraidings, which at last terminated in a war; for which both parties were prepared with specious pretexts. *Charles* had assumed the title of king of *Lapland*, which gave great offence to *Frederick*, who looked upon it as a dependence on *Norway*. In all his declarations against *Sweden*, this was mentioned as a principal grievance, and used as one of the strongest reasons for the war that ensued in the year 1611, and begun by the siege of *Calmar*. His *Danish* majesty sat down with a powerful army before this city in the month of *May*, attacked it with great vigour, and was received with equal courage. Batteries of heavy cannon were erected and played with so much success, that a breach was effected on the twenty-seventh, upon which the town was stormed, taken, and the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, put to the sword.

- The city was no sooner taken than *Christian* invested the citadel, which he besieged for two months, during which time a variety of transactions passed between the two nations. His *Danish* majesty had left the command of the army to *Lucas Crabbe*, and was gone to *Copenhagen* but a few days before *Charles*, with an army of sixteen thousand men, encamped at a little distance from *Calmar*, offered battle, fought and defeated the *Danish* general, and raised the siege. His success here was soon followed by the surprisal of *Christianstadt*; the loss of which town gave a sensible uneasiness to the *Danish* monarch.

- CHRISTIAN* soon retrieved his losses, by several little advantages by sea and land gained over the enemy, which so enspirited his army, that the siege of the citadel of *Calmar* was resumed, and the garrison forced to surrender. It was supposed indeed, that the *Swedish* governor was corrupted, as he wanted neither men, ammunition, nor provision, when the capitulation was signed. *Borkholm*, and the isle of *Oeland*, yielded soon after to the *Danish* arms; and so many other advantages followed, that *Charles*, incensed at the reiterated disgraces he had sustained, sent a challenge to *Christian* in terms the most opprobrious he could devise, which the *Danish* king declined with an air of contempt, that is supposed to have shortened the days of his *Swedish* majesty, by encreasing a malady, with which he had for some time been afflicted^c.

- On the accession of the great *Gustavus Adolphus* to the throne of *Sweden*, fortune would seem to have forsaken *Christian*. There appeared an immediate change in the face of affairs; the *Danes* were chased out of *Oeland* and *Borkholm*, and their army reduced to such straits, that the soldiers disbanded themselves, and left their officers to oppose the enemy. Happily for *Christian* the *Swedish* king was greatly embarrassed with the *Muscovites*, which prevented his giving his whole attention to the war with *Denmark*. He made use of this favourable opportunity, retrieved in some measure the honour of his arms, and, after several little advantages, was enabled to conclude a peace upon equal terms, through the mediation of the king of *England*, about the year 1613. By this peace he restored the city of *Calmar*, the isle of *Oeland*, and fortrefs of *Risby*, but retained *Elfsburg*, until his *Swedish* majesty should redeem it, by paying a million of crowns stipulated in the treaty.

- During the late war the duties of the *Sound* were greatly augmented, and the *Dutch* and hanse-towns waited with impatience for a peace, which they were in hopes would reduce them to the old standard. Finding however their expectations disappointed, they remonstrated earnestly to the court of *Denmark*; and the *Lubeckers*, in particular, carried complaints before the emperor. Finding that his imperial majesty declined interfering, they struck up a league with the *Hollanders*, in defence of the freedom of navigation, which produced a treaty of alliance between the courts of *Copenhagen* and *Madrid*. Upon this remonstrances grew warmer, and every thing was tending to an open rupture, when

^b CHYTRÆI Chron. p. 204.^c PUFFEND. l. i.

Frederick, to avoid the consequences of a war with a republic now grown formidable, consented to lessen the duties, out of the great friendship and respect which he bore to the states of *Holland*, as the treaty expressed it. a

A. D. 1614. For some time *Denmark* enjoyed perfect tranquility, and *Christian* gave such attention and encouragement to trade, that the commerce carried on by his subjects began to excite the jealousy of neighbouring powers. *Gustavus* entertained fears, that prosperity and wealth would excite *Christian* to fresh enterprizes against *Sweden*, while he was encumbered by a war with *Russia*. To prevent a rupture, which could not fail of proving inconvenient at this time, he assiduously cultivated the friendship of the *Danish* monarch, and even proceeded so far in his advances, as to demand an interview, which was granted on the frontiers d.

At this meeting the two monarchs expressed the utmost esteem for each other; and as a testimony of his regard, *Gustavus* paid the money stipulated by the last treaty, and *Christian* restored *Elfsburg*. b

A. D. 1621. No ambitious sentiments, no jealousy or resentment against any neighbouring power, destroyed the peace of *Denmark* for a series of years. Under a wise monarch, who knew how to profit by the opportunity, she enjoyed all the felicity that peace and good government could give. At length, however, the affairs of the empire began to mix with the counsels of his *Danish* majesty, and he soon found himself plunged into an alliance that was productive of great misery to his dominions. At the town of *Sigebert*, in the year 1621, a treaty of alliance was concluded between their *Britannic*, *Danish*, and *Swedish* majesties; c

Denmark enjoys profound tranquility for a series of years. the electors *Palatine* and *Brandenburg*; the dukes of *Holstein*, *Lunenburg*, *Brunswic*, *Mecklenburg*, and *Pomerania*; the states-general of *Holland*, and all the Protestant princes in *Lower-Saxony*. The object of this league is variously related; though the most probable opinion is, that it was intended to succour the elector-palatine, to furnish him with twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse, to drive *Spinola* out of his dominions. It is added, that his *Danish* majesty was charged by the league with sending a magnificent embassy to *Vienna*, to beseech the emperor to revoke the imperial ban, fulminated against the elector-palatine, and to restore that prince to all his honours and dignities, as the only means of re-establishing the peace of the empire. To the same purpose he wrote a letter to *Spinola*, expecting him to withdraw his forces out of the *Palatinate*. d

A. D. 1623. NEAR two years were consumed in negotiations in favour of this unhappy prince, when *Christian*, perceiving that nothing was to be expected from embassies, determined to use force, and restore the elector by dint of arms (A). He was chosen head of the league, and captain-general of the forces of *Lower-Saxony*, where troops were levied with all possible expedition. Count *Tilly*, the imperial general, wrote to the princes and states of the lower circle, exhorting them to remain firm in their obedience to the emperor; and his *Danish* majesty answered this letter, and other remonstrances from the imperial court, by a writing addressed to the emperor, declaring his reasons for taking arms. The banks of the *Weser* became the theatre of war, and the rendezvous of four great armies. It would be unnecessary to relate the operations of the campaign, as that has already been minutely done in the history of the empire. Sufficient it is, that the king received a wound in the head by a fall from his horse; that he distinguished his military abilities in his choice of a camp, which covered *Neenburg*, then besieged by *Tilly*, greatly distressed the besiegers, and plentifully supplied his own army, and the garrison, with all manner of provisions. *Tilly* was forced to raise the siege; the king sent detachments to harass his rear; but the count being joined by *Wallestein*, turned the scales, cut off all the out-parties of the army of the league, and particularly that commanded by the brave colonel *Oberntrand*, who was killed. e

A. D. 1625. His military operations in Germany. During the last campaign no general engagement happened between the two armies, and the winter was spent in fruitless negotiations of peace. Early in the spring his majesty assembled his army at *Rottenburg*: it was numerous, and made a fine appearance, but unhappily composed of new raised recruits, with which he was to oppose two veteran armies, commanded by four of the best and most experienced officers in the world. It was therefore wisely determined not to hazard a battle, but to divide the enemy's forces, and carry the war into the heart of their country. A variety of manœuvres were made by both sides. *Mansfeld* was defeated by the imperial general *Wallestein*, and the king at length drawn into an engagement with count *Tilly*, in which he was equally unfortunate. His infantry was cut in pieces, above half his officers were killed and wounded, two thousand men taken

A. D. 1626. Christian defeated by Tilly. f

^d PUFFEND. l. i. p. 2.

(A) This year it was that the new city of *Frederickstadt* upon the *Eyder*, was peopled by the fugitive *Armenians* from the *Netherlands*, at the invitation of the duke of *Holstein*. The kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, seeing the happy consequences of drawing a

number of industrious foreigners into their dominions, granted the same privileges at *Gluckstadt* in *Denmark*, and *Godstadt* in *Sweden*, both which places soon became rich and flourishing.

a prisoners in *Lutter*, and the king forced to make a retreat, the most arduous that is recorded in history, with his cavalry^a.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great loss he sustained in this retreat, it afflicted him less than A. D. 1627. the news he received of count *Mansfeld's* death, whom he regarded as the right hand of the Protestant cause. From this time his affairs began to fall into disorder; nor could his utmost diligence, and the exertion of his great abilities, retrieve them. Driven out of all the places he possessed in *Lower Saxony*, he was pursued into the duchy of *Holstein*, now become the theatre of war. *Tilly* was no less successful here than he had been in *Saxony*; and his conquests were more rapid, as he was now joined by *Wallestein*, before whom every thing yielded. The *Danes* were driven from all their posts and fortresses, and of the whole duchy there remained only in the king's hands the towns of *Rendsburg* and *Gluckstadt*; to the latter of which he was forced to set fire, after having thrown all the cannon into the sea. *Rendsburg* met with the same fate; and the Imperialists had now nothing to oppose their passage into *Jutland*. *The king's affairs fall in disorder.*

b *CHRISTIAN*, incensed and ashamed of such manifold disgraces, collected his whole force with a resolution to dispute the farther progress of the enemy; but he was deserted by his men, who were terrified by the name of *Tilly*. In this situation the senate began to apprehend a revolution in the kingdom, from the general murmurings of the people. Assembling at *Copenhagen*, they wrote to the emperor, exhorting him to put an end to the war, and using all the arguments in their power to prevail on him to withdraw *Tilly* from *Denmark*, where he was making terrible ravages. They demanded, as the least favour they could expect from his imperial majesty from the antient regard and friendship between the house of *Austria* and the states of *Denmark*, that he would grant a suspension of arms in *Jutland*, in order to negotiate a general peace. Finally, they engaged to prevail on his *Danish* majesty to accept of reasonable terms, and requested, that the emperor would send commissioners to any place he would please to appoint, to treat with the king's plenipotentiaries about the means of establishing the public repose, and terminating those differences which occasioned the spilling of so much human blood. *He is defeated a second time.*

c IN the situation in which matters then stood, no great success was expected from this advance made by the senate. His majesty therefore made vigorous preparations for war, and renewed the treaties of alliance with *England*, *Sweden*, and the states-general of the United Provinces. Having received considerable reinforcements from his allies, he fitted out a fleet, put to sea, reduced the isle of *Femeren*, taking the imperial garrison prisoners, part of whom were cruelly murdered by the peasants of *Stormar*, obliged *Eckelenfort* to surrender, and gained some other advantages, which were counterbalanced by an equal number of towns reduced by the enemy. Colonel *Morgan*, and the *English* garrison in *Stadt*, were taken prisoners by the Imperialists, who next laid siege to *Gluckstadt* and *Krempe*, the former having been repaired after the late fire. Here the garrison defended themselves with such unparalleled bravery, that the Imperialists were forced by the frequent sallies of the besieged to abandon their posts, and raise the siege. Both armies were now divided into a variety of corps, and the king himself carried on the war in *Pomerania*, where, after possessing himself of the isle of *Usedom*, and city of *Wolgast*, he raised works round the latter, in which he was attacked by the Imperialists, and defeated, after a bloody engagement that lasted seven hours. In consequence *Wolgast* and *Usedom* fell into the enemy's hands; the siege of *Gluckstadt* was resumed by *Papenbeim*, *Stralsund* blocked up by another body of the enemy's troops, and the Imperialists were superior in every country where the war was carried on. *A. D. 1628. Christian gains some advantages.*

d TIRED out with a tedious and consuming war, both sides at length became eager for peace; and the first propositions were made by the four Catholic electors. They sent deputies to the imperial court, requesting his majesty to send commissioners to *Lubeck*, to meet those of his *Danish* majesty, and the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*. The emperor complied; but the terms he granted seemed so exorbitant and unreasonable to the *Danish* ministers, that they threatened to break off the negotiation, if conditions more equitable could not be obtained. This spirit in the *Danish* envoys had the desired effect; fresh instructions were sent to the imperial commissioners, and a peace was concluded on these conditions; that his majesty should never interfere in the affairs of *Denmark*, otherwise than as superior of *Holstein*; that himself and successors should renounce all claim on the archbishoprics and bishoprics of the empire; that all cities, towns, and forts, taken from his *Danish* majesty during the course of the war, together with the cannon, &c. should be restored; that the prisoners should be mutually released without ransom; and finally, that his *Danish* majesty should cede to the houses of *Sleswick* and *Holstein-Gottorp*, the isle of *Femeren*, and those parts of the islands of *Warde* and *Sulde*, which fell to them by heredi- *Proposals for peace. Peace concluded.*

^a THUAN. Hist. l. viii. t. iv. Memoires de Danem. p. 97.

tary right, reserving to himself the right of superior, as inherent in the crown of a Denmark^b.

A. D. 1629. THESE conditions the king refused to ratify; they were returned for amendment; and after receiving some slight alteration, were signed on the seventh of May, 1629. Peace was in this manner concluded; but the public tranquillity was by no means restored. *Christian* interceded with the emperor in behalf of the dukes of *Mecklenburg*; he remonstrated strongly in their favour, and published a spirited manifesto, justifying the conduct of these princes with respect to the affairs of *Lower Saxony*; but he could obtain no conditions for them, unless he stipulated not to molest the duke of *Holstein*, against whom he bore a mortal grudge, on account of his taking part with the Imperialists in the late war. His resentment went so far as to engage him to commence hostilities in *Holstein*, instead of withdrawing his army from that country, as the emperor had done. The flames of war were ready again to break out, when his majesty perceiving the discontent that prevailed among his subjects, dropt his quarrel, and applied his attention to repairing the disorders occasioned by the war in his dominions. He began with re-establishing the city *Gluckstadt*, which had greatly suffered by the variety of fortune sustained in the course of the war, and was in a manner depopulated by the length of the last siege. With this view he bestowed upon it a great number of important privileges, and imposed duties on all the ships that passed the *Elbe*, to establish a fund for its aggrandisement.

A. D. 1630. THIS occasioned a difference with the city of *Hamburg*, who apprehended a prejudice to her commerce from these duties, however moderate. The magistrates sent ambassadors to *Denmark*, complaining that their ships were arrested at *Gluckstadt*, for not paying a new duty, which could not be imposed without the emperor's consent. Their remonstrances were answered, both sides grew warm, and hostilities insensibly commenced. The cities of *Lubeck* and *Bremen* interposed their mediation, but could not obtain an accommodation; his majesty was determined not to remit the duty; and the city of *Hamburg* was no less resolute in the refusal to pay it. At length war was formally declared, and all the shipping belonging to *Hamburg* seized in the ports of *Denmark* and *Norway*. The *Hamburgers* retaliated by taking some *Danish* ships at sea; each refused to make restitution, and thus the repeated endeavours of the regency of *Lubeck*, to accommodate matters, were baffled.

In the mean time his *Danish* majesty gave orders to his fleet, consisting of thirty-six ships of war, to enter the *Elbe*. The *Hamburgers* opposed the entrance of the *Danish* admiral with twenty-two men of war, six fireships, and twenty smaller vessels, on board which were two thousand land-forces. For some days the fleets anchored in sight of each other, then they drew nearer, and began a furious cannonading. *Christian* at last joined his fleet, and resolving to push up to the city of *Hamburg*, he proceeded to erect a fort on the banks of the river, with intention to facilitate his operations, and distress the city. This produced an engagement, which terminated to the king's advantage, the enemy being forced to retire higher up the river.

Soon after this *Christian* was prevented from prosecuting his resentment against *Hamburg*, on account of a jealousy between him and the court of *Sweden*, which ended in a war. The *Hamburg* war was entirely dropt, from the time that the princes of *Lower Saxony* met in that city, to deliberate on the means of throwing off the imperial yoke, and taking part with king *Gustavus*, whose rapid conquests pointed him out as the surest protector. *Christian* could not behold, without envy, the aggrandisement of this prince; and was particularly jealous at seeing him raised to the honour of being set at the head of the Protestant league, over which he himself presided in the last war. However, an exterior friendship was preserved; the two kings expressed the utmost esteem for each other, but in terms of cold civility, that denoted but little sincerity in their professions. The sparks of mutual jealousy were artfully blown up by the courts of *Vienna* and *Brussels*, who desired nothing more eagerly than a rupture between the northern crowns. *Denmark* they knew was capable of making a powerful diversion, and drawing off the attention of *Gustavus* from the war in the empire. *Pappenheim* was employed to kindle the fire of sedition; and he very artfully managed the temper of his *Danish* majesty. Finding that he could not long keep his ground in the diocese of *Bremen*, he offered to put it into *Christian's* hands. The states of *Denmark* met to deliberate on these propositions; all the nobility were for rejecting *Pappenheim's* offers, they saw through his meaning, and sent an embassy to *Sweden*, to renew the friendship between the two crowns.

A. D. 1632. IN this manner was the rupture between the northern crowns postponed, only to light up the subsequent war with more fury. The astonishing success of *Gustavus's* conquests in *Germany*; induced *Christian* to offer his mediation to terminate the differences between his imperial majesty and the king of *Sweden*; his proposal was embraced with pleasure by the

^b THUAN. Hist. I. viii. PUFFEND. Rer. Suec. Hist. I. i. Lettres de SECKEND. p. 29.

- a court of *Vienna*, who were at that very time apprised by *Walstein*, that the *Swedish* camp was inaccessible, the king's forces formidable, his conduct admirable, and no probability of forcing him: However, *Christian's* mediation ended in nothing. The court of *Vienna* was not yet sufficiently humbled, to grant such terms as the great soul of *Gustavus* could receive. His *Danish* majesty it was thought, shewed a sort of bias to the court of *Vienna*, that gave umbrage to the *Swedish* monarch; but it was the death of the archbishop of *Bremen*, that first produced any thing like an open rupture between the two crowns. *Frederick*, son to the king of *Denmark*, and coadjutor to the late archbishop, intended to seize this opportunity of gaining possession of *Stade*, *Buckstade*, and other places held by the *Swedes*. It was not the business of *Sweden* to embroil herself at that time with a neighbouring power; still, however, the regency held out a good countenance, and kept their ground until the defeat of the elector of *Saxony*, the duke of *Lunenbourg*, and the imperial army ruined the project of driving the *Swedes* out of *Germany*, and obliged *Frederick* to drop his design.

Christian offers his mediation to restore peace to Germany.

- ANOTHER scheme still more difficult of execution was formed by *Christian*, which was the more immediate occasion of a rupture with *Sweden*. He had conjointly with *Spain* and the duke of *Holstein*, planned a scheme for ruining the *Dutch* commerce, and at the same time conquering *Sweden*; a scheme so vast and romantic, that it is astonishing it should ever have entered the brain of a prince so solid and judicious as *Christian*. He was to begin with *Sweden*, which, once subdued, it would be no difficult matter to destroy the *Dutch* traffic in the *Baltick*. One *Brockman*, a *German*, who had resided long in *Spain*, had likewise given in a project for ruining the trade of the United Provinces to the *Levant*, by opening an immediate intercourse with *Persia*, by means of the rivers falling into the *Baltick*, and avoiding the circuit of the *Sound*, by cutting a canal through that neck of land belonging *Holstein*, which separates the *Baltick* from the ocean. The duke of *Holstein* was full of the notion, and actually sent an embassy to the court of *Persia*. The czar was applied to for liberty to pass through his country, and ten tons of gold offered him as an inducement; the canal was actually set about; the *Germans* laughed at the extravagance of the notion, and the chancellor *Oxenstiern*, in *Sweden*, said no more than that the duke, who was a prudent prince, must certainly have some designs extremely mysterious.

A. D. 1673.
A vast and chimerical project formed by Christian.

- CHRISTIAN*, under various pretences, assembled an army in order to perform his part of the contract. He likewise got a fleet ready to put to sea on the first notice, but took the utmost care not to excite suspicions in the neighbouring powers. *Spain* embarked a great number of troops, who were to pass the *Sound*, and join the *Danes* before *Stockholm*; but unhappily the whole scheme was frustrated by the defeat of his Catholic majesty's fleet in the *British* channel, by *Tromp* the *Dutch* admiral^a.

Christian's project defeated.

- In this manner things remained till the year 1641, when deputies from *Vienna*, *Madrid*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, met at *Osnabrug* to establish a general peace, which was all at once broke off, by the sudden irruption of the *Swedish* forces into *Denmark*. General *Torsten-son* had passed from *Lower Saxony* to *Holstein*, where he took *Keil*, *Ransburg*, and the fortrefs of *Rantzaw*, three places of great importance. Several other towns shared the same fate; and he even obliged the duke to join him, and deliver into his hands his young son, to be sent as an hostage to the queen, his mistrefs. All the world was astonished at this procedure, which some thought rash, and all believed highly unjust, as the designs of *Christian* were not then universally known.

Irruption of the Swedish forces into Denmark, and their rapid conquests.

- THE grand mareschal of *Jutland* opposed the *Swedish* arms by remonstrances; but finding them ineffectual, he begun to make levies, and to secure the frontier by forts, which he threw up in a hurry. These were but weak barriers against *Torsten-son*, who demolished the forts, entered *Jutland*, levied heavy contributions, and made himself master of the whole country, except *Gluckstadt* and *Krempe*. In this manner were hostilities committed, and a bloody war carried on, without either side attempting to vindicate their conduct by open declarations. At last, however, the court of *Sweden* thought proper to publish a manifesto, and gave, as a reason for her conduct, the clandestine treaty concluded some years before between *Spain*, *Denmark*, and the house of *Holstein*; the duties laid on their shipping in the *Sound*, contrary to the antient treaties between the kingdoms; with a variety of other reasons, which princes never are at a loss for, to justify any act of violence.

A. D. 1644.

- THE *Danish* historians alledge, that, far from effacing, this manifesto rather increased the public opinion of her *Swedish* majesty's injustice, especially when her sophisms were compared with the solid and fair arguments of his *Danish* majesty. Even the *Swedish* historians give up this last irruption as unjustifiable, which we must own appears to us extraordinary, as there were not wanting reasons sufficient to vindicate it. It was plain from the whole of *Christian's* conduct before and after the death of the great *Gustavus*, that he

^a CHYTRÆI Chron. ibid. PUFFEND. ubi supra.

entertained prejudices against the court of *Sweden*, offered his mediation to terminate the differences in *Germany*, but shewed a partiality for the house of *Austria*, made preparations to invade *Sweden* during the confusion consequent on the death of *Adolphus*, and the first years of the minority of *Christina*; with a great many other provocations, which, though at some little distance of time, were demonstrative proofs of his inclinations, and in our opinion a full justification of the proceeding of *Oxinstiern* and the *Swedish* general *Torsten*son. It is certain, that *Christian* beheld with a jealous eye the footing the *Swedes* got in *Pomerania*, which proved of the utmost service in extending their commerce; and that it was no less certain, that he offered his mediation with a view of obliging them to relinquish all they possessed in *Germany*, for a sum of money. Upon the whole, instead of reproaching with acrimony this proceeding of the *Swedish* ministry, as all former historians have done, we cannot help esteeming it a masterly stroke of just reprisal, planned with astonishing secrecy, and executed with admirable rapidity.

On the other hand, we cannot but do justice to the vigilance, activity, and address of *Christian*, in putting a stop to the farther progress of the enemy. Already in possession of *Jutland* and *Holstein*, count *Horn* was preparing to invade *Fionia* and *Zealand*; but was prevented by the condition into which the king put all his fortresses. The viceroy of *Sweden* had orders to march with six thousand men into *Westrogoth*; but he was prevented from making this diversion, which would probably have obliged *Horn* to evacuate *Schonen*, into which province he lately made an irruption. His majesty sent detachments to harass the *Swedish* army in *Jutland*, equipped a fleet, which took some of the richest *Swedish* merchantmen, complained by ambassadors sent to the states of the United Provinces, of the violence committed by *Sweden*, and demanded succours, but could obtain none.

Count Valde-
mar arrested
in Russia.

To complete the measure of his grief, his natural son count *Valdemar*, for whom he entertained a very particular affection, was arrested in *Russia*, whither he had been sent to espouse the czar's daughter. No reason was given for this violent measure, besides his refusal to conform to the religion established in that country: but however affected *Christian* might be with the ruin of his dominions and imprisonment of his son, he was not disconcerted. On the contrary, he summoned up all his resolution on this occasion, and determined to combat ill fortune by perseverance, diligence, and courage. In spite of his grey hairs, he determined to command in person an expedition he meditated against *Sweden*, which he knew would oblige the *Swedes* to evacuate his dominions for the defence of their own. Setting sail he arrived before *Gottenburg*, with a view to besiege it by sea, while a body of forces he had ordered to meet him invested it by land.

Count Horn
relieves and
raises the siege
of Gotten-
burg.

HORN had no sooner intelligence of this expedition, than he marched with the utmost diligence for the protection of *Gottenburg*, frustrated the king's design of reducing the city, but did not defeat the rest of his project, that of drawing part of the *Swedish* army out of his dominions. The count's army would indeed have been insufficient to save *Gottenburg*, had not a fleet of thirty *Dutch* ships appeared off the harbour to assist him. This squadron the *Swedes* obtained from private persons in *Holland*, the states refusing to declare against *Denmark*, though it is probable they connived at these succours. *Christian* was by this means baffled in his attempt on *Gottenburg*; but he had the good fortune to frustrate the enemy's designs in *Fionia*. Leaving the greater part of his fleet before *Gottenburg*, he set sail for *Copenhagen*, in order to solicit assistance from the emperor, with which he doubted not he should be able to drive the enemy out of *Jutland*. Immediately he sent an envoy to *Vienna*, and engaged to come to no agreement with *Sweden*, provided his imperial majesty would send him the promised succours. He added, that he could not avoid entertaining some suspicions of his imperial majesty's sincerity, as these succours had been so long withheld. The embassy had all the effect desired, the emperor ordered the count *Galas* to hasten his march, and takes effectual measures for assisting *Denmark*.

France offers
her mediation.

It was now that the court of *France* sent the sieur *de la Thuillerie* to *Copenhagen*, with instructions to reconcile the two northern crowns, if possible. The states-general likewise offered their mediation. Both ambassadors had an audience; but the king deferred giving an answer, until he had first engaged the *Swedish* fleet. *Nicholas Fleming*, the enemy's admiral, was sailed for *Christian* ports to consult with *Torsten*son on their future operations. Thither the king followed him with a squadron of forty-four ships of war, and came in sight at the time when *Fleming* was busy in landing the troops. It was certainly an omission that he did not attack him in this situation, while the fleet was in confusion; but *Christian* resolved to take no advantage, suffered him quietly to reembark the forces, and did not give the signal to engage before *Fleming* had formed the line, and stood out to sea in order of battle. His majesty in the *Trinity* bore up along-side the *Swedish* admiral, and began the fight, by a continual fire. The other divisions followed, and a general engagement commenced. Nothing could equal the king's eagerness and presence of mind; he gave orders

a orders with coolness in the midst of danger, and exposed his person, without regard to the consequence of his life. A musket bullet wounded him in the right eye, and the ball of a cannon drew blood from his left ear, yet did he remain unconcerned upon the deck, and could not be prevailed on to draw out of the line until his ship was disabled by the loss of her topmast and bowsprit. This accident and his wound gradually cooled the impetuosity of his officers, and furnished the *Swedish* admiral with an opportunity of retiring under cover of the night to *Christianpræst*, after an engagement that lasted for four hours.

The king gains an advantage over the Swedish fleet.

CHRISTIAN repaired his ships in the best manner possible, stood next day before the harbour, and endeavoured to draw the *Swedish* admiral to a second engagement; but perceiving he was determined to keep close, he landed four hundred men, who took possession of an eminence that commanded the harbour, erected batteries, and from thence played furiously on the enemy's shipping. *Fleming* was wounded in the knee by a cannon ball, and died two days after, which was the principal loss the *Swedes* sustained, as they had not above three hundred men killed in the preceding action, hot as it was. *Gustavus Wrangel* succeeded to his command, and gaining some advantage over the *Danes* on shore, he was encouraged by the ardour which this renewed in the seamen, to offer battle to the king's fleet. This however the *Danish* admiral declined, as his majesty was returned to *Copenhagen*, and had carried with him a considerable part of the squadron. It was this circumstance that made both nations claim the victory, and so incensed *Christian*, that he ordered admiral *Gbed* to be tried by a court-martial, condemned; and beheaded.

c His majesty was no sooner arrived at *Copenhagen*, than he made fresh remonstrances to the court of *Vienna*. The emperor had given instructions to general *Galas* to begin his march, seemed eager to assist *Denmark*, yet some obstructions had always interposed. At last, however, the imperial forces arrived on the frontiers of *Holstein* and *Sleswick*; but before they entered upon their operations, all parties began to listen to the propositions of the *French* ambassador, and the preliminaries of the peace of *Munster* were negotiating. With respect to the particular quarrel between the two northern crowns, the sieur *Thuillierie* managed the negotiation with so much address, that both consented to send commissaries to *Bosembroo*, to terminate the differences. Both sides however raised their pretensions high, and he in vain solicited a suspension of arms, during the sitting of the congress.

d Happy would it have been for *Denmark* had he succeeded; for soon after the two fleets met off the island *Femeren*, and engaged with the utmost acrimony. After a bloody and obstinate action, the *Danish* admiral, vice admiral, and twelve ships of war were taken, sunk, and destroyed, and four thousand men killed. In the chase several more were run ashore or taken, and of the whole *Danish* fleet, only two ships got safe into port. The victory was not gained without loss on the side of the *Swedes*; it however raised their courage, and furnished *Thuillierie* with fresh arguments to urge the king to peace. It was remarkable, however, that all *Christian's* proposals and replies tended rather to establish the general peace of *Europe*, as a mediator, than to terminate his own particular differences with *Sweden*. In the course of the war he had contracted an irreconcilable enmity to

Danes defeated at sea with prodigious loss.

e that kingdom, which was increased by his losses, that served only to sour his temper and whet his courage. *Christian* was at this time the oldest monarch in *Europe*, yet his councils were governed by that impetuous ardor which usually accompanies youth. It required all the masterly eloquence and ingenious address of the sieur *Thuillierie*, to prevail on him to act according to the dictates of prudence and necessity, rather than inclination, which would only have made him prolong the war, to the extinction of both monarchies. At last, however, he gave way to the remonstrances of the *French* minister. He saw his own dominions the theatre of war, and the horrid scene of blood, rapine, and disorder; he saw the tardiness of the imperial court, and that little stress was to be laid upon their promises; he saw all the commercial part of *Europe* ready to combine against him, if he kept up the high customs of the *Sound*, and yet this was one great means of being able to carry on the war. These considerations at length overcame his resentment, and he gave orders to his ministers f at *Brosembroo* to put the last hand to the treaty of peace in agitation.

A. D. 1645.
Peace concluded.

g By this treaty *Sweden* restored all the cities, towns, castles, fortresses, and lands, conquered during the war in *Jutland*, *Schonen*, *Halland*, *Bleking*, *Borkholm*, *Holstein*, *Stormar*, *Dithmarsch*, *Fionia*, and other parts of the *Danish* dominions. *Christian*, on his side, restored to the queen the provinces of *Femmland* and *Harndalen*; the isle of *Gothland*, with the city and citadel of *Wisby*, which had for so many ages been a bone of contention between the two kingdoms; the islands, and dependent branches of the *Baltick*, of *Oesel* and *Arnsburg*; together with some other places of less consideration. It was farther stipulated, that *Sweden* should possess the province of *Halland*, with all its cities, castles, and lands, for the space of thirty years as a full security of the right of navigation and commerce in the *Sound* and *Great Belt*, and of the complete performance of the present treaty.

SUCH were the hard terms to which the necessity of the times obliged *Christian* to accede. Just before the treaty was signed, a *Dutch* squadron of forty-eight sail had appeared in the *Sound*, with intention to join the *Swedes*; and this it was that obliged his majesty to consent to the last article of the treaty.

A. D. 1647. *THUILLERIE* was not contented with establishing peace between the northern crowns: he formed an alliance between the courts of *Versailles* and *Copenhagen*, by which the latter was prohibited from affording assistance, directly or indirectly, to the emperor. He next endeavoured to prevail on *Christina*, queen of *Sweden*, to relinquish her claim to *Bremen*, and restore *Frederick*, the king of *Denmark's* brother, to that archbishoprick; but her majesty was not in a humour to make any concessions to a prince who, she knew, bore a mortal aversion to *Sweden*. In the midst of this negotiation, and before the public tranquillity was established upon a solid basis, *Christian* was taken ill of a distemper, which alarmed the court, acquired great strength in a few days, and carried him off on the twenty-eighth of *February*, 1648, at the age of seventy-one and in the sixtieth year of his reign (A).

A. D. 1648. *CHRISTIAN* was possessed of admirable qualities of mind and body; but had a vindictive obstinacy of temper, which made him pursue his animosities beyond the dictates of prudence. To his last day he retained all the fire and vehemence of youth, commanded his fleets and armies in person, after he had wore the crown near sixty years; threw himself in the midst of dangers, at an age when the faculties of the mind and body are usually enervated; was to the last jealous and tenacious of the dignity of his crown, and the happiness of his people; though too strict a regard for the former proved all his life the destruction of the latter. On the whole, however, he was a monarch of an able head, strong arm, extensive capacity, and great magnanimity; qualities unhappily tinged with violent passions, which frequently obscured every ray of understanding, and locked up the exertion of that solid reason with which nature had endowed him (B).

Christian's death and character.

S E C T. XVI.

Containing the Affairs of Denmark to the Accession of Christian V.

F R E D E R I C K III.

Frederick III. **D**URING the late reign the nobility had greatly extended their privileges, and were now for raising *Valdemar* to the throne, in prejudice to his brother *Frederick*, the only legitimate child of the late king *Christian*. Almost all the king's daughters by his concubines were married to *Danish* noblemen, who, from this alliance, found means to break through the boundaries of the constitution, to exalt themselves on the ruin of the commons, and gratify their own lust of power at the expence of the royal prerogative. Their intention in bestowing the crown on *Valdemar*, was no other than because they expected to make their own terms with him; and, indeed, before they acknowledged *Frederick*, they reduced his prerogative within such narrow limits, and the rights of the people into so small a compass, that the one enjoyed no more than the shadow of sovereignty, and the other only the mere skeleton of departed liberty. The nobility alone enjoyed all posts of honour and profit; while the commons were excluded even from military preferments above the rank of captain. Those haughty lords now refused to pay the usual contributions towards the support of government, and threw the whole weight of taxes on the shoulders of their vassals and inferiors.

The Danish nobility extend their privileges.

THE late wars in *Germany* had destroyed the forces of *Denmark*; that with *Sweden* the marine of the kingdom; *Norway* seemed disposed to assume a republican form of government; the treasury was exhausted, private fortunes ruined; the nobility insolent; the people humble, but discontented; all grasped at something, and introduced the utmost confusion.

* Vid. PUFFEND. Hist. passim. CHYTRÆI Chron. p. 206, & seq. lib. citat. in not.

(A) Most modern writers, and in particular *Puffendorf*, and the author of the *Present State of Europe*, place this prince's death in the year 1649, which is certainly a mistake, as he died during the residence of the *French* ambassador in *Denmark*, and just at the time he was transacting the affair of *Bremen* (1)

(B) We must not close this prince's character without observing, that he was greatly addicted to venery, and actually divorced his queen to gratify an ambitious mistress: at least the affair was debated in the senate.

(1) Vid. Mem. de Chanute, p. 104. Pittorio Siri, tom. v. part. 2. Prelim. de Pax de Munster, tom. i. p. 208. Des Roches, tom. v p. 435.

- a Such was the state of *Denmark* when *Frederick* ascended the throne. He began his reign with concluding a treaty of alliance and redemption with the states-general of the United Provinces. By the first, the parties were bound to assist each other with four thousand men, in case either was attacked; and by the latter, the *Dutch* agreed to pay one hundred and fifty thousand florins yearly for the free passage of the *Sound*, and two hundred thousand rix dollars in advance at the conclusion of the treaty. Both the ministers and merchants of *Denmark* complained of this treaty, which was to remain in force. The ministry demonstrated, that the revenue lost five hundred thousand livres yearly by this redemption treaty; and the merchants dreaded that this loss would fall upon them, as the court would find it necessary to compensate the deficiency by other duties. Even the *Dutch* merchants were not satisfied, with respect to the benefit that would arise from it; yet did the states and his *Danish* majesty come to a solemn ratification towards the close of the year 1649, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the court of *Sweden*, and several commercial cities.

State of the kingdom.

- b To the disordered state of the kingdom may be added the mutual suspicions entertained by the courts of *Copenhagen* and *Stockholm* of designs upon each other; though, in fact, all these jealousies were without foundation, it being contrary to the true interest of either to come to a rupture. The *Swedes* had equipped a small squadron upon some secret design, and king *Frederick* had received ambassies from *Vienna* and *Madrid*. Both were alarmed: a thousand conjectures were formed, and all of them remote from the truth. A coldness likewise arose between the king and the grand marshal *Ulfeld*, whose influence in the kingdom was too great for a subject. A report that this minister had poisoned the late king, seemed to be countenanced by *Frederick*; and *Ulfeld* omitted nothing that could render himself more popular, in order to screen him from the king's resentment, and erect a barrier against the royal wrath, which he perceived gathering into a storm that might overwhelm him. Yet, after all, this minister was forced to escape in disguise from *Copenhagen*, and take shelter under the wing of queen *Christina*, who protected him, notwithstanding the countenance of friendship she assumed towards *Frederick*, until some years after he was acknowledged the plenipotentiary of *Sweden* in the reign of *Charles X*.

The grand marshal Ulfeld disgraced.

- d This year the elector of *Brandenburg* sent an envoy to *Copenhagen*, to negotiate a society of commerce and navigation to the *East-Indies*, and particularly the island of *Ceylon*, between the subjects of *Denmark* and the electorate. It was proposed that a joint stock should be raised, two thirds by the king, and the remainder by the elector; and that four large ships should sail in the spring with an ambassador on board, who should remain governor of the settlements they might establish. *Sweden* beheld with jealousy these negotiations: the remonstrances of the *Danish* envoy on the affair of *Ulfeld* increased the uneasiness of that court: *Frederick's* endeavours to break the late treaty she had made with *England*, added fresh fuel to the sparks of distrust; and his treaty with *Holland* almost put the last hand to the breach between the two kingdoms (A).

A. D. 1651. Danish company established in the East Indies.

- e We mentioned a treaty of alliance and redemption struck up between *Denmark* and *Holland* the first year of *Frederick's* reign, in which it was stipulated, that the contracting powers should assist each other with four thousand men, in case of an attack. It was now the business of *Holland*, who was on the eve of a war with *England*, to shew that the latter were the aggressors. This *Keiser*, the *Dutch* envoy, did not neglect: he, besides, used all his address in demonstrating the particular interest *Denmark* had in preventing the ruin of the *Dutch* marine, and *England* from growing too formidable by sea; and he concluded with shewing the necessity of his *Danish* majesty's equipping twenty ships of war, for the security of his coasts and commerce.

A. D. 1652.

- f WHATEVER inclination *Frederick* might have to unite himself closely to the states-general, yet he entertained scruples with respect to *Keiser's* proposals, because he apprehended that *Sweden* might join with *England*, and thus a new war be lighted up in the North. He knew that *Christina* was constantly solicited by *Ulfeld* to declare war upon his master, and that he had even offered to support part of the expence that would attend a rupture. In a word, he dreaded the effects of that powerful, discontented, violent fugitive, who breathed nothing but vengeance, and had got possession of the queen's ear. Another motive concurred to render him more undetermined on this point. He was desirous of profiting

(A) It was immediately before the treaty with *Holland*, that the king was informed, from the *Sieur Chanute*, the *French* resident at *Stockholm*, of a conspiracy formed to dethrone him (1). *Ulfeld* was the prime contriver of this plot, which was truly chimerical and

romantic, on account of the instruments appointed to conduct it. As it was attended with no consequences, we do not think it worthy of being twice related in a general history. We have mentioned it in *Sweden*.

(1) *Memoires de Chanute*, p. 109, & seq.

by the emergency into which the *United Provinces* found themselves plunged, and to dispense with the payment of the subsidy due to them, after the declaration of war, according to the former treaty.

He seizes a large fleet of English merchantmen.

By this delay, he gained a still greater advantage, though accidental, and repugnant to the laws of hospitality and of nations. An *English* fleet of twenty-two merchantmen, laden with all kinds of materials for ship-building, were persuaded, by *Frederick's* insinuations, to put into *Copenhagen*, in order to avoid the *Dutch* fleet in the *Sound*. They were no sooner entered the harbour, than the crews were seized, and ships and effects confiscated by the king's order: so violent and unwarrantable a proceeding left *Denmark* no alternative. The king had incurred the resentment of the *English* parliament, who made spirited remonstrances on this head by their envoy *Bradshaw*, as he was necessarily obliged to throw himself into the scale of *Holland* against *Cromwell* and the parliament. Still, however, he dissembled, and seemed to listen favourably to *Bradshaw*, in order to excite the jealousy of the *Dutch* envoy, and obtain the better terms. At length, however, the alliance so much wished for by *Holland* was finally concluded in the month of *February* 1653, by which the king obliged himself to equip a squadron of twenty sail, and the *Dutch* engaged to pay him a subsidy of one hundred and forty thousand rix dollars. Thus, by setting twenty ships to sea, he not only avoided payment of a yearly subsidy, but received a considerable annual sum from his ally.

Another treaty with the Dutch.

HOLLAND drew one very peculiar advantage from this armament, as it prevented the *English* from imparting naval stores from the north; and this, indeed, was the only service the *United Provinces* drew from the alliance of *Denmark*. Upon the whole, it must be owned, that *Frederick* managed this negotiation like a true politician, deduced several important advantages from it with respect to the *Asiatic* trade, and obtained several sums of money from the states, upon very frivolous grounds^a.

A.D. 1654.

ABOUT the year 1654 it was that his majesty and the states of *Holland* changed their sentiments with respect to the redemption-treaty. *Frederick* had charged his envoy at the *Hague*, to offer the abolition of the subsidy; and the merchants of *Amsterdam*, who by this time became sensible of the conveniency of a free traffic, refused it. On more mature reflexion, however, they consented. They perceived, that in time of war the commerce with the northern powers was so considerable, that it would be more to their advantage to pay the duties of the *Sound*, than the yearly subsidy. No sooner had they assented to *Frederick's* proposal, than he retracted, and insisted upon adhering to the treaty of redemption; but the states-general represented, that, relying on his royal word given in the person of his ambassador, they had neglected to exact the usual tax from the traders, and consequently the load of the subsidy must fall upon them. This remonstrance had the effect, and the treaty of redemption was annulled^b.

The object of of Frederick's politics.

Disputes with Sweden and concerning Ulfeld.

IN the mean time *Frederick* laboured to engage the queen of *Sweden* to declare against the *English* parliament; but her majesty not only resisted all his solicitations, but exerted her utmost ability to make the king renounce his alliance with *Holland*. Neither took effect, and the endeavours of both were interrupted, by the renewal of their disputes about the grand mareschal *Ulfeld*. Her majesty solicited his pardon; and *Frederick* not only denied her request, but insisted upon his being surrendered, or at least his retracting a bitter libel he had published against him, and asking pardon in a public manner: to neither of which *Christina* would, for a long time, consent. At length, the king drew up a charge against *Ulfeld*, containing a variety of articles, and among others the embezzlement of a sum of money, which he had ordered to be remitted to *Charles II.* of *England*, at that time a fugitive in *Holland*. The queen, for a long time, refused to give credit to this charge; but on *Charles's* letter to the king of *Denmark*, affirming, that neither himself nor any of his court, had received such a remittance, she seemed convinced of *Ulfeld's* treachery, and promised to abandon him to his fate, and withdraw the protection, of which he was unworthy. Nothing, however, came of this affair; *Ulfeld* had gained the ascendant over the queen; he either persuaded her, that he really was innocent, or she chose to believe him so. Certain it is, that, instead of withdrawing her protection, she grossly affronted the *Danish* ambassador, who supported with great spirit the dignity of his royal master, and his own public character^c.

A.D. 1655.

SOON after this event it was, that the states of *Denmark* assembled, and publicly acknowledged *Christian*, the eldest son of *Frederick*, his immediate successor in the throne, and performed homage to him in that quality. About this time, likewise, *Frederick* was observed

^a Mem. de CHAN. p. 126.

^b Mem. de TERLON. passim.

^c Hist. de Reine Christine. tom. i. p. 197.

a to behold with a jealous eye; the rapid conquests of the young monarch of Sweden in Pomerania. His jealousy was greatly augmented by an embassy from the United Provinces, representing the danger it would be to the Danish commerce, if Charles X. should possess himself of the coasts of the Baltic, as infallibly he must, should he reduce Livonia, Pomerania, and Prussia. In consequence of the remonstrances of the states-general, a fresh alliance was concluded, a fleet of forty sail of Dutch men of war sent to the Baltic, under the command of admiral Opdam, and a resolution taken to frustrate the king of Sweden's design of laying siege to Dantzic, before which city Opdam appeared with his fleet.

b CHARLES knew of what importance it was to avoid a rupture with Denmark, while he was deeply engaged in a war with other powers; he sought therefore, to cultivate the friendship of his Danish majesty, and sent an ambassador to Copenhagen with that view, and to prevent the junction of the Danish and Dutch fleets. But Frederick could not be brought to renounce his engagements to Holland; though he positively denied his entertaining any designs against Sweden. In a word, the embassy ended in nothing; as it was evident, that Frederick only watched the opportunity of attacking his Swedish majesty, when he was weakened by the war on his hands, in order to recover Halland, and other places ceded by the last treaty.

c THE arrival of the Dutch fleet in the Baltic gave great offence to Charles; his ambassador remonstrated on that head, but to little purpose: and now a rupture between the two crowns was apparently at no great distance, notwithstanding Frederick sent an ambassador to the Swedish king, at that time in Prussia. The intention of this embassy was indeed no more, than to keep up certain appearances with Charles, until the success of his arms was known; and the same reason prevented the Danish monarch from joining his fleet immediately with the Dutch squadron.

A Dutch fleet arrives in the Baltic. A.D. 1656.

d UPON intelligence of some considerable losses which the Swedish army sustained, Frederick was going to declare openly against Sweden, had he not been embarrassed by the sudden departure of the Dutch fleet from Dantzic, and still more disconcerted by advices, that a treaty was concluded at Elbing, between the king of Sweden and the states-general, without the knowledge of M. Van Buiningen, envoy from the latter at Copenhagen. Buiningen exclaimed against this proceeding; he sent remonstrances to the states-general, couched in the strongest terms, exhorting them to keep firm to their engagements with Denmark, but in vain, for Opdam received positive orders to return to Holland.

Policy of Holland.

e FREDERICK now hesitated whether he should venture to declare war, or wait the effects of Buiningen's remonstrances to the pensioner De Wit. That honest minister still continued to exert his endeavours to maintain the alliance between Holland and the king; but he gave a different turn to his representations. He now affirmed, that it was the interest of the states-general to animate Frederick against the king of Sweden, not only to stop the progress of the latter, but to engross the whole trade of the Baltic, while these two powers were at war. Buiningen was pensioner at Amsterdam, understood the true interest of his country, and was strenuously the friend of commerce. His influence, likewise, among the merchants was so great, that most of them falling in with his opinion, fitted out private ships of war against the Swedes, and excused themselves, by saying they would do the very same for hire against Denmark.

A.D. 1657.

f FREDERICK, now assured that he would be countenanced by Holland, in spite of the treaties the republic had so lately concluded with the king of Sweden, did not ballance long about declaring war; but was obliged to go back to the year 1644 for motives to justify his conduct. This resolution was indeed opposed by all grave persons; but M. de Gersdorf, a Saxon gentleman of ancient family, who had acquired great credit at court, from the superiority of his genius, and his many important services, at length determined the king. He was further confirmed by the information of the Dutch ambassador; and all the endeavours of the French minister could not now prevent a rupture. M. Durelle, the Swedish minister, remonstrated against this unprovoked design; but his arguments having no effect; he was recalled, and had scarce left Copenhagen, before the Swedish prizes were brought into that harbour.

Frederick declares war against Sweden.

g Now the army took the field under general Bilde, and traversing Holstein, crossed the Elbe, and covered the diocese of Bremen, to which Frederick formed pretensions. The whole diocese was laid under contribution; some towns were taken, and the siege of Stadt formed. The king with his fleet, joined by the Dutch private ships of war, set sail at the same time to Dantzic; but hearing that Charles Gustavus was in Pomerania, he retired to Copenhagen. Wrangel, the Swedish admiral, defeated a body of Danes in Bremen, and

His army enters Bremen.

The Danes driven out of Bremen.

^c Mem de TERON, ibid.

obliged

obliged them to repass to *Holstein*, with the loss of three thousand men. Most of the officers in the *Danish* army were natives of *Holstein*, and consequently desirous of protecting their native country. With that intention this retreat was made against the advice of general *Bilde*.

A new treaty
between Den-
mark and
Holland.

THIS first disgrace which his arms suffered, convinced *Frederick*, that he must link himself strongly with *Holland*, if he would either conquer or resist his enemy. In consequence, a new treaty of alliance was signed, whereby the parties agreed to assist each other with six thousand men, or in default of men and ships, with an equivalent sum of money. This measure soon became necessary, for *Gustavus* was at the head of a numerous army, at the very time that all the world believed his forces were entirely broken in *Poland*. Immediately he appeared in *Holstein*, and took four regiments of *Danes* prisoners of war, after a brave resistance. *Itzehoe* was laid in ashes, and the *Swedish* king was preparing to march his army into *Jutland*; but to this there was an obstruction which he feared was unfurmountable. It was the fortress of *Frederics Odde*, defended by six strong bastions, and a numerous garrison. This he attacked; but after spending some days before the place, he set out for *Wismar*, and left *Wrangel* to block up *Frederics Odde* with his troops. *Wrangel*, tired with a tedious blockade, determined to give the assault before he had battered in breach. The attack was made an hour before day, in four different quarters, while petards were applied to the gate, in order to make way for the cavalry. His disposition was excellent, and it was crowned with success. While the garrison was wrapt in sleep, the *Swedes* scaled the walls, and became, in a few hours, masters of a place, that might have withstood the efforts of their whole army for a greater number of months.

Frederics-
Odde taken by
the Swedes.

HAD *Frederick's* prerogative been less restrained, and the army more in his power, intrepid and generous as he was, he would undoubtedly have stopped the progress of the *Swedes*, and saved *Frederics Odde*. Neither *Bilde*, nor the other officers, wanted courage or ability, but their experience was not great, and their influence in the army very inconsiderable. On the frontiers, indeed, the *Swedes* sustained a repulse, and were entirely defeated at *Knaro* in *Halland*. At the same time the *Swedish* fleet, consisting of twenty six men of war, and as many merchantmen converted into armed ships, met with the *Danish* squadron, and offered battle. The *Danish* admiral, depending on the assistance of *Witte Wilson*, the *Dutch* admiral, did not decline the engagement. A furious battle was fought, in which the *Danes* behaved with extraordinary courage. Unsupported by their good allies, they maintained the action against an enemy double in number. The admiral's ship, pierced with five hundred cannon shot, was so shattered, as necessarily to draw out of the line; notwithstanding which the rest of the squadron continued the fight, and obliged the *Swedes* to put into the port of *Wismar*. Both sides, indeed, claimed the victory, and neither, perhaps, with sufficient reason, as it was in fact a drawn battle, though the circumstance last mentioned seems to declare the advantage on the side of the *Danes*. Even *Loccenius*, the *Swedish* historian, owns, that no great benefit resulted to the *Swedes* from this action, and he blames certain captains of ships, who were supposed not to have done their duty.

Battle between
the fleets of
Denmark and
Sweden, in
which the for-
mer are de-
serted by their
allies.

WHATEVER success *Frederick's* arms had elsewhere, still the loss of *Frederics-Odde* was a severe blow, which he determined to revenge. *M. Rosving* was dispatched to the *Hague*, to prevent the ratification of the treaty of *Elbing*, and to borrow a million. The commission was delicate; for, on the one hand, the *Dutch* apprehended that the progress of *Charles* would render him master of the *Baltic*, to the great prejudice of their commerce; and on the other, they dreaded the imputation of levity and perfidy, if they refused to ratify the treaty. In the mean time, they ventured to lend his *Danish* majesty 600,000 livres; but refused to meddle in the affair of the treaty, till they had deliberated more maturely on a point that affected the reputation of the *United Provinces*.

IT was the interest of a great many powers to oppose the aggrandizement of *Charles Gustavus*. He foresaw this, and resolved by celerity and address to baffle the designs formed to support *Denmark*. He projected the invasion of *Fionia* in the winter, before *Frederick* could draw together a sufficient force to oppose him; and his scheme was greatly forwarded by a hard frost, that rendered transports unnecessary. He set out from *Kiel* on the third day of *February*; marched his army over the *Little Belt* on the ice, where he was opposed by a strong body of *Danes*, whom he defeated, after a sharp engagement, and the loss of three regiments, who were drowned by the breaking of the ice; took *Odenſce* the capital of the island, reduced *Newborg*, made the attack on four *Danish* men of war locked up by the ice, but was repulsed and baffled by the intrepidity of the admiral, and

Charles Au-
gustus invades
Denmark and
passes over the
ice to Zea-
land.

a at length formed the perilous and intrepid design of passing over the ice to *Zeland*; a scheme so novel, so excellently planned and boldly executed, as raised the admiration of all men, and will ever be recorded as one of the most daring attempts ever made in such circumstances. We shall have occasion to dwell upon particulars in the history of *Sweden*; sufficient it is for our present occasion, that he first arrived in *Laland*, and next in *Zeland*, after escaping a thousand imminent dangers, and exhibiting as many proofs of an invincible courage, an enterprising genius, a ready execution, and every quality of a great king and commander.

b WHEN *Charles Gustavus* arrived in *Zeland*, he was met at *Warnenburg* by *Meadows*, A. D. 1658. *Cromwell's* envoy, and by *Gerfsdorf*, *Sbel*, and *Mons Hoeuck*, with proposals of peace. He appointed the fugitive *Ulfeld* to treat with them; and it was easy to see, from this circumstance, what terms he expected. Honour required, that *Frederick* should refuse admitting *Ulfeld* unto the congress; but his unhappy circumstances obliged him to pass over punctilios, and acknowledge for the plenipotentiary of *Sweden*, a rebel, who at this very time intriguing to dethrone his natural sovereign, and seducing the nobility of *Copenhagen* from their allegiance, by large promises from *Charles Gustavus*. *Proposals of peace.*

c WHILE preliminaries respecting this congress were adjusting, the *Swedish* monarch was marching towards *Copenhagen*, and arrived within four leagues of that capital, where he halted, to refresh his troops, and deliberate whether he should attempt it by assault. The city was thrown into the utmost consternation, but the king's presence, and exhortations, kept them from desponding. General *Krempen* was at the head of a small body of gentlemen, peasants, and sailors. To these he joined about 2000 horse and 800 regular infantry, making in the whole a corps of 4000 men, with which he offered to set fire to the suburbs, attack the king of *Sweden* at *Keuck*, and reduce that place to ashes. *Frederick* approved of the scheme, and would have commanded the expedition in person, had not the senate resolutely opposed his intention; alledging, that the loss of one battle, and the smallest accident which should happen to his majesty's person, would endanger the whole kingdom. The king's ardour and courage seemed to rise with his misfortunes, and required all the endeavours of the senate to moderate them. Certain it is, that vigorous measures, and hazardous strokes, were necessary in the present emergency; and that the king wanted neither conduct to plan, nor courage to execute, any project for the good of his kingdom. He is therefore unjustly blamed for not accepting *Krempen's* proposal, which was rejected merely by the senate, and highly applauded by the king. *Gustavus resolves to lay siege to Copenhagen. Frederick's preparations to resist him.*

d IN the mean while the negotiations went on but slowly. *Sweden* insisted upon conditions, which ought only to be granted, after *Copenhagen*, and all the fortresses of the kingdom, were in the hands of *Gustavus*; and these hard terms were aggravated, by the haughty conduct and satirical expressions of *Ulfeld*. In a word, the *Danish* ministers refused to accept the conditions proposed, thinking it better to perish after a vigorous resistance, than to stoop to a shameful and ignominious submission. They were besides in hopes, that the rigour of the season, the fatigue and famine they must undergo, would soon ruin the *Swedish* army, could they have the resolution to resist them but for a short time.

e THUS all hopes of accommodation vanished, and *Frederick* had only to rely on his own courage and conduct, and on the fidelity and valour of his subjects. The walls of the city were ruinous; it was destitute of provision, ammunition, and every necessary of defence; it was crowded with peasants, who answered no purpose besides consuming the little stores that were there. The nobility were discontented; they exclaimed against the administration, instead of defending their country, and thought they sufficiently shewed their patriotism by crying out, that the kingdom was sold. Yet amidst all these disorders, *Frederick* preserved a firmness that was astonishing. A victorious enemy without his walls, famine, discord, and every species of confusion within, he remained intrepid, undaunted, and full of courage. His queen likewise gave proofs of resolution and constancy far beyond her sex. However, on the approach of the *Swedish* army within sight of the city, and their taking possession of certain posts, which in a manner blocked up the garrison, the nobility became so clamorous, that *Frederick* was compelled to send M. *Gerfsdorf* to *Torstrup*, where the mediators still remained, in order to conclude a peace upon any terms. *The defenceless state of Copenhagen, and courage of Frederick.*

f GERSDORF was astonished to find on his arrival, that the *Swedes* had relinquished some of the most rigid conditions, and the more, when he was made acquainted, that this complaisance was owing to the mediation of *Ulfeld*. He doubted not, but this nobleman's love for his country returned in full tide, upon observing the low ebb to which it was reduced. At last, after much altercation, peace was actually signed between the two kings, on the 28th day of *February*; *Frederick* consenting to cede *Halland*, *Schonen*, *Bleking*, the *Peace concluded.*

island of *Borkholm*, the citadel and fief of *Babus*, the feignory and fief of *Drontheim*,^a with all its towns, castles, fortresses, and dependences.

M. *Van Buiningen* fired at this treaty; he reproached *Meadows*, the *English* envoy, with double dealing; and he complained of M. *Gerfsdorf*, because, instead of maintaining the treaty between *Holland* and *Denmark*, he had, on the contrary, opened an inlet to all foreigners into the *Baltic*, by consenting that all treaties, contrary to the interest of either king, should be annulled. *Gerfsdorf* vindicated himself by the plea of necessity, which would not admit of leisure to consult the allies of *Denmark*; and indeed matters were then at such a crisis, that *Frederick's* conduct can need no excuse, with respect to the *Dutch*, if we consider the behaviour of their admiral in the last sea engagement. *Van Buiningen* perceiving all his endeavours to break the peace baffled, thought of an expedient, which^b he hoped would at least retard, if not wholly prevent its execution. He advised *Frederick* not to put the king of *Sweden* in possession of *Schonen*, till that monarch had first evacuated *Zeland*. *Frederick* approved of the scheme; but it was traversed by the suspicion of the *Swedish* king, who immediately sent a part of his army to invest *Copenhagen*.

THE war would have again been renewed, and the *Dutch* ambassador's end fully answered, had not the mediators interposed, and given the strongest assurances of *Frederick's* intention to perform his contract. Upon this *Charles Gustavus* wholly changed his sentiments, and from the extreme of distrust, passed suddenly to the other extreme of too much confidence in his enemy. King *Frederick* had prepared an entertainment for the foreign ministers, at his royal seat of *Fredericksburgh*, whither *Gustavus*, attended by a^c small retinue, went, uninvited and unexpected (A). Such interviews are of a delicate nature, and more particularly when the conqueror puts himself in the power of the conquered. Had *Frederick* arrested him, and obliged him to restore all the provinces ceded to *Sweden*, policy would have approved the perfidy, as a necessary measure, and posterity would regard it as one of those masterly strokes of the cabinet, about which few princes would entertain any scruples. But the great soul of *Frederick* resisted the temptation, and despised the treachery. He disdained any advantages deduced from a breach of honour and hospitality. It is true, indeed, he had formerly given way to a smaller temptation, when he seized the *English* fleet of merchantmen at *Copenhagen*; but there are not wanting arguments to palliate his conduct on that occasion. Interviews of this nature seldom occur;^d and when they do, it never happens but one of the parties is a loser. What however was singular in this, was, that all the advantage happened to be on the side of *Gustavus*, who received new hints by this visit, which laid the foundation of a second war with *Denmark*. Be this as it will, the princes lived for two days together in the utmost harmony, and parted with all the appearances of a solid esteem and friendship. It was on this occasion that the queen artfully dropt some insinuations to the prejudice of *Ulfeld*, that made a deep impression upon the mind of *Gustavus*, and enervated his friendship for that favourite.

PEACE was thus concluded, but the *Swedish* monarch's ambition to injure *Denmark* rather increased. He had seen the weakness of that kingdom; amidst all the extremes of that hearty welcome and friendship with which *Frederick* received his visit at *Fredericksburgh*,^e he observed sentiments of chagrin, and a desire of revenge. Certain we are, that the attempt of annexing another crown to that of *Sweden*, was perfectly agreeable to the lofty notions of *Gustavus's* capacious mind. It was not difficult to find pretexts for breaking the peace. The treaty of *Roschild* was replete with errors, and a new congress was appointed at *Copenhagen* to correct them. He began his design by raising difficulties about the duchy of *Holstein*, by complaining that *Frederick* was dilatory in the execution of his contract; although in fact, he had reason to hasten it, as upon that depended the evacuation of *Zeland* by the *Swedish* forces: he insinuated his suspicions, that the king of *Denmark* was intriguing against him in *Holland*. In a word, he entered *Holstein* with intention to prepare the necessary steps to the expedition he meditated; and he made such a variety of^f marches and countermarches, as puzzled the wit of the most penetrating politicians.

THE chevalier *Terlon*, envoy from the king of *France*, was the first who discovered the design of *Gustavus*, and acquainted M. *de Gerfsdorf* with his suspicion. *Frederick* was astonished at the intelligence, and could scarce be convinced of the truth of it. Great armaments were preparing in *Sweden*, and just as the troops were embarked, it was given out that the expedition was intended against *Prussia*. To render his success more secure, and cut off all succours by land from *Denmark*, *Gustavus* found it necessary to gain pos-

(A) Some writers alledge, that *Frederick* had given him his word, and even hostages for his security (1); but of this we find no mention in the most authentic memoirs.

(1) *Des Roches*, tom. vi. p. 84.

An interview
between the
two kings.
A. D. 1658.

Cause of re-
newing the
war.

- a session of the fortress of *Rendsburgh*; but as almost all his army was destined for the siege of *Copenhagen*, he could contrive no other method, than by prevailing on the duke of *Holstein*, to use his influence with the inhabitants and governor, to put it into his hands. *Charles* knew that the garrison was strong, and the governor brave and honest; besieging it therefore with part of his army would be in vain. The duke of *Holstein* sent a deputation to the governor and inhabitants, and among them was the governor's father. They used all possible arguments; but found the inhabitants, to a man, remained firm in their attachment to *Denmark*. The governor's answer in particular was, that he would maintain his trust, while one stone of the town stood upon another; then fixing his eyes upon his father, who was speaker of the deputation, he said, "I can scarcely persuade myself,"
- b "that you, my dear father, are capable of making me proposals, which I should not have patience to hear from any other. Permit me to tell you, that were you not my parent, I should punish, as it deserves, the insolence of making an attempt upon my honour." The father, struck with his son's generosity, endeavoured to cover his shame by the following answer: "My son hitherto I spoke as the faithful subject of the duke my master; but as your father, I declare, that were you weak enough to surrender the trust committed to you at my instance, I should be the first to treat you as a rebel, renounce and declare you an alien of my blood."

The brave conduct of the governor of Rendsburg.

- FOILED as *Gustavus* was in this attempt, he landed his forces on the 17th of *August* at *Copenhagen* *Korsør*. Immediately he sent Count *Toot* with a detachment to block up the avenues to *Copenhagen*, and prevent the garrison's receiving succours from the other parts of the island. *Toot*, executed his commission with success, and the king followed him closely, ordering his fleet to block up the city by sea.
- c

- FREDERICK* no sooner found himself invested by sea and land, than he sent an embassy to the king of *Sweden*, complaining in the bitterest terms of so notorious an infraction of a recent treaty, almost entirely executed on his part, and offering to give any satisfaction and security with respect to the articles not yet performed; but the embassy was very indifferently received. It is even asserted, that *Charles* would have violated the right of nations, had not *Terlon*, the *French* envoy on board his fleet, restrained his impetuosity. His intention was probably no more than to have arrested them, in revenge for the affront
- d *Frederick* had put on the *Swedish* ambassador, in ordering him to be confined, and his papers seized; more indeed is insinuated. *Terlon* even prevailed so far, that he gave them audience, but nothing resulted from this conference besides bitter recriminations.

- WRANGEL* had now blocked up the harbour of *Copenhagen*, and taken some ships. On board of these was the duke of *Lunenburgh*, who was making a visit to his sister the queen of *Denmark*, believing that the two crowns were in perfect peace. He was civilly treated by *Gustavus*, and sent back, escorted by a man of war, to *Germany*. On the 10th of *September* the *Swedish* cavalry and infantry advanced, took post on the rising-grounds round *Copenhagen*, while the king still continued at *Ringstadt*.
- e

The Danish nobility resolve to stand by the king; they promise great matters to the burghers.

- By this time *Frederick's* embassy was returned. He ordered them to report the success of their commission in full council, and then resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. He could muster no more than 1200 regulars, and a great number of nobility, who seeing themselves, reduced to the same necessity as the rest of the kingdom, determined, as their last resource, to stand and fall by their king. They now caressed those they had so lately despised and oppressed; they promised the burghers of *Copenhagen* a voice in all public deliberations, and liberty to buy lands and lordships, to enjoy them with the same privileges as the gentlemen, and to pay no taxes unless what the nobility shared in their proportion of the burthen. Several other immunities were promised, with a view to encourage them; and it effectually drew forth the courage and zeal of those brave burghers, who dreaded nothing so much as the change of their sovereign, and being loaded with the taxes they saw imposed on the inhabitants of *Schonen*, and the provinces surrendered to *Sweden*.
- f Animated by the presence of their sovereign, who rejected the opinion of his council, that he ought to retire to *Holland*, they determined rather to die in the breach than fly or surrender. It is even said, that the king requested of *Gustavus*, to be made acquainted when he intended to give the assault, that he might find him in person in the breach. The queen, whose noble soul sympathized with the generous resolutions of her king and husband, determined to die with him, rather than fall into the hands of a prince, who had so perfidiously broke the most solemn treaties (A).

(A). M. *Terlon* relates, that *Frederick* challenged the *Swedish* monarch to single combat; to which *Gustavus* made no other reply, than that he always fought at the head of his troops, where, if *Frederick* was fond of fighting, he would find him in the thickest of the fire, and wherever glory was to be won. But the celebrated *Puffendorf*, who was present at the siege, questions the truth of this anecdote. *Des Roches Hist. tom. vi. p. 109.*

GUSTAVUS believed the reduction of *Copenhagen* an easy matter, and relied so firmly on the conquest of *Denmark*, that he already disposed of the government of the kingdom to *Wrangel*, after razing the capital, in order to bridle the ambition of that general. In imagination, he had anticipated a thousand alterations in the government, and proposed removing the capital of his dominions to *Schonen*, where he intended to fix the royal residence. But the conquest of *Denmark* formed but a small part of his vast project. He proposed renewing the empire of *Alaric*; all the northern, and many of the southern and western kingdoms, were swallowed up in idea, in this comprehensive system.

Vigilance of
Frederick.

WHILE *Gustavus* was rioting in imagination with these visionary prospects, *Frederick* was reaping solid advantages from his delay. It was indeed a great oversight in the *Swedish* monarch, not to push the attack while the dread of his arms had spread consternation among the besieged. They had now reasoned themselves into a cool, determined resolution to conquer or die, and beheld with composure those enemies whom but lately they thought of with horror. His majesty had harangued the burghers, and made such an impression on their minds, that all, to a man, desired to be led on, and declared they would live and die with their sovereign; a declaration sufficiently fulfilled by their loyal and generous conduct.

ALL the time that *Gustavus* lay inactive, *Frederick* made several dispositions that contributed to the vigorous defence of the city. Among others, he ordered the suburbs to be burnt; and the back of the citadel, and towards the harbour, to be fortified by a kind of broad vessels called *praemes*. He ordered the ramparts to be strengthened with palisades and terraces; and saw all his directions executed. He divided the defence of the city between the soldiers and the burghers, allotting to each their respective provinces; and he mounted all the ramparts with cannon.

Trenches opened
before Co-
penhagen.

GUSTAVUS, on his approach, was astonished to find such alterations in the appearance of the place. When the trenches were opened, and the *Swedes* began to erect three grand batteries, *Frederick* disturbed the workmen, by a continual fire from a *praeme* of forty pieces of heavy cannon. He had erected other *praemes* in the isle of *Amack*, which played incessantly on the enemy's trenches, and made it extremely dangerous to enter them. Among many others, the count *de la Gardie* was slain by a bullet from this battery.

Vigorous sal-
lies made by
the besieged.

ON the 13th of *August* the besieged made their first sally, drove the *Swedes* from their posts, and killed great numbers. For several ensuing days both sides made a variety of brisk attacks and sallies. The besiegers attacked and took two *Danish* frigates which had entered the harbour; they played so vigorously the cannon on their ramparts, that they dismounted several of the enemy's batteries; a number of other advantages were gained; but the circumstance which retarded the siege, and probably saved *Copenhagen*, was unexpected, and truly providential. This was the resolution taken in the *Swedish* camp, to lay siege to a strong fortress of *Cronenburgh* at the same time, to prevent the retreat of the army from being cut off, or rather to gain possession of all the treasure of *Denmark*, which it was supposed was lodged in that citadel, as a place of the greatest security. It is even supposed that the *Swedish* ministry threw this obstacle in the way, lest, if *Gustavus* became master of *Copenhagen*, he would remove the court thither, and render *Sweden* little more than a province, as it had been during the union of *Calmar*.

BE this as it will, *Wrangel* was sent with a part of the fleet and army to besiege *Cronenburgh*, and the siege of *Copenhagen* immediately languished. It was three weeks before he made himself master of that fortress, during which time *Gustavus* (B) was too weak to venture upon giving the assault to the capital. He had now but 9000 men, and doubted not but the besieged, able to bear arms, exceeded that number. As soon, however, as he was joined by the troops from *Cronenburgh*, he ordered a brisk attack to be made, towards the west gate, between the pond of *St. George* and the sea, which covered the besiegers on the right and left; but the *Danes* behaved with such intrepidity that the attempt was baffled, and great slaughter made among the *Swedes*. Famine, however, began to weaken the besieged; but this likewise was remedied by *Frederick's* vigilance, who found means to get a convoy safe into the harbour, while a part of the *Swedish* fleet was cruising for the *Dutch* Squadron.

(B) *Wrangel* pushed the attack on *Cronenburgh* with the utmost vigour. He threw a multitude of bombs into the fortress, that put the garrison into the utmost confusion. He used a variety of stratagems to make them surrender. Among others, he ordered a general discharge of the cannon and musketry, as if he had just

received the news that *Copenhagen* had surrendered. Next, he published by the trumpet, that *Denmark* had submitted to *Gustavus*. The garrison began to mutiny, and all the endeavours of the brave governor and officers could not keep them from surrendering on the 26th of *September*.

a But the most vigorous action of the whole happened in the isle of *Amack*, both kings commanding in person. The *Swedes* had made a sudden descent on it, plundered, and got possession of the island, and *Frederick* resolved to drive them out. *Gustavus* owed his success, in a great measure, to a *Danish* officer, called *Wanderver*, whom he obliged to be his guide in his attack on *Amack*. This officer, having afterwards made his escape in the night, arrived in *Copenhagen*, gave the king an exact account of the *Swedish* forces in *Amack*, their disposition, intentions, and of the arrival of the *Dutch* fleet at *Elsenore*, where they only waited for a favourable wind to proceed to *Copenhagen*, and relieve the city. Lastly, he said that *Gustavus* intended quitting the island, but would first set the whole on fire. Finally, he advised his majesty to attack the *Swedes* in their posts on the island, offered to be his conductor, and gave strong assurances of the possibility of taking the king and that part of the *Swedish* army prisoners.

The king of Sweden narrowly escapes being made prisoner.

b *FREDERICK* immediately called a council, to deliberate whether it was advisable to follow *Wanderver*'s proposal, and if they might sufficiently confide in his intelligence. At length the sally was resolved on, and *Frederick* determined to command it in person. He immediately drew out his horse and foot, and having given the proper directions, marched directly towards the enemy. Supported by general *Gueldenlowe* and major-general *Alfeldt*, he attacked the division commanded by *Gustavus*, and was received with equal vigour and intrepidity. A furious fire was made by both sides, and prodigious slaughter; but the *Danes*, animated by the presence and example of their monarch, and knowing that honour, property, and life, were all at stake, despised death, pushed on with such firmness as disconcerted the *Swedes*, broke their lines, put them in confusion, and forced *Gustavus*, in spite of all his endeavours, to throw himself into his boats, and regain the fleet.

c This retreat was not effected without great loss and confusion. His majesty must have certainly been taken prisoner, had not the brave officer who attended his person, and commanded the guard, thrown himself and his men in the midst of the *Danes*, fought till all his people were killed, and then surrendered as soon as he found the king had escaped.

d THE advantage which resulted from this sally was very considerable, and the whole glory of it was due to the king, who had executed *Wanderver*'s plan with so much intrepidity and conduct. It however afforded a remarkable instance of the little confidence which generals ought to repose in prisoners and deserters; for *Wanderver* had only served the king of *Sweden* with a view to seduce him into some capital blunder, which might prove useful to his country.

e NEXT day major *Bonkwall* arrived with the joyful news, that the *Dutch* fleet were entering the *Sound* in their way to *Copenhagen*. The states had, in spite of all the endeavours of the *Swedish* resident, given orders to admiral *Wassenaar Opdam*, not only to protect the *Dutch* trade in the *Baltic*, but to lead the forces stipulated by the treaty with the king of *Denmark*, to fight the *Swedish* fleet if they offered to oppose him, and to assist *Denmark* by every method he could contrive. This it was that brought on the famous battle between the two fleets in the *Sound*, in which both displayed great skill, intrepidity, and undaunted resolution, though it terminated to the disadvantage of the *Swedes*. The victory indeed is to this day disputed; but certain it is, that the *Swedish* fleet first drew off under the cannon of *Lanskroon*; that *Opdam* landed a strong reinforcement of men, ammunition, and provision, to which *Copenhagen* owed its safety, and formed a plan for burning the *Swedish* squadron, which could not be possible, had he not been victorious in the former engagement. But we shall defer particulars, until we can give a minute detail in the history of *Sweden*, to which it more properly belongs, on account of the share *Gustavus* had in warding the last blow meditated by the *Dutch* admiral (C).

The Dutch fleet enter the Sound, to relieve Copenhagen.

A battle between the Swedish and Dutch fleets.

f BEFORE the battle *Gustavus* had greatly relaxed in the operations of the siege, having withdrawn his cannon from several batteries and advanced posts. Still, however, he kept the besieged closely blocked up by land. But after the battle he fortified his camp at *Crosoon*, retired to a greater distance, drew lines to prevent surprises from the city, took possession of the eminences round *Copenhagen*, and converted the siege into a blockade, which continued until a peace was signed. In effect, he now thought less of taking *Copenhagen*, than of frustrating the attempts of the allies of *Denmark*. The elector of *Brandenburg* had already entered *Holstein*, and was preparing to pass over to *Zeland*. First, he went to *Afen*, where he laid siege to *Sanderburgh*, the strongest fortress in the island, and

Frederick's allies march to his relief.

(C) On his return to *Holland* *Opdam* was accused of negligence, in not pursuing his advantage, and burning the *Swedish* squadron; yet it is probable, that neither he nor the *Dutch* envoy thought it advisable to carry

matters so far, and to ruin the *Swedish* marine; as they still proposed terminating matters in the way of negotiation.

took it. Here he likewise made prisoners the *Swedish* general *Klaust*, and a corps of six hundred horse and some infantry. He was, however, prevented from pursuing his success by the severity of the weather.

Several advantages gained over Sweden.

A. D. 1659.

The king of Sweden resolves upon storming Copenhagen.

At *Borkholm*, the inhabitants rose in arms, attacked, and cut in pieces the *Swedish* garrison. *Frederick* was so pleased with their loyalty that he conferred some new privileges on the people, and obstinately refused to cede this island when a peace was negotiating. The militia of *Norway*, under general *Wirbwein*, had made themselves masters of *Drontheim* and all that bailiarge, after a siege of eleven weeks. Several other advantages were gained by *Denmark*; but yet the capital was not delivered from the attacks of *Gustavus*. His *Swedish* majesty perceiving himself rid of a powerful enemy, by a treaty concluded with the czar of *Muscovy* in the beginning of the year 1659, and the allies of *Denmark* uniting against him, determined upon making one general effort to gain *Copenhagen*, before the frost should enable the elector of *Brandenburg* to pass over on the ice. Before he entered upon this design of storming the city, he made several feints, and gave a variety of false alarms, in order to put *Frederick* off his guard, and weary out the garrison with continual watching. He likewise engaged *Meadow*, *Cromwell's* envoy, to go to *Copenhagen*, and by exaggerating the strength of the *Swedish* army, and the great preparations making to storm the city, to intimidate *Frederick*: but *Ulfeld*, who strove to recover the favour of his king, sent intelligence of all that was done in the *Swedish* camp, and of the intention of *Meadows*. Certain proposals of peace were made by the *English* envoy, and rejected, as dishonourable, by *Frederick*, who demanded fiercely of *Meadows*, "What sort of prince that must be, who could transmit to posterity his own dishonour under his hand?" "The devil himself, added he, shall never force me to that."

In effect, *Frederick* resolved to stand the assault, and *Gustavus* prepared every thing for storming the city on the sixth of *January*. Between six and seven in the evening, the *Swedes* made a feint for a general attack; but the besieged, apprised of their intention by a signal from some secret friends, kept to their guard without being much alarmed. For that month *Gustavus* made several other manoeuvres of the same nature; but the inhabitants of *Copenhagen* having every thing in readiness to stand a general assault, paid but little regard to all these menaces.

Disposition of the assaults.

At last the king finding much time lost, without making any progress in the siege, he resolved upon storming the city on the 10th of *February*. He ordered the soldiers to put shirts over their cloaths, which he imagined would conceal their march, as there was snow on the ground, by rendering them of the same colour, or rather appearance. By this stratagem, they came so near the besieged, as to touch them with their arms before they were perceived, and then began three attacks, all of them equally unsuccessful and intrepid. *Steenboeck*, general of the artillery, commanded the attack on the side of the citadel; and the colonels *Dalwig* and *Ferfer*, having forced the first entrenchment, cut down the pallisadoes, leaped into the ditch, and applied their ladders to the walls. Several of the soldiers mounted, notwithstanding a furious fire was made from the besieged; but almost all the officers being slain or wounded, the men lost courage, and all the endeavours of *Steinboeck* could not prevail on them to continue the attack.

The Swedes repulsed.

The second attack was conducted with no less vigour, at *Christian's-haven*, near the isle of *Amack*. Here the besieged had broke the ice, and placed barges filled with cannon and mortars, from which they played as from batteries. The *Swedes* made themselves masters of some of these, and pushed the attack so briskly, that it was apprehended they would succeed on this side; when, happily for the garrison, colonel *Smidt* was slain, and immediately the ardour of the besiegers abated.

Frederick's intrepid and vigilant conduct.

BANNIER commanded the third attack; his valour was conspicuous, and more distinguished than that of any other officer; yet such was the obstinate intrepidity of the besieged, that he was taken prisoner, and his corps totally defeated. Day now began to appear, all the attacks failed, and there was no prospect of forcing the city; *Gustavus* therefore returned to his camp, extremely chagrined with his disappointment. His loss was great and irretrievable, as some of his best officers were killed and taken prisoners.

As to king *Frederick*, he was the whole night on horseback, animating his troops by his presence and example, distributing his orders, and performing every duty of a great king, and vigilant able commander. Danger seemed to have given nerves to his body, and additional vigour to his mind. He was present every where, and gave such proofs of undaunted prowess, as redoubled the courage and loyalty of his subjects, and equally attracted their love and admiration.

a THIS repulse, however mortifying, did not oblige *Gustavus* to relinquish his design of conquering *Denmark*. He sent count *Waldec* to reduce the island *Langland*, where that general lost an arm, and was foiled in the attempt. It was however subdued soon after by *Wrangel* and count *Horn*. At *Laaland* the *Swedes* met with the same success^b.

In the mean time a fleet, under lord *Montague*, arrived in the *Sound*, to watch the motions of the *Dutch* squadron, which he did so closely, that he prevented *Opdam* from giving any assistance to *Frederick* or his allies. The elector of *Brandenburgh* besieged *Fredericks Odde*, reduced the garrison to great straits, and at last got possession of the fortress, from whence he proposed passing into *Fionia*, had he not been prevented by contrary winds. This design was afterwards resumed, and the island attacked in three different places at the same time; but repulsed by the vigorous measures taken by *Pen*, the *English* commodore, who burnt all the boats belonging to the allies, and made four hundred imperialists and six hundred *Brandenburghers* prisoners. An English fleet arrives in the Baltic.

COPENHAGEN was still blocked up, but not so closely as greatly to incommode the inhabitants. A treaty was struck up between *England* and *France*, by which they mutually engaged in labouring to establish the peace of the *North*. *Holland* was solicited to accede to this treaty; and it was at length agreed among the three powers, that they should declare against either of the parties who should reject equitable terms. It was no easy matter, however, to fix the standard of justice where prejudices reigned strongly, and interest on one side or other took deep root. A cautionary clause was therefore inserted, specifying, that should the mediators chance to differ among themselves, all acts performed in favour of either of their allies should be deemed acts of hostility to each other. *France* and *England* annulled the third article of the treaty of *Roschild*, whereby the free navigation of the *Baltic* was refused to foreign powers, and particularly foreign men of war prohibited from passing the *Sound*. France and England offer their mediation.

In consequence of the cautionary clause in the treaty between *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, lord *Montague* permitted admiral *Opdam* to enter the harbour of *Copenhagen*, whereby the siege was raised, and that capital freed from all danger; but he denied *Ruyter*, the other *Dutch* admiral, the liberty of joining him. This, however, he did soon after, and wanted to land four thousand men on account of a dangerous distemper and scarcity of provision that reigned in the fleet; but *Frederick* would not permit them to land. Times were now changed, and his capital no longer stood in need of that assistance which they afforded him out of necessity, and solely from a regard to their own interest. In a word, he greatly resented the artful conduct of the states-general, and during the negotiation broke out into severe invectives against *Holland*. Whether it was that the king's bold freedom made some impression on the minds of the *Hollanders*, or that they found their own interest strongly connected with his, their conduct seemed to take a different turn; and, instead of resenting his acrimony, they more strongly espoused his cause. A. D. 1659.

The mediators seemed now to incline to the side of *Frederick*, by insisting upon terms for his interest, of which the victorious monarch of *Sweden* loudly complained. He exclaimed in particular against *England*, calling the republic ungrateful to him and blind to their own interest, for refusing to share with him in the spoils of ruined *Denmark*. At last the *English* fleet, on which *Gustavus* founded his chief hopes, departed, allowing the *Dutch* the free liberty of acting in favour of *Denmark*. This my lord *Montague* did, the more to oblige the parties to peace; for both relying on the assistance of their allies, were the more difficult with respect to terms. Negotiations for a peace.

OPDAM commanded in chief, and *Ruyter* a separate squadron under him. The latter, resolving to profit by the departure of the *English* admiral, sought means to attack the *Swedish* fleet at *Landskroon*. He made several attempts to burn four ships moored in the harbour, but failed in each. He then endeavoured to bombard *Elfinore* and *Helsingburgh*, but was prevented by contrary winds, on which he returned to *Copenhagen*, saying, that the elements conspired to compensate to *Gustavus* the loss of his *English* allies. By order of the *Dutch* ambassadors, he undertook several other enterprizes, all which proved abortive; although they were contrived with prudence, and executed with the necessary caution and courage. At last a descent on *Fionia* was determined, which, if successful, would greatly incommode *Gustavus*, and co-operate greatly in terminating the negotiation of peace, now grown tedious. *Ruyter* set sail with the *Dutch* forces on board, after concerting measures for joining the imperialists and *Danes*. All arrived off the island on the eighth of *November*, effected a landing, and pushed their operations with such vigour, that the towns of *Odensie* and *Cartemonde* surrendered, and the whole island was in a fair way of

^b Vid. Mem. du Cheval. de Terlon, p. 114, et seq.

The Swedes
defeated and
forced to eva-
cuate Fionia.

being reduced, before *Gustavus*, at that time in the isle of *Falstre*, was apprised of the motions of the fleet. The king of *Sweden* now determined to redeem by celerity and courage, what he had lost by the inactivity of his generals. He sent immediate orders to the prince of *Saltzbach* to fight the enemy, and dispatched general *Steenboek* to reinforce him. *Steenboek* arrived just in time to witness, and bear a part in the defeat and ruin of the *Swedes*. Both armies engaged, and the imperialists, who led the attack in the center, were repulsed with prodigious loss. The *Danish* cavalry on the right were not more successful; victory seemed ready to declare every where for the *Swedes*, when general *Schack* gave orders to the *Hollanders* to advance, which they did with so much firmness and intrepidity, that first the right wing of the *Swedes* was put in confusion and driven off the field; and next the left wing, which had entrenched itself in certain narrow defiles, was attacked. Supported by the *Danish* cavalry, which had rallied and returned to the charge, the *Dutch* carried all before them, retook the artillery and baggage that had fallen into the enemies hands, drove the *Swedes* into *Newburgh*, and entirely defeated them with prodigious slaughter. As for the two *Swedish* generals, they made their escape through woods almost impervious, reached the shore of the other side of the island, and by great rewards engaged a fisherman to carry them to *Zeland*; whither they went with the dismal tidings of their misfortune.

Upon this the city of *Newburgh* was besieged and taken, after a vigorous resistance. It will be but justice to the *Dutch* to acknowledge, that the victory was chiefly obtained by the conduct of *Ruyter*, and the intrepidity of general *Schack*, who commanded the forces of *Holland*; yet their moderation was so great, and military discipline so exactly observed, that while the Imperialists and *Poles*, and even the *Danes*, were pillaging and destroying the town of *Newburgh*, no *Dutchman* ever stirred from his post; except to restrain the barbarous avarice of the other allies.

The loss on the
side of the
Swedes.

In *Newburgh* were found one hundred pieces of cannon, together with a great quantity of ammunition. Eleven regiments of cavalry, the best troops of *Sweden*, were made prisoners, and incorporated in the confederate army; and of seven thousand *Swedes*, who began the engagement, there escaped only the two generals, *Saltzbach* and *Steenboek*, with a slender retinue of domestics; all the rest being taken or killed in the field, in the pursuit, or in *Newburgh*. The prisoners amounted to four thousand; and on the side of the allies the loss was computed at about five hundred slain, among which were several officers of distinction. After all, this victory was rather glorious to the confederate arms than important to *Denmark*; the policy of *Holland* depriving *Frederick* of all the advantages which naturally resulted from it. It was not the interest of that republic to oppress *Sweden*, or destroy the ballance of power between the northern crowns. For this reason *Ruyter* had orders not to pursue his conquests into *Zeland*, nor turn the fortune of war too much in favour of *Denmark*. *Frederick* was pressing with him to advance towards *Copenhagen*, and drive the *Swedes* out of the island; but he positively declared, that the approaching winter rendered it necessary to withdraw the fleet out of the northern seas, to prevent its being blocked up by the frost, and exposed to the attempts of the enemy, who would not fail to attack him upon the ice.

The views of
Holland.

A. D. 1660.

Gustavus dies.

ALL this while the negotiation went on; and now the *Danish* commissioners made the restitution of *Drontheim* a necessary condition of peace. This was what *Gustavus* had no mind to grant, as it would in a manner declare him the aggressor, and consequently subject him to other oppressive conditions. He therefore laboured for the means of continuing the war, and retrieving the honour of his arms; for which purpose he assembled the states of *Sweden*. Hence it was that the *Dutch* once more found it necessary to alter their politicks, and declare openly in favour of *Denmark*. *Ruyter*, of consequence, failed to *Copenhagen*, and to his vigilance and excellent conduct the *Danes* owed the safety of that capital, on a third attack of the *Swedes*, who were repulsed with loss, by the strong outguards, admirably posted by *Ruyter*. In a word every thing tended to the renewal of the war, when, happily for *Denmark*, the magnanimous *Charles Gustavus* died.

THE mediators thought to profit by this event. They urged king *Frederick* openly to declare his pacific intentions, and were astonished to hear that generous prince loud in the praises of his greatest enemy, and even lamenting the death of *Gustavus* with tears in his eyes. He seemed indeed averse to taking the advantage which policy required, of the loss of that monarch; and at last told the mediators, that he would let *Sweden* make the first declaration of her designs. The *Swedish* commissaries were indeed so forward in terminating a war, which must be attended with great inconveniencies during a new reign, that peace would soon have been concluded, had not the *French* and *English* ambassadors too strenuously espoused the interest of the young king of *Sweden*. It would be unnecessarily tedious to

recite

recite the progress of this negotiation, in which each of the powers endeavoured to gain some particular advantage, at the expence of the others. Sufficient it is, that, after being retarded by a variety of circumstances, a peace was at length concluded; the ambassadors of the different nations waited on the king and queen, to felicitate them on this joyful event, which was proclaimed by a general discharge of the small arms and artillery in the *Swedish* camp, and of the cannon on the ramparts of *Copenhagen*. Peace concluded.

By this peace the strong fortress of *Cronenburgh*, all the *Danish* islands in the *Baltic*, and the bailliage of *Drontheim*, were restored to *Frederic*; while the island of *Rugen*, the provinces of *Bleking*, *Halland*, and *Schonen*, were adjudged to *Sweden*. Several other particulars, of less consideration, were inserted in this treaty.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treaty of peace was now signed and ratified by the parties concerned, its effects were almost destroyed by the pretensions of the duke of *Holstein*, who sent commissaries to *Copenhagen*, with the following propositions, in consequence of the treaty of *Roschild*. 1. That the king should cede his claim to the duke's dominions, as fiefs of his crown; and no more look upon his highness as a vassal of *Denmark*. 2. That his majesty should cede the bailliage of *Swabstide*, and other territories specified. 3. That he should surrender the fortress of *Rendburg* to his highness. 4. That he should abolish the administration of the regency, in the duchies of *Holstein* and *Sleswick*. 5. That his majesty should reimburse the duke in the expences of the war, and give sufficient security for the performance of the above articles. These, The demands of the duke of Holstein. A. D. 1650.

with a number of other propositions, were rejected, as insolent and exorbitant, by the court of *Denmark*; but the king of *Sweden*, who was desirous of binding the duke in his interest, refused to withdraw his forces, before his highness received full satisfaction. Orders were even sent to the *Swedish* generals to recommence hostilities, in case *Frederic* persisted in his refusal. Thus the *Danes* found themselves constrained to yield to the duke's remonstrances, or engage afresh in a war, that had wholly drained the treasury, and exhausted the kingdom. The sovereignty, therefore, which the duke demanded, was granted; but without prejudice to the ancient union between the crown of *Denmark* and the duchies, to the rights of the crown over the bailliage of *Swabstide*, to the revenues of the chapter of *Sleswic*, or to several other rights and claims of less consideration (A).

IMMEDIATELY after this peace it was that king *Frederic* applied himself diligently to repair the disorders introduced into his dominions by the late ruinous war, and to form the plan which brought about that great revolution in the constitution of the *Danish* government; which, from a kind of aristocracy, reduced it to the most absolute monarchy in *Europe*. There are various conjectures with respect to the share his majesty bore in this great event. Some writers wholly ascribe it to the insolence of the nobility, and the united resentment of the people, arising from unavoidable circumstances. Others, on the contrary, affirm, that his majesty fomented their divisions by the most artful policy, in order to establish the royal prerogative on the ruins of public liberty. We have already given a distinct view of this revolution from the best authority; it is sufficient, therefore, that we observe the æra in which it happened, and that if ever prince merited so much confidence from his subjects, *Frederic* certainly had a claim to all the rights now put into his hands, as his courage, policy, and perseverance, had certainly rescued *Denmark* from the jaws of perdition, at a time when it was in the most imminent danger of becoming a province to *Sweden*, and a sacrifice to the contending interests of those powers, who, under the names of allies and mediators, studied nothing besides their own emolument, at the expence both of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. Frederick applies himself to domestic concerns.

We have seen that the fortress of *Cronenburgh*, and the islands of the *Baltic*, were restored by the late treaty; but it was with difficulty the *Swedes* were persuaded to evacuate them. However, the spirited remonstrances of *Terlon*, the *French* ambassador, if we may credit himself, had the effect, and obtained the full execution of the treaty on both sides. Now there only remained to trouble *Denmark*, a coldness between the court and the duke of *Holstein*, occasioned by a late treaty of alliance he concluded with *Sweden*. *Frederic* beheld with jealousy so strict an union between the courts of *Stockholm* and *Holstein*: he repeated the necessity he was under of ceding the undoubted rights of his crown to that prince; but he was forced to stifle his indignation, on account of the unsettled state of his dominions, arising from the late revolution and war. On the contrary, the duke, encouraged by his alliance, and by the weak condition of *Denmark*, proposed by the conjuncture to The crown rendered bereft. A. D. 1661.

(A) It may be proper to observe, that *Sweden*, on the conclusion of the peace, consented to cede the 400,000 crowns, which the king of *Denmark* had engaged to pay for the *Swedish* settlements on the coast of *Guinea*. The reader will find a distinct account of this transaction in vol. vi. of our history.

establish and advance his own interest and independency. As he found great difficulty in maintaining the body of standing forces wanted to complete his designs, he proposed to the king of *Denmark* to divide the revenues of the duchies, which usually had been lodged in a common treasury. He desired, that each might be allowed to take money upon his own receipt; although the intention of the common-treasury was, to prevent either party's levying troops, without the consent and approbation of the other. *Frederic* penetrated the duke's intention, but not being in a condition to break with *Sweden*, he yielded at length to the importunity of that prince; but on condition, that the money should not be paid to the prejudice of *Denmark*, and that all taxes levied on the duchies, should continue to be brought, as usual, into the common treasury; a circumstance which the politic duke found means to turn to his own advantage.

A. D. 1663. *ENGLAND* and *Holland* being on the eve of a rupture, the *Dutch* sent ambassadors to *Copenhagen*, to engage *Frederic's* interest, where they doubted not of success; as the services they had done that prince were so fresh in his mind, and the partiality which *England* had shewn to *Sweden* so evident and recent. But the king found it convenient to listen to the proposals of his *Britannic* majesty, and sign the triple alliance between the courts of *London*, *Stockholm*, and *Copenhagen*. In this treaty it was stipulated, that neither king should harbour such persons as were declared rebels in their own country; by which article, his *Britannic* majesty had a view to the murderers of his father, and his *Danish* majesty to the famous count *Ulfeld* (B).

Triple alliance between England, Denmark, and Sweden.

Disputes between the king and the Dutch about their settlements in Guinea.

A. D. 1666.

BESIDES this treaty with *England*, there were other more powerful obstacles to the alliance which the states-general of the *United Provinces* sought with *Denmark*. These were, the behaviour of the *Dutch* factors in *Guinea*, and that despotism in trade this republic every where assumed. The particulars of this quarrel *Bosman* relates minutely, but partially, in his account of the coast of *Guinea*; and the reader will find it fully explained in our 6th volume. We shall here only relate, that the *Dutch* surmounted all difficulties, and at last concluded a quadruple alliance with *Denmark*, the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the duke of *Brünswick*; from which the *Dutch* reaped this advantage; that their *East-India* fleet found a safe retreat in the harbour of *Bergen* in *Norway*, and baffled, by this means, all the attempts of the earl of *Sandwich*, admiral of the *English* fleets in those seas.

Now it was that *Frederic*, disburthened of all foreign wars by his alliances, and eased of domestic troubles by the late revolution, in consequence of which his prerogative was so extravagantly extended, and the crown made hereditary in his family, gave his whole attention to the affairs of commerce, promoting industry, gaining the affection of his subjects, and watching over the education of the hereditary prince his son. Attended by the famous count *Parsbergh*, he sent the young prince upon his travels; first to *Holland*, from thence to *England*, afterwards to *France*, returning by the way of *Italy* and *Germany* to his own dominions. In passing through *Germany*, the young prince conceived such a passion for the princess *Charlotta Emilia*, daughter to the landgrave of *Hesse*, that when he came to *Denmark*, he used his utmost endeavours with his father for permission to address that

(B) We have seen this nobleman, after being forced to fly his own country, rise to the highest pitch of power in *Sweden*, excite *Charles Gustavus* to the conquest of *Denmark*, and afterwards incur his displeasure by the secret correspondence he carried on at *Copenhagen*, when that city was besieged. He was afterwards arrested by the court of *Sweden*, but released at the intercession of *Terlon*, the *French* ambassador; soon after which he threw himself into the power of his natural king, whom he had so grievously offended, by promoting the late war, without the precaution of obtaining his pardon. At *Copenhagen* he was arrested and sent prisoner to *Bornholm*; but afterwards enlarged, and suffered, on his parole, to go to the *Spa*, and reside for his health in the *Netherlands*. From thence he wrote to count *Sverin*, or as others think from *Amsterdam*, acquainting that minister with a secret of the utmost importance, which he could intrust to no one besides the elector of *Brandenburg* himself. The elector immediately sent general *Spon* to *Ulfeld*. They met at *Bruges*, and the count informed him, that the *Danish* nobility, incensed against *Frederick*, had determined to elect another king, and that the clergy joined in the conspiracy; that himself had quitted *Denmark* to avoid their impor-

tunity, and to labour with more security abroad in effecting this revolution; that he would be perfectly well received in *France* and *Sweden*, if he carried such propositions to either of those courts; but that, as his design was to give *Denmark* a *German* king, he first applied himself to the elector, and could assure him of success, if he embraced the proposal.

General *Spon* immediately acquainted his master with *Ulfeld's* secret, at which the elector was struck with horror. He detested the perfidy of *Ulfeld*, and admired the fertility of his genius in expedients to disturb the repose of his country. He gave immediate notice to *Frederick* of *Ulfeld's* designs. *Ulfeld's* wife was arrested in *England*, and sent prisoner to *Copenhagen*; and himself, finding that his projects were blatted, retreated to *Basil*, with his three sons. Here he lived as tutor to three *Dutch* young gentlemen, and was at length discovered by a quarrel which one of his sons had with a captain of *Zurich*. On this, thinking himself unsafe, he went up the *Rhine*, in an open boat, and died of a severe cold he contracted in his passage; thus ridding his king and country of the most artful, dangerous, and projecting enemy they ever encountered (1).

(1) *Vid. Terlon, ibid.*

a lady. Proposals were accordingly made, accepted, and the nuptials consummated in the royal palace of *Omalienburgh*, on the 16th of *May* 1667.

HOLLAND had no sooner concluded peace with *England*, than the city of *Amsterdam* and the states-general entered into disputes with *Frederic*, about certain sums of money lent him during the late war with *Sweden*, and the duties exacted from *Dutch* shipping in the ports of *Norway*. These little contentions tended only to cool the friendship between the two powers, without any hazard of their occasioning a rupture. In much the same state were the courts of *Denmark* and *Holstein*; they wrangled and disputed about their claims: but so far were they from deciding their differences by arms, that they silenced them for a time by a family-alliance, the duke having espoused the princess *Frederica Emilia*, princess of *Denmark*: notwithstanding which, the duke did not break his engagements with *Sweden*, nor renounce any of his claims. On the contrary, they were renewed in the year 1670, and the king was preparing to enforce his arguments with arms, when he was carried off by a chronical disorder, first contracted by the fatigue he underwent during the siege of his capital.

For some years he was afflicted with a cough, which at last affected his lungs, and was the cause of his death, and of real sorrow to his people. It is sufficient praise of this great monarch, that absolute power, made hereditary in his family in his reign, so far from alienating the affections of the nobility, jealous to an excess, for so many ages, of their liberty and independency, had rather more strongly engaged their attachment, by destroying the seeds of discontent and faction, which had ever flourished in *Denmark*, and sprung up as in their native soil and climate. Known to merit a crown by his valour, intrepidity, constancy, and prudence, the people voluntarily presented their rights to him, and never repined under their greatest misfortunes at the sacrifice they had made. When *Denmark* was reduced to the last extremity, his subjects only recollected, that his virtues and magnanimity had once saved the kingdom, and lamented that the power of the nobility should limit talents so formed for the public good. As soon as he was in possession of absolute government, he restrained his passion for glory, and applied himself to restore frugality among his people, to re-establish his finances, to encourage merit, industry, and commerce, to reward those who had served him with fidelity, to redress grievances, protect the oppressed, relieve the indigent, and approve himself the father of his subjects, and the friend of mankind (B).

Frederic's death and character.

S E C T. XVII.

The History deduced to the Accession of Frederick V. with a Sketch of whose Reign it concludes.

e *CHRISTIAN*, the oldest son of *Frederick III.* had been declared successor to his father, *Christian V.* at a general diet of the states, the year preceding that great event which made the crown hereditary in the family. He mounted on the throne at a time, and with circumstances that foreboded him a reign not more pacific than the last. Notwithstanding all the endeavours of *Frederick*, his son found the kingdom filled with troubles and confusion, the affairs of the state in bad order, the whole specie of the kingdom drained by a tedious war and heavy subsidies; and lastly, a variety of altercations abroad with different states, particularly *Sweden*, *Holland*, and the dukes of *Holstein*, *Gottorp*, and *Ploen*.

The state of Denmark on Christian's accession.

f From the time that *Sweden* had broke the knot of union, which kept her in a kind of dependency on *Denmark*, she had by large strides elevated herself above her neighbours, and became formidable, through the courage and vigour of her monarchs, to all *Europe*.

She had made conquests on all sides, but the chief were the provinces wrested from *Denmark* and *Norway*. From the latter she had taken the provinces of *Jempterland* and *Heren-dablen*, and from the former a tract of land which secured her frontier, by making the *Sound* the boundary of her dominions on the side of *Denmark*. These, and a multitude of other reasons, conspired to point out the necessity of *Christian's* putting himself in condition to restrain the ambition, and make head against this aspiring and powerful monarchy.

A view of the state of Sweden.

(B) *Frederick III.* left a numerous posterity. His eldest son *Christian*, born 1646, succeeded to his throne. His daughter *Anna Sophia* married the elector of *Saxony* in 1666, and died in 1717. *Frederica Emilia* was married to the duke of *Holstein Gottorp* in 1667, and died

1704: A third daughter married the elector *Palatine* in 1671, dying in 1706. His second son *George* espoused *Anne* queen of *Great-Britain*, and died in 1708; and his youngest daughter *Ulrica Eleonora* was married to *Charles XI.* of *Sweden*, dying in 1693.

With this view he directed that the fortifications of all the cities should be repaired, and each put in a state of defence; that new fortresses should be built in all places exposed to the insults of those turbulent neighbours; that military discipline might be established among his troops, the command of which he gave to the most experienced officers, whose attachment to his person, and fidelity to the public, were approved; and lastly, he minutely examined the state of the revenue, and laboured to set it upon the best footing, without oppressing the people.

Differences
between
Christian and
the duke of
Gottorp.
A. D. 1674.

THE duke of *Gottorp*'s close alliance with *Sweden* gave *Christian* umbrage, and his endeavours to break off the treaty between these powers, introduced disputes between him and the duke, which they both consented to terminate amicably, at an interview appointed at *Rendsburgh*. Thither the duke went, and was received by a general discharge of the artillery mounted on the ramparts. His majesty having immediately after his arrival received advice, that the *Swedes* were defeated by the elector of *Brandenburgh*, acquainted his highness, that he proposed marching with all his forces against the enemies of the empire; and expected that his highness would not, in consequence of his alliance with *Sweden*, do any thing to molest his dominions during his absence. The hesitating a reply, and desiring time to consider the king's demand, *Christian* ordered the gates of *Rendsburgh* to be shut, in order to prevent the duke from giving orders to his governors to oppose his design, or of apprising *Sweden* of the measures he had concerted. Intimidated with a proceeding so vigorous and unexpected, his highness complied not only with the king's demand, but agreed to relieve a *Danish* garrison in *Tonningen*, which was done without delay, *Christian* being equally prompt in executing, and prudent in concerting his projects.

THIS action was highly blamed by the enemies of *Denmark*. The king was accused of a breach of his word, and violation of the laws of hospitality. It was reported, and industriously propagated, that his highness was confined to his chamber, a guard set over him, and his person insulted; nay, his life threatened if he refused to comply with circumstances sufficiently refuted by the treaty, soon after concluded between *Denmark* and *Holstein*, as well as by the most authentic documents of this transaction. Besides, it is certain, that had he laid any restraint on the duke's person, he might have been fairly justified by the laws of nations, as at the very time when the gates were shut, it is well attested that certain letters and projects which intimated designs against *Denmark*, were found among the papers of baron *Kielman*, first minister of *Holstein*. In fact, however, no violence was done to his highness, and the gates of *Rendsburgh* were shut with no other view than to prevent his disconcerting the king's measures; a circumstance unpremeditated, and arising solely from the intelligence just received from *Germany*. We are assured from undoubted testimony, that the king and prince *George* frequently visited the duke, during his residence at *Rendsburgh*, and that they testified for each other the warmest friendship, and proved the sincerity of their professions, by the treaty which immediately followed. By this the duke renounced the sovereignty he assumed by the treaty of *Rosebild* restoring the ancient union between the two states upon the footing established by the ancestors of both princes. Upon his return to his own dominions, he ratified the treaty concluded at *Rendsburgh*, and sent back the patent whereby *Frederick III.* had made him independent on the crown of *Denmark*. He likewise formally ceded all claim to the advantages which he extorted during the late reign, at the conclusion of the general peace, and obliged his brother, the bishop of *Lubeck*, to do the same. In a word, after his majesty's return to *Copenhagen*, he received a letter wrote by the duke's own hand, assuring him of the satisfaction he received in being thus reconciled to his majesty; and protesting, that it would be his utmost care to cultivate his majesty's friendship, and the ancient and natural amity between the two families, from which he had been artfully drawn by the suggestions of his majesty's enemies. These circumstances we think quite sufficient to vindicate his majesty's character, from the false aspersions thrown out at that time, and weakly transmitted by subsequent historians to posterity, in defiance of truth, honour, and justice.

They are reconciled.

A. D. 1675.
The king declares war in
Sweden.

CHRISTIAN was no sooner at ease with respect to the house of *Holstein*, than he openly declared war against *Sweden*, and joined his fleet to the *Dutch* squadron in the *Baltic*. The duchy of *Bremen* was the more immediate cause of this rupture, and it afterwards became the subject of a strange labyrinth of intrigue, negotiation, and wrangling. His majesty ordered war to be proclaimed by sea and land, determining to act vigorously

a against the *Swedes*, whose effects were seized in his ports ; but the queen was averse to the war, and the ministry entered so much into her sentiments, that the fairest occasion of humbling *Sweden* was lost, by their dilatory preparations.

THE first hostilities commenced at sea ; two *Danish* ships attacked a *Swedish* man of war stationed off the fort of *Brunshuysen* ; the action was sharp, but of short duration, one of the *Danish* vessels being sunk, and the other forced to make off. This loss the *Danes* repaired by taking a fleet of *Swedish* merchantmen. *Hostilities commence.*

WHILE the war went briskly on by sea, his majesty and the elector of *Brandenburgh* had an interview at *Gadesbush*, to concert the operations of the campaign. Here it was determined that *Christian* should attack *Damgarten*, while the troops of *Lunenburgh*, *Brandenburgh*, *Munster*, and of the other allies, should employ their whole force against *Demmen* and *Tribes*, a town of *Pomerania*. His *Danish* majesty arrived at *Damgarten* on the second of *October*, where count *Koninsmarck* defended the passage of the river *Recknitz*, to the last extremity, and had a horse shot under him. At last the post was forced in the night, and the *Swedes* obliged to retreat. However, as they broke down all the bridges behind them, his majesty was compelled to relinquish the pursuit. *The king has an interview with the elector of Brandenburgh. He forces the strong post of Damgarten.*

NEXT he marched towards *Stralsund* ; and having met the elector of *Brandenburgh* in the neighbourhood of that city, it was concerted that his majesty's next operations should be against *Wismar*. The winter was now far advanced, the city of *Wismar* strong, and easily supplied with all necessaries from *Lubeck*. Such difficulties, however, could not damp the spirit of *Christian*. He levelled his artillery against two batteries at the mouth of the harbour, built to secure a passage to the town ; and at the same time made his approaches before the town from three different quarters. The trenches were opened with extreme diligence on all hands ; five batteries played incessantly upon the besieged, with thirty-six pieces of cannon and five mortars. Bombs and ignited bullets were poured into the town as thick as hail, the houses reduced to ashes, and garrison and inhabitants to the most deplorable situation. A ship of forty-six guns, stationed before fort *Balcine*, was taken, and the garrison of the fort so intimidated by the intrepidity of the *Danes*, that they surrendered at discretion. Still, however, *Wismar* held out for some days ; and though the garrison was alarmed by the enemy's success, and greatly harassed with fatigue and continual watching, yet still their courage was undaunted. Every thing was attempted in their own defence. After giving a false alarm on the left of the king's camp, a strong body of soldiers and burghers sallied out on the right, fought desperately, but were repulsed with loss.

To prevent such sallies for the future, his majesty ordered caltrops to be placed round the camp. He sent three burghers, prisoners, back to the city, with orders to acquaint the inhabitants, that he would instantly hang up all the burghers who should be taken in the sallies ; and he also drove back into the city several women who had been sent out, to save provision, many of whom perished with hunger. Besides the vigorous resistance of the besieged, he had to encounter with natural inconveniencies of situation, which greatly retarded his approaches. *Wismar* was surrounded with marshes, which his majesty found it necessary to drain, both for the health and conveniency of the soldiers, and to render his approaches practicable. This he attempted with engines erected with great expence and labour ; but the toil was endless, the continual rains, and neighbouring springs and rivulets filling them as fast as they were emptied. Finding this expedient fruitless, he contrived to dam up the waters, and keep his camp dry by dykes and ditches driven round. However, the snow and cold weather becoming unsufferable, the soldiers began to murmur ; and even the officers, fatigued with hard duty, uttered complaints of the king's rashness in undertaking so laborious a siege, when the season was so far advanced. At the same time *Wrangel* dispatched count *Konigsmark* with a strong detachment to force a passage into the town, in which he was disappointed by the king's vigilance. In spite of all difficulties, *Christian* determined to storm the town in breach, and pass over the marshes upon light wooden bridges, contrived for the purpose. The twenty-first of *December* was fixed for the attack. Early in the morning the troops began to file over, three a-breast ; and though they were miserably galled by the grape-shot and musketry of the besieged, yet, animated by the presence and example of their monarch, they marched on, setting danger at defiance. The attack on fort *Sparburt* was led by the duke of *Holstein-Ploen*, where he was repulsed. General *Rosencrantz* was more successful in the attack on the new works on the side of *Mecklenburgh-gate*, which he carried with little opposition. Two hours after the governor demanded a parley, and offered terms of capitulation, which his majesty accepted. For ten weeks he had defended himself with great resolution and

conduct: the garrison had sustained numberless hardships from cold, fatigue, and hunger; they had for several days been restricted to a scanty subsistence, hardly sufficient to keep them from perishing; yet nothing but the clamours of the burghers could oblige them to surrender.

Rebnitz surrenders to the allies.

Several other advantages gained over the Swedes.

THE same day on which the king made himself master of *Wismar*, general *Åensdorff* appeared before *Rebnitz*, with a detachment of *Danes* and *Brandenburgers*. The *Swedish* garrison, not exceeding four hundred men, finding their endeavours to defend the place would be vain, surrendered on the first summons; and the prisoners were equally divided between the troops of the king and elector. Several other enterprizes were projected; and among others an attempt on the island of *Rügen*, to which *Griffenfeldt*, who had secretly opposed the *Swedish* war, put a stop, pretending that he had certain intelligence of an intended descent on *Zealand*, as soon as the frost came on; the expedition to be headed by the young king of *Sweden*. His majesty gave credit to the report of his minister, relinquished the design, returned to *Copenhagen*, and found he was deceived. In the mean time he had ordered his fleet, commanded by admiral *Adelaer*, to cover his capital, as he was too weak, though joined by the *Dutch*, to act offensively (A).

A. D. 1676.

Carlostadt taken by the king.

FORTUNE was not more favourable this campaign to the *Swedes* than it had been the former. The allied forces continued during the winter to block up *Carlostadt*, and reduced the garrison to such extremities, that the fortress was surrendered early in the summer. His *Danish* majesty demanded *Carlostadt*; and the other allies took the alarm, as he formed the same pretensions to *Stade*, which would have made him master both of the *Weser* and the *Elbe*; but this last city was still in the hands of the *Swedes*. However, the contention rose high: the bishop of *Münster*, the duke of *Lunenbourg*, and the elector, all opposed his demand; and though the conquest was yet remote and precarious, yet it is certain their disputes about the imaginary spoil was of the greatest prejudice to the operations of the campaign.

It gave great uneasiness to the states of *Holland* to see their allies neglect real conquests for disputes about cities which possibly might never come into their power. They proposed an expedient; and matters went so far, that a treaty was drawn up, and approved by the ambassadors of the several princes; but it came to nothing, as their masters refused to ratify it.

In the mean time the *Swedes* lost no opportunity of annoying the enemy. The garrison of *Stade* had formed, during the winter, a scheme of surprising *Altena*; but the design was defeated by the vigilant measures of the *Danish* garrison. Several other attempts they made were equally unsuccessful; and one may say, that fortune rather forsook the arms of *Sweden* than either courage, conduct, or perseverance.

Christian's dispute with the city of Lubeck.

THIS year it was that his majesty wrote to the regency of *Lubeck*, exhorting them to carry on no correspondence with *Sweden*; and threatening to keep no terms with that republic, if she refused to break off her connections with the enemies of his kingdom. Soon after he relaxed in this demand, and insisted only, that the *Lubeckers* should carry no contraband goods into *Sweden*, or such as were specified in the treaty of commerce between *Denmark* and *Lubeck*. Having finished this affair to his satisfaction, he gave orders for augmenting his troops; and to raise funds for pushing the war on vigorously, he imposed a poll-tax on all his subjects, collecting it in a certain proportion, according to their supposed abilities. A nobleman paid two rixdollars; an officer, or placeman of distinction, one rixdollar; a doctor two marks; a merchant, shop-keeper, or burgher, half a crown; a mechanic one sol; and so in proportion to the lowest rank of the people. This tax was payable at two yearly instalments, and was supposed would produce seven hundred thousand rixdollars. To push his levies with the more success, he also ordained, that no tradesman should keep above one journeyman and a boy; regulations equally injurious to commerce, and oppressive of the spirit of industry in general; but necessary to forward the great projects and ambition of *Christian*.

Tonningen demolished.

ALL the world was surprised at the directions which his majesty gave for dismantling *Tonningen*, and blowing up the fortifications, after they had cost the government immense sums in building and repairing. It was conjectured, that his majesty had given these orders on receiving advice, that an *English* ambassador was on his way to solicit the restitution of this place to the duke of *Holstein*; but this was no more than conjecture, without any positive authority.

(A) Here it was that this famous officer died, to the great regret of his majesty, and all well wishers to *Denmark*, before he had an opportunity of signalizing himself against the *Swedes*. He had formerly commanded the *Venetian* fleet, and gained seventeen battles over the *Turks* (1).

(1) *Vid. Mauroceni, lib. x.*

a If the public beheld with surprize the demolition of *Tonningen*, they were still more astonished at the downfall of the chancellor *Griffenfeldt*, the king's chief minister and favourite, whom he had raised from an obscure rank to the highest honours and preferments of the kingdom. Some of his letters having been intercepted, the king gave orders to general *Arensdorff*, and three other lords, about three o'clock in the morning, to invest the house of the burgomaster *Falker*, who was privy to all the minister's secrets. The general executed his orders so secretly, that he seized on *Falker*'s person and papers without the least noise, or being perceived by any one, and committed him prisoner, with all his domestics. *Griffenfeldt*, who had no suspicion of what happened, went as usual to court at seven in the morning. He was met in the anti-chamber by general *Arensdorff*, who inquired where b he was going at so early an hour; to which *Griffenfeldt* answered, he was going to the king. "You had better step to the library, replies the general, as his majesty is not to be disturbed, and follow me without noise." The minister had an immediate foreboding of his fall; and cried out, as he went after the general, "If these are the king's orders, 'tis proper I obey. Heavens, whence comes this disgrace!"

WHEN *Griffenfeldt* was committed, his majesty gave directions that all the chancellor's debtors and creditors should carry their accounts to the treasurer. Soon after baron *Kielman* and his three sons were likewise arrested; and so fearful was the duke of *Holstein* of his own person, that he escaped by night to *Hamburg*, and rode with such dispatch, that he c killed two horses by the way. All these sudden imprisonments occasioned great speculation. For some time the people concluded that some dangerous conspiracy against the state, or his majesty's person, had been discovered. Men spoke differently of this proceeding; but the *Danes* insisted, that although *Kielman* and his children were the subjects and ministers of the duke of *Holstein*, it was justifiable in his majesty to secure their persons, as they were always bitter enemies of *Denmark*, and had by their pernicious counsels introduced great confusion in their master's affairs, and occasioned all the quarrels between him and the king. They were besides taxed with having entered *Denmark* in a hostile manner during the last war, and committed cruel ravages in different parts of his majesty's dominions. Besides, old *Keilman* was convicted of having published bitter libels against the d king, both at *London* and *Franckfort*.

GRIFFENFELDT was examined, for the first time, on the twenty fifth of *April*, but he obstinately refused to answer to the charge, and was dismissed from the court as refractory, with a caution from the fiscal, that, if he persisted in his silence, he should be condemned as a voluntary mute, whose guilt rendered it dangerous for him to answer to the questions proposed. The crime for which he was tried was corruption and venality in distributing justice, and the sale of offices; for his majesty did not care to lay open the secrets of state, by proving him guilty of treason. Instances of both were so clearly and circumstantially proved, that he was condemned to lose his head; though that sentence was not executed, his majesty having reprieved him on the scaffold, but condemned him to perpetual imprisonment. His arms were, however, first broke; and the executioner was just ready to e sever the head from his body when his reprieve was proclaimed, and he was conducted to prison, with books, like a school-boy, under his arm.

Not long after *Falker* was brought to his trial, and condemned by the same judges to lose two fingers of his right hand, to be exposed for a quarter of an hour on a gibbet, and then to be conducted out of the town by the hangman, and for ever banished the kingdom.

CHRISTIAN being thus delivered of a faithless minister, who traversed all his designs, by holding a secret correspondence with the enemies of his country, and had undoubtedly betrayed the fleets and army, appointed generals to the command of each, in whom he f might confide. Immediately the army was ordered to march to *Stade*, which city had for some time been blocked up by the troops of *Lunenbourg*. The bishop of *Munster*, in imitation of his majesty, marched his forces likewise to *Stade*; but with a view rather to relieve than distress the garrison; for, changing his sentiments of a sudden, he was now desirous of maintaining the *Swedes* in *Bremen*, and of declaring war afresh against *Holland*, with which he had concluded peace only from necessity. Stade besieged.

WHEN the allies made their appearance before *Stade*, the garrison consisted of three thousand men, and the burghers were resolved to take arms; but a dysentery prevailed among both, and swept off great numbers. Besides, the town had laid in no store of provisions, and the men were restricted to a certain allowance on the first approaches of the g enemy. However, as it was open to the river, and the *Munster* forces were negligent in their duty, the garrison found means to draw in some supplies, before the besiegers had enough pushed their works to prevent them.

To

To cut off this advantage, the allies resolved to attack fort *Swing*, which commanded the communication of the town with the water; and began so furious a cannonading, that it was laid in ruins in a very short time, and all the artillery dismounted. The *Swedish* commandant hung out a white flag; but the allies refusing him the honours of war, he resolved to defend it to the last extremity, and now hostilities recommenced with redoubled fury. At last, finding the place no longer tenable, he determined upon a sally, and cutting his way through the besiegers to the town. The effort was brave, but unsuccessful; for he was taken prisoner, with all his men.

FORT *Gastorp*, another strong out-post, surrendered a short time after the reduction of *Swing*. Three men of war appeared off *Stade*, with intention to throw in provisions and stores of all kinds; but the diligence of general *Arensdorff* rendered their attempts vain, though his vigilance could not prevent their landing some men at *Brunsbüttel* and *Bracktorff*, and setting fire to a number of villages, after pillaging the inhabitants. After this attempt, the *Swedish* admiral, perceiving he could not relieve *Stade* set sail for *Gottenburg*, and narrowly escaped commodore *Bestiaenz*, who lay with a squadron to intercept him.

Stade taken by
the allies.

IMMEDIATELY on the departure of the *Swedish* fleet, the besiegers advanced their works; but having certain advice that the town was in great want of provisions, they altered their intention of storming it to a kind of blockade, as famine would soon oblige the garrison to surrender, without any loss to the confederates. At last, on the thirteenth of *August*, the governor signed a capitulation, the town was put into the hands of the allies, there to become a bone of contention, until their differences were terminated by a new division of their conquests.

The operations
of the Danish
fleet.

WHILE the confederate army lay before *Stade*, *Van Tromp* arrived at *Copenhagen* with the ships of *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*, and was received by the king with all possible respect, being honoured with the order of the Elephant. His majesty deliberated with him about the necessary operations; and the result was, that several *Danish* ships, which had been laid up, should be equipped with all possible expedition: the *Danish* admiral *Juel*, cruising in the *Baltick*, reinforced with eight stout men of war, and *Van Tromp* to follow, as soon as the rest of the fleet could be got ready. *Juel* had scarce received this reinforcement when he fell in with two *Swedish* men of war, one of whom he burnt, having taken the other. He then steered for the island of *Gotland*, landed his men in spite of all the resistance made by count *Oxenstiern* the governor, whom, after a vigorous and sharp engagement, he drove into *Wisby*. After making himself master of the whole island, except the capital, he laid siege by sea and land to *Wisby*, and was not long before he obliged the governor to capitulate, the inhabitants of the island in general expressing the most ardent desire to return under the dominion of *Denmark*. Then exacting an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants in general, ecclesiastics as well as laics, he left a garrison of five hundred men in *Wisby*, and put to sea, where he was again reinforced with six *Danish* and *Dutch* men of war.

ON the first of *June* he descried the *Swedish* fleet, consisting of forty-four sail, besides tenders and small vessels. On the fourth he came up with the *Swedish* admiral, and began the engagement at six in the morning, between the coast of *Schonen* and the isle of *Bornholm*. The *Swedes* were superior in force; but they contented themselves with cannonading, without coming to a close engagement, or attempting to board. In this *Juel* had the advantage: he disabled five of the enemy's ships; but was prevented by a calm from pursuing and making prize of them. Next day the fight was renewed at the same hour; the *Swedish* admiral, having the wind a-stern, bearing up as if he intended coming to a very close engagement; but this he declined a second time. After a cannonading of four hours, and making some attempts to destroy each other by fire-ships, both admirals retired, as if by voluntary consent, without any considerable advantage gained on either side. The *Swedes*, indeed, lost one galliot of ten guns and thirty men, had five ships disabled, and were even, if we may credit the *Danish* accounts, forced to retreat each day.

A complete
victory ob-
tained over
the Swedish
fleet.

THE news of this battle was scarce arrived at *Copenhagen*, when *Van Tromp* put to sea with a squadron of four *Danish* and three *Dutch* men of war to reinforce *Juel*. The fleets joined on the seventh of *June*, and next day every thing was prepared for a third engagement; but it was the eleventh before the battle began, contrary winds preventing the confederate fleet from coming up with the enemy. In the very beginning of the fight the *Swedish* admiral's ship, mounting one hundred and four guns (A), was blown up. The rest of the fleet, discouraged with so unfortunate an accident, would have retreated; but they were

(A) Some writers call this the finest ship ever built in the North, affirming that she mounted one hundred and thirty-four pieces of brass cannon, and was manned with eleven hundred stout seamen (1).

(1) *Des Roches*, tom. vi p. 301.

attacked

a attacked on every side by the *Dutch* and *Danish* admirals. Necessity obliged them to stand in their own defence, and they fought for a long time with great resolution; but were at last forced to give way, and leave an undoubted victory to the superior skill and good fortune of *Juel* and *Van Tromp*, after losing ten of their largest ships, one frigate of sixteen guns, and several other smaller vessels. In the letter which the *Dutch* admiral wrote to the states, he claims to himself the chief glory of this victory; but with little reason, if we can rely on the *Danish* and *Swedish* accounts, who agree, that *Juel* and all his officers performed all that could be expected from the most experienced and resolute commanders.

b AFTER this battle it was that *Stade* surrendered to the allies; though to avoid breaking the narrative, we related it previous to this transaction. Indeed the *Swedish* arms were not more successful by land than by sea. The elector of *Brandenburg* obliged them to raise the siege of the citadel of *Wolgast*, and afterwards took *Penemunde*. Several other disgraces followed, and *Sweden* was falling as low in military estimation as she had been raised high in the preceding reign, and ever since *Gustavus Adolphus* ascended that throne.

c CHRISTIAN was intent on drawing some advantage from the victory gained by his fleet. He ordered *Tromp* to make a descent on *Schonen* on the one side, while he entered the province at the head of an army on the other. *Tromp* immediately obeyed his orders; and appearing with a squadron before *Ustadt*, summoned the governor to surrender. *Verseen*, who commanded, sent back an answer by the trumpet, that as he had the honour of being intrusted by his king with the fortress, he would defend it to the last extremity. *Tromp* immediately ordered in a certain number of frigates to keep a continual fire, and cover the debarkation. Then he landed three thousand men on both sides of the town, and repulsed, after an obstinate engagement, a brisk sally made from the town to impede the landing. The admiral resolved to give the assault the same night; but thought it proper first to summon the governor. A trumpet accordingly was sent, and the admiral was astonished to find that the governor and garrison had evacuated the place, without the least noise, or motion that could intimate their intention. *Tromp* left a strong garrison here, and plentifully supplied it with every necessary for a vigorous defence, in case the enemy should attempt to retake a place of so much consequence.

Christian makes a descent on Schonen.

d In the mean time the king embarked with about nine thousand foot, and near as many horse, accompanied by his brother, and set sail with a fleet of fifty ships, of which twelve were men of war. Next day, being the ninth of *July*, he arrived on the coast of *Schonen*, and landed, without resistance, between *Helsingburg* and *Landscroon*. When the artillery was unshipped, his majesty detached some regiments to invest *Helsingburg*, which the governor immediately abandoned, retiring with his slender garrison into the citadel. Here he defended himself gallantly for four days, killing general *Rosencrantz* in the attack; but seeing no prospect of relief, and the garrison being sorely galled with the fire of the besiegers, he surrendered just as the *Danes* were preparing to storm the citadel.

e CHARLES XI. of *Sweden*, taking the reins of government into his own hands, made some motions as if he intended to oppose the progress of the *Danish* arms in that country. He put himself at the head of his army, and began his march to *Schonen*; but, finding the *Danes* were greatly superior, he turned off to *Christianstadt*, and relinquished the design. The king of *Denmark* would not neglect pursuing the advantages which success and superiority of numbers afforded: leaving a garrison in *Helsingburg*, he marched to lay siege to *Landscroon*. His first approaches were greatly retarded by several vigorous sallies from the town: at length, however, both the city and citadel were forced to surrender, after sustaining a siege and bombardment of three weeks, and being reduced to the last extremity. *Landscroon* capitulated on the fifteenth of *August*, and the garrison were allowed the honours of war, on account of the brave defence they made, and his majesty's respect for the valour of the governor.

Christian takes Helsingburg and Landscroon.

f On the surrender of *Landscroon*, his majesty detached major general *Duncamp* with a strong corps to block up *Helmstadt*, while he marched in person with the rest of the army to *Christianstadt*, and encamped within cannon shot of the walls, on the very spot where the king of *Sweden* had pitched his camp a few days before. *Christianstadt* is in a manner inaccessible, on account of deep marshes that every way surround the town. The strength of the place lulled the garrison into a security, that soon became fatal to them; for the *Danes* surprised and took it, without erecting a single battery, or firing a cannon. Such were the rapid successes of his *Danish* majesty's arms.

Christianstadt taken by the Danes.

g In the mean time the *Swedish* army was reinforced by a strong body of *Finlanders*, and other levies; upon which *Charles* began to concert measures for opposing *Christian's* progress. He began with an attempt to surprise general *Duncamp*; for which purpose he detached general *Askenburg* with eight thousand men. The motions of this officer were not

so secret, but that *Christian* got notice of them. He sent notice to *Duncamp* of the enemy's intention, with orders to retreat, if he found himself too weak to give them battle. *Duncamp* would have declined fighting; but the manœuvres of the enemy rendered that impracticable. He put on the best countenance he was able, and with a body of three thousand men sustained all the efforts of the *Swedish* general for an hour and a half; but was at length forced to give way to numbers, and leave his enemy an undisputed victory, dearly purchased.

General Duncamp defeated by the Swedes.

The Swedes take thirty vessels laden with provision.

To ballance this loss, *Van Tromp* made himself master of *Christianople*, which indeed was a place of no strength, the *Swedes* having dismantled it the year before. General *Gudenlew* took *Winnersburg* in *Norway*, and laid under contribution the whole country of *Daelfland* and *West-Gothland*. He drew a considerable booty from *Winnersee*, defeated a body of five thousand peasants and five hundred soldiers, and laid siege to *Gottenburg*; but was forced to relinquish this enterprize, on admiral *Royster*'s return to *Copenhagen*. *Royster* was to have blocked up the city by sea; but the appearance of some *English* ships before the harbour of *Copenhagen* obliged him to return for the protection of the capital, as the intention of the *English* was not known. But the *Danish* admiral's retreat was attended with other bad consequences, besides *Gudenlew*'s disappointments. The *Swedes* seized the opportunity of his absence, and made themselves masters of thirty vessels laden with provision for the *Danish* army. *Christian* was incensed at this loss; and immediately ordered *Royster* to be arrested and superseded, captain *Wibe* taking upon him the command of the fleet. This officer endeavoured to regain the time lost by some vigorous measures. He blocked up *Gottenburg*, and formed a scheme for burning the *Swedish* men of war in the harbour of *Helsingburg*, which was frustrated by an accident, and his own squadron endangered.

Position of both armies.

GENERAL *Duncamp*'s defeat chagrined the king, and he determined to pursue the *Swedes* with the utmost diligence. Accordingly he marched towards *Helmstad*; but found himself greatly retarded by the *Swedes*, who broke all the bridges behind them. When he came before the city, the governor was summoned to surrender; but he refusing to comply, the place was immediately invested, and all possible endeavours used to bring the *Swedish* army, encamped in a very advantageous post at some little distance, to a battle. *Christian* perceived they were determined not to risque an engagement, and that it would be hazardous to force them; he therefore changed his measures, and detached young *Arensdorff* with a corps of horse and dragoons to the frontiers of *Sweden*, either to fight the enemy, if occasion offered, or to destroy and ruin all the forage and provision, so as to prevent the *Swedes* from wintering in *Schonen*.

ARENSDORFF begun his march, and found on his arrival at *Falkenburg* that the *Swedish* army had retreated to *Wardberg*, by which means the expedition was frustrated. He therefore rejoined the army, which was put into winter-quarters in the month of *October*, and preparations were made for taking the field early in the spring. Some of the troops were cantoned in such a manner as to block up *Malmoe*; and the fleet returning to *Copenhagen*, was disarmed for the season.

Carellshaven surrendered to the Danes.

Two small squadrons were however left to cruise in the *Baltick*, under the conduct of the admiral *Bielke* and *Royster*, who was restored to his command. The latter coming to *Carellshaven*, found the fort besieged by the garrison of *Christianstadt*, and a body of peasants. His officers requested him to land some troops and cannon to assist the besiegers, which he granted. Batteries were erected, the works carried on with more skill and alacrity than before, and at length this important place was forced to surrender. Here the *Danes* found upwards of three hundred pieces of cannon, large quantities of stores and ammunition, together with two new ships ready to put to sea, the one pierced for forty, and the other for twenty-four guns.

Malmoe blocked up.

The king of Sweden resolves to relieve it.

MALMOE being a place of the utmost consequence to *Sweden*, the young monarch determined to relieve it; but his own inexperience, and the ill conduct of his ministers and generals made him commit numberless errors in the execution of his design. Of these the politic *Christian* did not fail to make his advantage. He no sooner heard of the march of the *Swedish* army, which amounted to eighteen thousand men, than he marched with all expedition to *Landscroon*, drew all his troops out of garrison, and encamped in a situation near *Landscroon*, that likewise covered the blockade of *Malmoe*. The ardour of the *Swedish* monarch excited him to prosecute his design at all hazards; he marched on and encamped on the opposite side of the river *Roa*, which separated the two armies. Several light skirmishes happened, which decided nothing; but the *Swedish* monarch perceiving, that *Christian* had thrown so many obstacles in his way, as made the relief of *Malmoe* impracticable, decamped

a decamped, and marching to *Helsingburg*, laid siege to that place. Colonel *Müller*, who commanded, evacuated the town as untenable, and retired to the citadel, which he refused to surrender upon a threatening summons. The *Swedish* monarch began to batter in breach, and then gave the assault; but was received with so much courage, that the *Swedes* retreated with considerable loss. Their batteries were dismounted by the furious fire of the besieged, and matters went on so unsuccessfully, that after pillaging the town, his majesty drew off the army, and pitched his camp opposite to the *Danish* army, on the banks of the *Loder*. *The Swedes besage Helsingburg, and are repulsed.*

b THE armies again began to cannonade each other, while, in the mean time, a conference was held across the river, between the colonels *Sustedt* and *Ascheberg*; the former a *Danish*, and the latter a *Swedish* officer. The latter demanding why the king of *Denmark* would not give battle, the other replied, that his majesty fought nothing more eagerly, provided the *Swedes* would encamp in an open plain. Upon this *Ascheberg* took his leave, saying he would acquaint his master. For some days nothing however passed, except certain manœuvres, by which both sides endeavoured to gain some advantage in point of situation. At last both kings determined to come to a battle, and to command their armies in person. The *Danes* were drawn up with ten squadrons composing the right wing, supported by a corps de reserve of eight squadrons. A regiment of dragoons, and three squadrons of horse, covered the flank. In the center were nine squadrons, supported by nearly an equal body of reserve; and the left wing was composed of an equal number of c squadrons, supported in the same manner, and covered by a regiment of dragoons and three squadrons of horse. Upon advice that the enemy were in motion, *Christian* advanced his left wing, and general *Stanberg*, hurried on by his courage and ambition to signalize himself, attacked the right wing of the enemy, without observing the motion of the center and right wing. He was received so warmly, that most of his colonels and field officers were killed on the spot, and himself so much wounded, that he was obliged to quit the field. *The battle of Lunden.*

d In the mean time the right wing had more success; the enemy's left was hard pushed and broken, when the young *Swedish* monarch appearing with a reinforcement from the right, that had defeated *Stanberg*, renewed the engagement with fresh vigour. In this manner did the battle continue until night separated the combatants, the *Danish* infantry having pushed the *Swedes* beyond *Lunden*, and the cavalry of both sides obstinately disputing the field. Both claimed the victory; but in our opinion the *Danes*, with most reason, as they remained masters of the field until sunset, pushed the enemy's infantry, took their artillery, and about sixty pair of colours and standards. However, the very same was asserted by the *Swedes*; and it is a disputed point to this very day which party urged the stronger arguments; although the ingenious author of the *Present State of Europe*, speaks of the battle of *Lunden* as if the *Danes* had received a total and decisive defeat. Indeed, with respect to consequences, this insinuation may have some foundation; for the *Swedes* relieved *Malmö*, and *Christian* soon after returned to *Copenhagen*; but that he was worsted e in the field appears from no authentic testimony. How much depended on his majesty's conduct and valour, appears from the circumstances of the engagement. Both sides agree, that he was present wherever danger and glory called; that his force was but half that of the enemy; that wherever he commanded, the enemy gave way; and that he acquitted himself in all respects like a skilful and valiant commander. *Both sides claim the victory.*

f LEAVING his army for the protection of his conquests in *Schonen*, the king returned to *Copenhagen* to make fresh levies, and repair the loss he sustained in the bloody battle of *Lunden*. Twelve new regiments were ordered to be raised with all expedition; and he negotiated a subsidiary treaty with the courts of *Hanover* and *Hesse*. He likewise made propositions to cede his pretensions to *Bremen* to the duke of *Lunenbourg* and bishop of *Münster*, provided they would furnish a certain number of auxiliaries to act under the command of his generals.

g It is usual with princes to talk of peace while they are waging the most cruel wars, rather to impress men with an opinion of their moderation, than to cede any of their pretensions, however unjustifiable. It so happened at this time, all the contending powers sent their ambassadors to deliberate on a peace at *Nimeguen*, while each resolved to insist upon the terms he might expect after a successful war. His *Danish* majesty's intentions were very apparent, from the number of obstacles his minister raised against every proposition, and the difficulties he started about passports, precedence, ceremonials, and the right of ambassadors. The smallest circumstance is used for a pretence to break off treaties to which sovereigns have no inclination. This at *Nimeguen* run many hazards of coming to nothing *Negotiations at Nimeguen for a peace.*

nothing, from the cavilling disposition of the parties. The ambassador of *Denmark* first ^a disputed with the *Spanish* ambassador about the right hand, and then with the *French* minister about the language in which they were to express themselves : in a word, every thing was made a handle for prolonging the war. *Christian* panted after the recovery of the last provinces yielded to *Sweden*; his success for the two last campaigns had given him a taste for conquest, and whetted his ambition; and he was in hopes, that prolonging the war might reduce *Sweden* to the low estate he wished, and proportionably augment the power and grandeur of the *Danish* monarchy. Here are the claims of the several negotiating powers.

*The demands
of the several
powers.*

DENMARK demanded, that *France* should reimburse her in the expences of the war; and that matters between her and *Sweden* should be restored upon the same footing they ^b stood at the peace of *Westphalia* : That the treaties of *Roschild* and *Copenhagen* should be abolished, and all the provinces dismembered from *Denmark* and *Norway*, restored : That *Sweden* should cede all her conquests in *Germany*, and that *Wisnar* and the isle of *Rugen*, be annexed to the crown of *Denmark*. Finally, that for the greater security, his *Danish* majesty should garrison with his troops all the frontier towns of *Sweden*. Terms such as these, it was evident were calculated only to be rejected.

THE propositions of *France* with respect to *Denmark* were, that as his most Christian majesty had declared war against the crown, only because in prejudice of the treaty of *Copenhagen*, which he had guaranteed, his *Danish* majesty had declared war on *Sweden*, things should be restored on all sides agreeable to the tenour of that treaty. ^c

As for *Sweden*, her demands were of a similar nature; for by insisting on the performance of the treaty of 1660, restitution was necessarily made of all the places taken from her during the present war. The propositions of the duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*, put into the hands of the mediators by his envoys, received no answer at all, passing wholly unnoticed, because the *Danish* ambassador refused to acknowledge the minister of that prince, allied with *Sweden*, protected by *France*, and for those reasons dispossessed of his dominions by the king of *Denmark*.

*Preparations
for prosecuting
the war.*

SUCH were the propositions made for establishing peace in the North, while the kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* were making vigorous preparations for continuing the war. *Christian* reflecting, that his chief advantage would arise from his superiority at sea, sent admiral ^d *Tromp*, after loading him with honours and titles, to solicit more powerful succours from the states-general of the United Provinces. On the other hand, his *Swedish* majesty having regained possession of *Helsingburg*, after the battle of *Lunden*, was taking measures for driving the *Danes* out of *Bleking*. He sent a detachment to attack *Carelsghaven*, which was repulsed; but afterwards laying siege in form to the place, it was surrendered after a brave defence. *Christianshaven* was the next object of his designs; to this he laid siege early in the spring, and *Christian* marched with an army of twenty thousand men to its relief. Although the *Swedes* were strongly posted, they not only refused battle, but decamped with precipitation, and were followed by that part of the army which had invested the city. To this a vigorous sally of the besieged, in which the enemy lost a great number of men, eighteen pieces of ^e cannon, &c. greatly contributed.

A. D. 1677.

*The Danes lay
siege to Mal-
moe.*

As soon as *Christian* had reinforced the garrison, and thrown in the necessary supplies, he marched in pursuit of the *Swedish* army, but could not come up with it. However, he resolved to undertake the siege of *Malmoe*, because the possession of this strong hold would secure the conquest of *Schonen*. The army arrived before the town on the nineteenth of *June*, and after employing eleven days in making his approaches, raising batteries, throwing bombs, and attacking the covered way, his majesty carried the counterscarp by the first of *July* : then playing furiously on the citadel, from the second to the fifth, he effected a lodgement on the parapet of the covered way, where a battery, to play on the east gate, was raised. *Christian*, naturally humane, would have delayed the siege a little longer, rather than sacrifice so many lives in pushing it with all the vigour that was possible; but certain intelligence which he received of the motions of the *Swedish* army and fleet, rendered all possible dispatch necessary. He therefore resolved to finish the affair by a general assault, which was fixed for the evening of the sixth of *July*. The troops of *Munster* were ordered to make a false attack in one quarter, while three other attacks were pushed with the utmost vigour. The *Danes* mounted the ramparts sword in hand, carried the works before *la Greve* gate, took post at the bastion called *Stockholm*, and between *Gottenburg* and *Malmoe* bastions. They were preparing to burst open the gate for the cavalry, when the draw-bridge giving way to the weight of numbers, broke down. Upon this the besieged took courage, and the *Danes* were dispirited, on seeing colonel *Biban*, with his corps, ^g drowned. Those who had entered the town were forced to retreat with precipitation; and this unfortunate assault ended with the loss of two thousand men to his *Danish* majesty.

Siege raised.

Immediately

a Immediately the siege was raised, and from this time we may date the reverse of fortune of the *Danish* arms by land.

THE advantages which his majesty gained by sea compensated in some measure the losses on shore. Admiral *Juel* having intelligence, that a *Swedish* squadron of eighteen sail lay at *Gottenburg*, to join the main fleet, resolved to attack it before the junction could be effected, though his fleet consisted only of eleven ships of the line. On his approach the enemy cut their cables, and both fleets began a general cannonading for the space of five hours, without any considerable damage to either, a calm preventing *Juel* from coming to a close engagement. In the morning a favourable gale springing up, the *Danes* bore down with all their sail, and began the attack with such fury, that six *Swedish* ships were disabled.

b *Juel* fearing lest the *Swedish* admiral might escape under favour of the smoke, left the pursuit of the six damaged ships to the rest of his squadron, and with his own ship boarded the admiral. The engagement was warm and obstinate, both ships being nearly of equal force, and both admirals determined to conquer. *Juel's* fortune however prevailed, and the *Swede* struck, after fighting desperately for two hours. A complete victory followed; the Admiral, of sixty guns, three hundred men; the *Angel Gabriel*, of fifty guns, two hundred men; the *Calmar*, *Wrangel*, and *Sirene*, each of forty-six guns, being taken, together with one fire-ship, and two transports. In all, about three thousand *Swedes* were taken and killed, with the loss only of two hundred and fifty men on the side of *Juel*.

The Danes
defeat the
Swedish fleet.

c FOUR days after the siege of *Malmoe* was raised, *Juel* performed another no less signal advantage to his master, which in some measure compensated his loss before that place. He was attacked by the *Swedish* fleet near the isle of *Mona*. The admirals *Horn*, *Clerk*, the best officers in the *Swedish* marine, and *Warksmuster*, led the enemy's fleet, composed of forty sail in three divisions. Greatly superior in force, they doubted not of retrieving the late disgrace; but *Juel* supplied the want of numbers by conduct, vigilance, and courage. Gaining the wind of the enemy by dint of superior skill, he broke their line, put the fleet in confusion, and took the *Mars*, of seventy-two guns, *Julius Cæsar*, of sixty, *Sea-Wolf*, of fifty-six, the *Lyon*, of fifty-two, *Dragon*, and *Saturn*, each of sixty-four, sinking the *Jupiter*, of sixty guns. Never was the valour of *Juel* more tried than in this engagement, in which his ship, the *Christian*, was attacked by six large ships of the enemy, and so much damaged, that the admiral was forced to send her out of the line, and continue the fight in the *Frederick*, that happily came up to his relief.

Swedish fleet
defeated a second time.

Just as the battle was ended, the *Dutch* squadron, so impatiently expected, came in sight, but too late to claim any share in the glory of the day. *Tromp*, however, intercepted three sixty gun ships before they got into *Malmoe*, burnt one, and sunk the other two in presence of his *Danish* majesty, who was a witness of this action from the shore.

e A SCENE very different was acting where his majesty commanded in person, though every action was schemed with prudence, and executed with valour. Weakened by the loss of *Malmoe* he was attacked between *Helsingburg* and *Landscroon* by the king of *Sweden*, and an army near double in numbers. Both princes performed prodigies of valour: they seemed rivals in courage and glory. *Charles* exposed himself to the thickest of the fire, and *Christian*, with his own hand, slew several *Swedish* officers, who successively attempted to make him prisoner. Fatigue, joined to the excessive heat of the sun, at last put an end to the battle, the *Swedes* keeping the field, and the *Danes* retreating to their camp at *Landscroon* in good order. His majesty's loss indeed was great; but his good conduct prevented the *Swedes* from deducing any considerable advantage from their victory; for such it must be allowed.

Battle between the two
armies.

f COUNT *Guldenlew*, the king's governor of *Norway*, formed a scheme to reduce *Alesband*, a small fortified town in the district of *Babus*, situated upon a rock. His measures were so well taken, that he not only made himself master of this place, but of *Carelsbyn*, a strong place, surrounded by high walls, and encompassed by rugged mountains. Encouraged by this success, he detached two thousand horse and foot under the command of the colonels *Haven* and *Schultzen*, to attempt regaining *Fempterland*, which had been wrested from *Denmark* at the peace of *Copenhagen*. The march made with such rapidity over rocks, inaccessible mountains, and impervious woods, was altogether astonishing. *Schultzen* forced a post defended by four hundred men, and a battery, where the natural situation would, by any other officer, be deemed an insuperable obstruction.

g AMIDST a variety of operations in *Norway*, we shall only take notice of one attended with more important consequences than the rest. The *Swedish* army, ten thousand strong, hearing that the *Danes* were in motion to give them battle, did not decline the engagement. On the seventh of *September* both armies came in sight of each other: they soon began a general fire with their artillery; and general *Lewenbelm*, who led the vanguard, began the fight on the side of the *Danes*. He attacked sword in hand, the heavy rains having rendered

Swedes de-
f. a'ed.

Other ad-
vantages
gained by his
majesty's arms
on sea and
land.

A. D. 1678.

The Swedes
retake the isle
of Rugen.

Danes de-
feated.

Christian
makes several
attempts to re-
lieve Chris-
tianstadt.

ed his fire-arms useless. At first he was warmly received; but the resistance made by the Swedes was not of long duration. They soon were put in disorder, their infantry totally defeated, and their cavalry obliged to seek safety in their flight. They lost a great number of officers, four hundred soldiers, six hundred were made prisoners, all their artillery was taken, together with heaps of standards, colours, and other military trophies.

To this were added several advantages gained by the *Danish* fleet and army, commanded by the king in person, and by *Van Tromp* the *Dutch* admiral; the former having taken the isle of *Rugen*, and the latter, after making descents on the islands of *Oeland*, *Smaland*, *Uno*, and *Kuno*, burnt to ashes the city *Westerwyck*, pillaged several villages, and carried off richer booty than had been got in any preceding actions. *Stettin* was likewise taken by the elector of *Brandenburg*, assisted with a strong detachment of *Danish* infantry, and it was believed that the *Swedes* would be forced to evacuate all their conquests in the empire. But these conjectures were ill-founded. The *Danes* had a dangerous enemy to combat in the person of the experienced count *Konigsmark*. After this general, overpowered by numbers, had abandoned *Rugen*, he was reduced to great difficulties, from which nothing but courage and hazardous strokes could rescue him. Pent up in the neighbourhood of *Stralsund*, where his men daily perished with famine, he resolved to risque all for their relief, and to avoid the necessity of yielding at discretion. He formed a plan, which he communicated to the magistrates of *Stralsund*; they approved of it, because they confided in his experience, and saw the extremity to which he was reduced. To shew their attachment to the crown of *Sweden*, they joined him with a body of burghers, and resolved to run the same fortune with him. With a favourable gale *Konigsmark* embarked his infantry, and sent some vessels to *Gilles*, to draw the attention of the *Danes* on that side, and persuaded them that he meditated a descent on *Schapperode*, or *Wittaw*. But the *Danes*, who saw themselves masters of the island, with an army of nine thousand men, believed they were so much superior to the enemy; that they paid little regard to their motions. Instead of disputing the landing with *Konigsmark*, they encamped on a large plain, at some distance from the shore. The *Swede* immediately marched up, began a cannonading, and played his artillery so judiciously, that the right wing of the *Danes* was put in disorder. General *Rumor* being killed by a cannon-ball, disputes arose among the *Danish* officers about the command: all subordination ceased, the army was in confusion, and became an easy prey to the *Swedes*. Some regiments, however, upon the right, performed their duty. The colonels, without waiting for orders from the commander in chief, attacked the *Swedish* left wing with irresistible fury, and broke it, in spite of all the endeavours of *Konigsmark*, who was continually reinforcing it with fresh troops. But the rest of the army not coming to their support, the *Danes* were at last forced to retreat, and leave a clear victory to the enemy, who would have made prodigious slaughter, had they not been interrupted in the pursuit by marshes, which cut them off from the *Danish* camp. However, the consequences of this defeat were fatal; for no less than five thousand men fell into *Konigsmark's* hands in a few days after the battle; so well had he taken his measures, and such was the confusion and anarchy that reigned in the *Danish* army.

CHRISTIAN was chagrined at this loss, and employed all his endeavours in scheming revenge. It was greatly his interest to raise the siege of *Christianstadt*, which place the *Swedish* army had invested; and he left nothing unattempted to effect this design. His fleet under *Fuel*, on which he had the chief reliance, put to sea; but was greatly damaged by a storm, that obliged the admiral to relinquish the expedition.

THE *Danish* general *Arensdorff* had better fortune; he took the town and citadel of *Hel-sinburg*, and had just signed the capitulation, and received the keys of the gates, when advice arrived, that the *Swedish* monarch was on his march to relieve the garrison. Several other diversions were made, to draw the king of *Sweden's* attention from the siege of *Christianstadt*, a place equally important to both monarchs; with respect to the security of *Schonen*. His majesty placed his greatest hopes in the success of the siege of *Babus*, a place invested by general *Guldenlew*. This however failed; for as the general was on the point of storming the town, having made himself master of all the outworks, the *Swedes* arrived with a powerful army to its relief. All these diversions having failed in producing the desired effect, his majesty determined upon one last effort to relieve *Christianstadt*, which was now reduced to the last extremity, for want of provisions. With this view he put himself at the head of his army, composed of twelve thousand men. *Arensdorff*, and the duke de *Croy*, commanded the right wing. The generals *Wedel* and *Meerheyin* the left, composed of the forces of *Munster*, and the king in person; the count de *St. Paul* commanding under him, led the main body. At the same time the fleet was ordered to draw up before the harbour of *Christianstadt*, and practise every endeavour to throw in supplies. Two faults committed by general *Arensdorff* frustrated the king's project. Contrary to his orders,

a orders, he deferred until next day seizing upon an eminence which overlooked and commanded the enemy's camp, who taking advantage of this error, fortified the post. In every other part, the camp was so well fortified by the nature of the situation, as rendered it inaccessible; and sensible of this advantage, the *Swedes* prudently declined all his majesty's cartels and challenges to fight. In a word, they carried their point without running any hazard; *Christianstadt* was forced to surrender in sight of the *Danish* army; and the king, who attributed the whole loss to *Arensdorff*, was so much incensed, that he ordered that officer under arrest.

All his attempts frustrated.

b His majesty's arms were more successful in another quarter. *Juel* sailed for the isle of *Rugen*; and took his measures, conjointly with the elector of *Brandenburg*, so well, that the island was retaken, *Stralsund* and *Gripswald* reduced, and several lesser advantages gained. Soon after this it was, that *Christian* had an interview with the elector, to concert their future operations. Nothing farther however was attempted for that season; and the public attention was engrossed by the negotiations resumed at *Nimeguen*, and the unfortunate fate of the garrisons of *Stralsund* and *Gripswald*, amounting to four thousand men, all of whom were shipwrecked off the island of *Borkholm*. When these towns surrendered it was capitulated, that the garrisons should be transported into *Sweden*, on board the ships of the allies. *Christian* made some objections to this article, as count *Konigsmark* had broke some parts of his engagement with the *Danish* troops in *Rugen*. At last he granted it; and the fleet being cast away, the *Swedes* attributed it, though upon a very slight foundation, to design. Nothing indeed could be more absurd than to suppose, that either the king or elector had given orders to their admiral to shipwreck himself, or that he would have obeyed such an order, had it been given.

Rugen retaken by the Danes.

Shipwreck of the Swedish prisoners.

c It was now reported, that the states-general of the United Provinces, had lent an ear to the propositions of the court of *France*, and agreed on a separate peace. Immediately the plenipotentiaries of *Denmark* represented to their high mightinesses their treaty with the king their master, in the strongest manner, urging the performance of terms mutually advantageous, with all the arguments of reason and rhetoric. But all was in vain; the states had taken their resolution, and nothing could divert them from putting an end to a war, which had proved so ruinous to them, however successful their fleets in the *Baltick* had been. All that the other allies could do was to enter a protest against their proceeding, which was done by the ambassadors of *Denmark*, *Brandenburg*, and *Munster*. The same measure was taken with respect to all the other parties engaged in this general war, who had now signed a separate peace. *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* were left alone to withstand all the power of *France* and *Sweden* by sea and land; however, they determined not to relinquish their conquests, or cede an inch of what they believed their just right. This was the elector's determination, as well as the king's; but some motions made by the army under the marshal *Crequi*, soon convinced the former, that his only method of warding the impending storm, was to renounce his alliance with *Denmark*, and embrace the propositions made by *France* and *Sweden*. Thus *Christian* remained single of all the allies to fight his own quarrel. His fleet was always superior; but the march of *Crequi*, after the elector had signed the peace, towards *Oldenburg* and *Delmenhorst*, convinced his *Danish* majesty, that *France* would act with all her force in favour of *Sweden*; and that, to avoid the consequences of a war carried on against two so formidable powers, each of which had been the terror of *Europe*, it was necessary to follow the example of the other allies. He therefore gave directions to his minister to sign, which alone was wanting to re-establish the tranquillity of the Christian powers, embroiled for such a number of years. Accordingly peace was concluded between *France*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, on the second of *September*, 1679; all the summer having passed without any considerable military operations on either side.

Negotiated at Nimeguen, where the Dutch and elector of Brandenburg sign a separate peace.

f By this treaty *Charles* was put in possession of all he claimed before the war; and *Christian*, after prodigious exertions of courage and conduct, was forced, through the fault of his allies, to sit down disappointed in all those views which had first made him declare against *Sweden*. The duke of *Holstein-Gottorp* recovered his dominions and sovereignty in consequence of the peace; and the treaties of *Roschild*, *Copenhagen*, and *Westphalia*, were declared in force between the courts of *Denmark* and *Holstein*, the same as if they had been transcribed word for word in the present treaty. It was at *Fontainebleau* that the peace between the three crowns was signed; besides which, a separate treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was executed at *Lunden* between the ambassadors of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, in presence of the *French* ministers. Finally, the more firmly to connect the two northern crowns, a treaty of marriage was proposed between the princess *Ulrica Eleonora* of *Denmark* and the king of *Sweden*. The terms were accepted; but the ceremony deferred until the spring of the following year, on account of the multiplicity of business in which both kings were

Peace concluded between Sweden and Denmark.

were engaged, in restoring the tranquillity of their kingdoms, and redressing all the disorders and grievances introduced by a long and bloody war.

Christian lays
siege to Ham-
burgh.

WHILE the treaty of peace was in agitation, king *Christian* advanced the greater part of his army towards the river *Elbe*, under the pretext of disputing the passage with *Craqui* the French general. This march gave uneasiness to the city of *Hamburg*; the magistrates expressed their resentment, particularly on general *Wedel's* building a fort in their vicinage. At last, upon seeing the king's forces daily increase, they took the alarm, and seemed convinced that these preparations had a farther design than was acknowledged. First, they made remonstrances, and then took effectual steps for the security of their city; precautions extremely seasonable, as *Christian* had certainly formed designs to surprise it. He had reconnoitred the ground in person, and formed a plan for besieging the city, in case his attempts to surprise it failed. He published a manifesto, declaring his rights to that city, which was answered by the *Hamburgers*; and then began to enforce his claim by arms. Batteries were raised, lines drawn, and approaches made in a regular manner, that convinced the inhabitants he was not to be resisted by arguments; they therefore applied to *France* for her mediation; and *Lewis XIV.* wrote a letter with his own hand to *Christian*, exhorting him not to disturb the repose so lately granted to *Europe*, by entering upon fresh disputes; and the house of *Brunswick*, having already sent a body of troops in defence of the city, laboured so heartily in effecting an accommodation, that a sort of provisional treaty was concluded on the first day of *November*.

Peace with the
Hamburg-
ers.

By this the city of *Hamburg* agreed to pay his majesty, at five stated instalments, the sum of two hundred and twenty thousand crowns, on condition that he sheathed the sword, and laid aside the resentment he had conceived against this city; renounced his pretensions to those territories possessed conjointly between *Lubeck* and *Hamburg*; restored the shipping and merchandize he had taken, belonging to the city, together with several other articles, which it would be unnecessary to enumerate. By the third article, the city of *Hamburg* engaged to send deputies to *Christian*, to declare the sentiments of the magistrates and burghers, with respect to his majesty:

A. D. 1680.

Thus peace was happily established; and the *Danish* army began to file gradually out of the duke of *Holstein-Gottorp's* territories. Tranquillity was now restored to *Europe*; several marriages were celebrated among the parties concerned in the war; and among others, that of the princess *Eleonora* of *Denmark* with his *Swedish* majesty: On the twenty-fifth of *February* she was demanded by *M. Guldenstern*, the *Swedish* ambassador, arrived in *Copenhagen*; but her departure was deferred on account of a fever, with which she was seized. At length her royal highness set out for *Sweden*, where the nuptials were celebrated with all imaginable pomp and magnificence.

Christian's
policy.

CHRISTIAN next applied himself to the affairs of the empire, and finally terminating the differences between the houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, which met with numberless difficulties. He laboured so heartily in this business, that he received the thanks of the diet at *Ratisbon*; but not satisfied with general declarations, he entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the elector of *Brandenburg* and bishop of *Munster*, whereby the contracting parties engaged with all their power to preserve the peace of the empire, and mutually to assist each other in case either was attacked. Although in fact this alliance was no more than defensive, it gave umbrage to the *United Provinces*, who called it an offensive treaty, calculated for some end not specified in the treaty. They dreaded lest his majesty formed designs on their homeward-bound *East-India* fleet; and their fears were augmented by the attention which his *Danish* majesty gave to his marine. There had been some differences between the two nations, on account of a *Danish* ship taken by the *Hollanders* on the coast of *Guiney*; but the event shewed that *Christian* had no intention of coming to a rupture by making reprisals. *Christian* used all possible endeavours to disperse the clouds of suspicion gathered in *Holland*; he wrote to the city of *Amsterdam*, protesting, that so far from giving any disturbance to the commerce of the *United Provinces*, it should be his study assiduously to cultivate the good intelligence between *Denmark* and *Holland*. As *France* was now included in the late treaty of alliance, he thought it necessary to declare, that the sole object of this confederacy was no other than to preserve that tranquillity which *Europe* had begun to taste.

A. D. 1682.

In the month of *July*, *Christian* and the elector of *Brandenburg* had an interview at *Itzoba*; but the business transacted at this conference is rather conjectured at than known. Common report would have it, that *Holstein* was the subject of their conversation. Certain it is, that not long after his majesty imposed a tax of eighteen crowns upon each plough in the duchy; and the duke, not in a condition to oppose this resolution, was forced to consent to see the inhabitants oppressed.

FROM *Itzoba* his majesty returned with all expedition to *Copenhagen*, on advice that a

a strong *Swedish* fleet had put to sea. Here he arrested two *Lubeck* ships, under pretence that the regency owed him a sum of money. The duke of *Lunenburg* first interposed, and afterwards the imperial minister complained loudly at his proceeding, both as guarantees of the late treaty at *Nimagueu*, and protectors of the hanse-towns: however, they obtained no redress, and the vessels were at length released, in consequence of a deputation from the regency.

A DIFFERENCE likewise happened between the fleets of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. The former having put in by stress of weather at *Elfsneur*, refused to pay the usual honours to the flag of *Denmark*. This the *Danish* admiral resented, and begun firing upon the *Swedes*, which at last obliged them to lower their flag and strike their colours. The *Swedish* envoy complained of this violence at *Copenhagen*; he insisted upon the admiral's being broke, which *Christian* peremptorily refused, though he found other means to terminate the affair amicably. Differences between Denmark and the neighbouring powers.

NEXT year a dispute of more consequence arose between *Denmark* and the republic of *Holland*. The *Danes* complained that their settlement was driven out of *Bantam*, by the king's son, at the instigation of the *Dutch*; they demanded not only to be indemnified in the immense losses they sustained, but that their company should be restored to all the rights and privileges they before enjoyed. The dispute was warmly carried on by both parties, and it was believed that the difference between the two companies would occasion a rupture between both nations. However, the business was too important to be suddenly determined. Both agreed to wait for farther advices from the *Indies*; and thus the dispute was delayed, but not decided.

It was apprehended, from the preparations made by *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Bavaria*, and *Lunenburg*, that the tranquility of *Germany* would be again interrupted. Each of the above princes were busied in putting their armies on the best footing; and the forces of *Denmark* were actually in a flourishing condition, being lately augmented, in consequence of a subsidy from the *French* court. *Christian* reviewed his army at *Oldsloe*, which raised jealousies in the regency of *Lubeck* and duke of *Lunenburg*. The former put the city in the best state of defence, and the latter augmented his army to twenty thousand men; but nothing was undertaken by either side.

d THE first actual hostilities happened between his majesty and the city of *Hamburg*. Private dissensions had arisen in that city, the people refusing to pay the taxes imposed by the senate. Matters were carried so high, that all government ceased, and the whole was one confused anarchy. A more favourable opportunity could not offer for *Christian's* renewing his demand on *Hamburg*. He immediately embraced the occasion, and presented himself with a powerful army before the gates, demanding that he might be acknowledged protector of the city against the emperor's usurpation, and threatening in case of refusal to treat the inhabitants as enemies. The senate not giving ear to these propositions, he enforced his menaces with actions. He attacked some of the out-forts sword in hand, hoping to reduce the city by bombardment, if he succeeded in securing his approaches; but he was repulsed with loss. A second attack was made with all imaginable fury; but the fort having a communication with the city, it was constantly supplied with fresh troops, so that the assailants were forced to desist, with more loss than in the former attempt. The king lays siege to Hamburg.

It was now found impossible to succeed by assault, his majesty therefore resolved to proceed regularly, and besiege the fort in form, after cutting off the communication between it and the city. But while he was engaged in making his approaches to the fort, the *Lunenburg* infantry, and a body of *Brandenburg* cavalry, entered the city. These were soon joined by a strong corps of *Swedish* matrosses and gunners from the duchy of *Bremen*, the whole garrison forming an army of twelve thousand men. However, the king did not relinquish his design; he continued drawing lines to cut off the communication, and erecting batteries to play on this strong fort. Several little forts were built to cover his operations, which the *Hamburgers* perceiving, determined to drive the *Danes* from their works. A vigorous sally was made, and about five hundred *Danish* infantry cut in pieces before the cavalry could come to their assistance: afterwards the scene changed, the *Hamburgers* were repulsed, driven back to the town, and scarce able to prevent the *Danish* cavalry from entering the gates with them. In the heat of pursuit, a *Danish* officer, having actually got within the walls, was discovered by the officer on guard, who presented his fusée; but the *Dane*, too quick for him, drew his pistol, shot the *Hamburger* dead, turned his reins, and oversetting all who opposed him, made his way back to the camp.

IMMEDIATELY after this conflict, a negotiation was set on foot by the elector of *Brandenburg* and the duke of *Zell*, who came to *Herburg*, on the opposite side of the river, to push the mediation with the more vigour. The *English* envoy strenuously promoted an accommodation, which was at length concluded, after his *Danish* majesty had made fruitless attempts to lay the city in ashes with his bombs. The principal article of this treaty

was, that matters should remain on the footing they then stood, until the year 1700, without detriment to the claim of his *Danish* majesty. a

ALL the world was astonished to see the king lay siege with fifteen thousand men to *Hamburg*, the works of which were so extensive as to require sixty thousand men completely to invest them. It was believed therefore that he relied upon secret promises from some of the chief burghers, who afterwards deceived him.

ALTHOUGH the city of *Hamburg* was now secured by a peace, guarantied by princes able to protect her, yet she did not fail to keep herself in a posture of defence. *Christian's* standing army, and close alliance with *France* and *England*, gave the alarm not only to the senate of *Hamburg*, but to all the neighbouring princes. The North enjoyed peace; but all the princes made vigorous preparations, as if they intended coming to an immediate rupture. In effect, this was owing to the intrigue and policy of *France*, who finding it necessary to maintain a large army for the defence of her conquests, thought of nothing but to keep all the neighbouring kingdoms in a state of suspense. Her views were to exhaust their funds for carrying on a war, in case they should unite to retrench the power of the house of *Bourbon*. b

*His dispute
with the
Dutch.*

AN ordonnance published this year by the king of *Denmark* furnished new matter of speculation, and gave the alarm in particular to the *Dutch*. The treaty of commerce concluded in 1647 between *Denmark* and the United Provinces was now expired, and his majesty raised the duties on *Dutch* shipping passing the *Sound*, and prohibited the exportation of black cattle out of *Jutland*, and other parts of his dominions. It was presumed that his majesty had farther designs, and these edicts published with a view merely to excite fresh troubles. For this reason the *Dutch* laid an embargo on all their ships destined for the *Baltick*, to prevent their being seized by the *Danes*, in case his majesty should think fit to come suddenly to a rupture, and before they had taken measures for regulating the affair of the customs of the *Sound*. In the mean time their ambassador at *Copenhagen* procured a suspension for four years of any farther proceedings, and till matters should be finally adjusted by a solemn treaty. c

A. D. 1687.
*Negotiations
respecting
Holstein.*

THE affairs of the duchy of *Holstein* had been long in agitation. His *Danish* majesty still claimed the sovereignty of that duchy, and in a manner kept possession of *Holstein*, as appeared from the late heavy tax imposed on the people. To put a final end to their differences, the duke at last consented to a conference at *Altena*, to be conducted under the mediation of the emperor and elector of *Brandenburg*. *Christian* could not give stronger proofs of the justice of his cause, than by submitting to the mediation of princes visibly, nay professedly, biassed in favour of the duke. His highness relied upon his declining the conference upon such terms; but finding that *Christian* accepted the proposal, he did all that lay in his power to confound the business of the negotiation, which he knew must terminate to his disadvantage. All his endeavours however being frustrated by the vigilance and policy of *Christian*, his highness was compelled, as the last resource, to accede to the proposed accommodation, in hopes that fortune might one day prove more favourable to his pretensions. d

A. D. 1688.

THE two northern crowns continued their armaments, and the duke raised his hopes in proportion as he saw the *Swedish* army increase. At last he published a memorial, in which he demanded, first, that the duchy of *Sleswick*, and the territory called *le Don de Dieu*, and its dependencies, should be restored to the same situation in which they stood A. 1674, when they were sequestered: secondly, that the treaties of *Roschild*, *Copenhagen*, *Fontainbleau*, and *Lunden*, should be the basis of the negotiation, and that of *Rendsburg* totally annulled: thirdly, that the isle of *Femeren*, the bailliages of *Trittaw*, *Trensbuttle*, and *Steenburst*, should be given up without any equivalent or remaining claim: and, fourthly, that his highness should enjoy all the prerogatives of sovereignty, particularly those of collecting and imposing taxes, and of declaring war and peace. Several other particulars, which we need not mention, were specified in this memorial. e

A. D. 1689.

HIS majesty answered every article in a memorial which he published immediately after the appearance of the duke's. He begun with observing, that the treaties mentioned by the duke, could not possibly lay the foundation of the desired negotiation, as the face of affairs was greatly altered since that time; and the duke having once refused their authority, he had now no right to claim any benefit from them. Every article was minutely answered, and the differences at last ended by the treaty of *Altena*, concluded under the mediation of *England* and *Brandenburg*, the former influenced to intercede by the solicitations of prince *George* of *Denmark*, and the latter from a desire to prevent *Sweden's* marching an army into *Pomerania*. By this treaty a general amnesty was agreed upon, and a perpetual union and friendship begun between the courts of *Denmark* and *Holstein*. His *Danish* majesty restored the duke to all his dominions and sovereignties, with the right of levying taxes, making alliances, declaring war, concluding peace, building or demolishing fortresses: in a word, all g

all

a all the prerogatives his highness enjoyed, from the treaty of *Westphalia* and of the North, to the year 1665, and likewise all that he could claim from the treaty of *Fontainebleau*. The king also consented to the redemption of the isle of *Femeren*, and the bailliages of *Steenburst*, *Trensbuttle*, and *Trittaw*, which had been mortgaged to the crown of *Denmark*. *Conclusion of the difference between Denmark and Holstein.*

On the other hand, his highness renounced all claims, pretensions, and actions against his majesty for the damages he had sustained by the retention of his dominions, and the king's levying his revenues for years past. He likewise yielded up all claims in consequence of the verdict obtained against the duke of *Holstein-Ploen* in the imperial chamber. As to the treaty of perpetual union, family connections, conventions, and private contracts, they were put on the same footing they stood before the year 1657, as was literally expressed in the treaties of *Westphalia*, *Fontainebleau*, &c. All other particulars were referred to an amicable decision; and in case that could not be done, to the course of law, without any attempts to be made on either side to succeed by force. In testimony of this agreement, two copies were made out, signed, sealed, and delivered to both parties at *Altena*, on the twentieth of *June*, 1689. Such was the end of those differences betwixt the king and the duke of *Holstein*, which was the immediate cause of the late war with *Sweden*, and had been for years the subject of jealousy, contention, and perpetual wrangling (A).

ABOUT this time some altercation happened between the courts of *Versailles* and *Copen-* A. D. 1690:
hagen, about some *Danish* ships which the *French* monarch had detained. *Christian* did not care to embroil himself with that crown. He knew the advantages which his subjects de- *Treaty with France.*
duced from the *French* commerce: however, this trifling circumstance became the founda-
tion of a treaty, which he soon after concluded with *Sweden*, by which it was agreed, that they should mutually resent the injuries done to either, and act in all respects like nations closely connected in interest, treaties, and natural alliances. Both, notwithstanding, consented to carry on trade in its utmost extent; a resolution which gave umbrage to the enemies of that monarchy, and was the occasion of the *Hollanders* attacking a fleet of *Danish* merchantmen bound for *France*. This was an affront which his majesty soon revenged, by ordering all *Dutch* vessels in his ports, and in the *Sound*, to be seized; a measure which soon reduced the republic to the necessity of using supplications, and demanding an accommodation. A negotiation for this purpose was set on foot, and a treaty finally concluded in the month of *July*, whereby *Denmark* was permitted freely to trade with *France* in all kinds of commodities, except such as were prohibited by former treaties; viz. salt-petre, pitch, powder, lead, and a few others. In consequence of this accommodation both sides released the shipping they had detained, and *Denmark* lived upon the same terms of amity as before with the republic. A. D. 1691.

His majesty this year made a trip to *Holstein*, to visit the fortifications erecting with the duke's consent at *Rendsburg*. Such progresses made by princes always furnish matter of speculation, and it is conjectured that other motives than those they declare, actuate them. This was the case in the present instance. The public would have it, that a plan was concerted between the kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* for the reduction of the cities of *Hamburg* and *Bremen*. The conjuncture was indeed favourable for such a design; all the princes interested in the preservation of these towns being otherwise engaged. However, all suspicion was banished by a letter which his *Danish* majesty wrote to the diet at *Ratisbon*, disclaiming an intention to molest either *Hamburg* or *Bremen*, or any wise disturb the repose of the empire.

NOTHING farther of moment happened in *Denmark* during the reign of *Christian*, except some little disputes with the *Dutch*, the duke of *Holstein*, and the cities of *Hamburg* and *Lubeck*, all which were accommodated with little trouble, and without the necessity of applying to arms. It was now the policy of this great monarch to preserve to his people the blessings of peace, which he effectually did until his death, which happened on the fourth of *September*, 1699, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and twenty-ninth of his reign. *Death and character of Christian.*

THE breath had no sooner quitted his body, than some of the by-standers cried over the window, "The king is dead;" upon which count *Raventlaw* called over the window of the young queen, "Long live king *Frederick IV.*" The count's voice was no sooner heard than the heralds at arms solemnly proclaimed the prince king of *Denmark*, the gates of the city were shut for some days, all the troops put under arms, and an oath exacted from the senate, magistrates, and inhabitants, before they were opened.

(A) An instance of generosity in prince *George* of *Denmark*, afterwards married to *Anne* queen of *Great-Britain*, ought not to escape on this occasion. His father had left him by will a portion of three hundred thousand crowns, and his brother, unable to advance the sum, assigned him the bailliages mentioned above, until his patrimony could be paid. These bailliages being now restored to the duke of *Holstein*, provided he could redeem them; and his highness having no money to pay off the mortgage, prince *George*, with unparalleled generosity, made him the compliment of them, that every obstruction to a treaty so salutary to *Denmark* might be removed (1).

(1) *Vid. Mem. de Dan. p. 242.*

CHRISTIAN V. died with the reputation of one of the greatest monarchs in *Europe*, having given numberless proofs of his wisdom in the cabinet; of his courage and conduct in the field; of his affability, tender affection for his people, and every virtue which could engage esteem and love. His greatest enemies charge him only with one foible, and that was, his reposing too much confidence in the opinions of his ministers and generals, and thinking too meanly of his own understanding; an amiable fault, that ever accompanies true merit. He spoke most of the modern languages, and had made a great progress in those branches of the mathematics which regarded the military art and history. *Christian* was never so much pleased as when he was presented with some new geographical chart or plan of fortification. It would be unnecessary to dwell upon his character; the *Danes* recite his virtues with the utmost satisfaction to this day.

F R E D E R I C K IV.

Frederick IV. HERE we proposed ending the *Danish* history, as all the extraordinary particulars in the succeeding reign will be fully related in the *Swedish* history: however, to render the work more complete, we shall subjoin a short view of the principal actions of *Frederick IV.* who was immediately proclaimed, as we have seen, upon the death of his father. When he ascended the throne, he found it convenient to act precisely upon *Christian's* principles. He resolved to keep the duke of *Holstein* dependent on his crown, and with that view overrun the duchy, and undertook the siege of *Tonningen*, that laid the foundation of a long war we shall have occasion to relate in the succeeding history. His *Swedish* majesty laid siege to *Copenhagen*; and the *English* and *Dutch*, as guarantees of the last peace, sent fleets into the *Baltick*; vigorous measures which reduced *Frederick* to the necessity of signing the famous peace of *Travendabl* in *August 1700*.

A. D. 1700.
A view of his conduct. BY this treaty, the full right of sovereignty was once more yielded to the duke of *Holstein*, who was to use, without controul, all the annexed prerogatives; the right of making war, concluding peace, levying taxes, erecting or razing fortifications, &c. with this limitation, that he should not build within two miles of any *Danish* fort. It was likewise stipulated, that his *Danish* majesty should pay the duke two hundred and sixty thousand crowns; and that the chapter of *Lubeck* should be at liberty to elect for their bishop a prince of *Holstein*. Disputes however about this election happened the very next year.

IN 1708, after making the tour of *Italy*, *Frederick* attacked the *Swedes* in *Schonen*, by whom he was roughly handled; however, his good fortune by sea compensated in a great measure his losses on shore. Three years after, in conjunction with the *Poles*, he fell upon *Swedish Pomerania*, took *Damgarten*, but failed in some other enterprizes. Next year he made himself master of the duchy of *Bremen*, and city of *Stade*; but his army was soon after defeated by the *Swedes*, and the fine town of *Altena* burnt to the ground. In 1714, and the year following, he was successful by sea and land, drove the *Swedes* out of *Norway*, reduced *Wisnar*, and gained several other advantages, which he did not pursue, because he perceived they were less beneficial to himself than to his allies, who did not merit great services from him. This it was that inclined *Frederick* to peace, which was concluded in 1720, under the mediation of *George I.* king of *Great-Britain*.

THIS treaty secured to his *Danish* majesty all he could reasonably desire. In particular, it procured what was of great consequence to him, the guarantee of *France* for the possession of the duchy of *Sleswick*. From this time his majesty passed his days in tranquility, and only a single accident, the burning of his capital, occurred to disturb his repose. *Frederick* was certainly a wise prince, strongly inclined to promote the welfare of his subjects; brave and politic; but too enterprising, as some think, and ready to embrace the ideal schemes of projectors, upon which he squandered the public money, without deducing the expected advantages. He died in 1730, in the sixtieth year of his age, deeply regretted by all his subjects, and highly esteemed by the potentates of *Europe*.

C H R I S T I A N VI.

Christian VI. IT was his son *Christian VI.* who might justly be called the father and darling of his subjects. This prince, immediately on his accession, made several alterations, all of which gave extreme satisfaction, as they were wisely calculated for the ease of the people. In particular, he abolished a farm, established in the late reign, for the sole vending brandy, wine, salt, and tobacco; a farm extremely beneficial to the prince, but oppressive to the subject. Those persons interested in it, offered to advance large sums for its continuance; but *Christian* answered, "It produced too much, since his subjects complained of the exactions it occasioned;" a saying worthy of perpetual remembrance and admiration!

CHRISTIAN's whole administration was perfectly consistent with those specimens of wisdom and moderation he gave in the beginning of his reign. In 1736, he terminated the

- a the old disputes with the city of *Hamburg*, which put a million of silver marks in his coffers, and produced several advantageous concessions to his subjects. He established a council of trade, to examine all proposals made for the extension of commerce, in order to give the necessary encouragement for executing such as met with approbation. Every thing possible he did for promoting science, arts, and manufactures, workmen being hired at high prices from all the different kingdoms in *Europe*. He erected a royal bank, that has been attended with numberless advantages to trade, on the account of the facility of raising and disposing of money. He kept his fleet and army in a respectable condition, without any burthen to his subjects, having made subsidiary treaties with that view. His policy was pacific; but when it was necessary, *Christian* did not fail to take vigorous measures.
- b This was apparent in the quarrel with the electorate of *Hanover* about the territory of *Steinburs*, and with *Holland* about the *Iceland* fishery. In both instances his conduct was so firm, so steady, and so politic, that he carried his point, without applying to force. The reputation he acquired from his upright and wise administration it was that induced the *Swedish* nation, about to elect a successor to their late king, to cast their eyes on the hereditary prince of *Denmark*. True it is, that *Christian* did not succeed in this point; but his conduct in the course of the negotiation, was such as distinguished him a just monarch and an able politician. In a word, he squared his conduct through the course of the late general war in a manner truly exemplary, and worthy the imitation of all princes. For sixteen years that he reigned, not one false measure can be attributed to him. Neither insolent
- c nor mean; refined, but not ambiguous, nor dark in his politics; just to his promises, true to his allies, the father of his subjects, the admiration of all *Europe*; he died in 1746, highly regretted and esteemed. It may indeed be observed with truth, that no kingdom was ever happier in its princes than *Denmark*. In so long a series of kings, it is astonishing to find so few unworthy of their exalted dignity. It is true, in elective monarchies this might be expected; but what merits attention is, that *Denmark* was governed by the best princes after the crown was made hereditary, as if they were ambitious of meriting the confidence reposed in them.

A short view
of his wife
policy.

F R E D E R I C K V.

- d *FREDERICK V.* who succeeded to the crown of his father *Christian VI.* wore it with equal glory. In 1743, he espoused the princess *Louisa*, daughter to king *George II.* of *Great-Britain*. He begun his government as his father had done, in making some judicious alterations and changes in his domestic œconomy. Since that time he has steadily pursued his father's maxims, maintained peace, improved and cherished commerce, rewarded industry, and lived within the bounds of his revenue, by a rigid and well regulated œconomy. Nor can this be attributed to a narrowness of disposition, since he has frequently remitted his just rights, for the ease of the subject, in those provinces that have suffered by inevitable calamities; such as dearth, and mortality among the cattle. After expending considerable sums in promoting manufactures, and rewarding ingenious artists, he has paid off
- e a large debt contracted by his ancestors, kept his fleets and armies in a respectable posture, maintained strong garrisons, and done every thing requisite to secure the tranquillity of his dominions, and render *Denmark* rich, flourishing, and formidable. It is incredible, indeed, how much the prudent and peaceable reigns of *Christian VI.* and *Frederick V.* have contributed to improve the state of *Denmark*. The shipping of the kingdom has been more than doubled; the revenues of the crown have increased proportionably; new channels of trade, and new marts, have been established: the court is splendid, without profusion; the king rich, without oppression; the ministers diligent in their respective departments, and the sovereign's conduct a model for all his servants, and indeed to all other potentates. Adored at home, and respected abroad, he gains the applause of all men, while he seeks only that
- f of his own conscience, and studies the felicity of his people. We shall conclude the history of *Denmark* with an anecdote of this prince, too singular to be omitted. As soon as the creditors of the crown were informed that his majesty was resolved to pay off the debt, they endeavoured to divert his intention, by humbly representing, that if he thought the interest too high, they were content to accept four instead of five *per cent.* which had hitherto been paid them. The king however replied, that having money in his coffers, where it could be of no public emolument, he chose to discharge the obligation; but he added, that he would esteem it a favour done to himself, if they would lend the money at low interest to his subjects, which might enable them to extend their commerce, and improve their manufactures^a.

Frederick V.
copies after his
father.

^a Vid. DES ROCHES Hist. de Dan. Mem. de Dan. Present State of Europe. Relation de Dan. 1692. Annal. de Prov. Un. Hist. de Negotiat. de Paix de Nimeguen; cum multis aliis.

The HISTORY of SWEDEN.

S E C T I.

Of the etymology, geography, form of government, and present state of Sweden.

Etymology of Sweden.

THE etymology of *Sweden*, like that of most other names, is disputed, and all the researches of the learned have only served to render it more doubtful. As the subject, indeed, is but of little importance to a reader who seeks for instruction, we shall avoid entering into the debate, contenting ourselves with one or two of the most natural and obvious etymons. Some derive *Sweden* from *Swen*^a, which to this day signifies warlike, youthful, &c. in the *Swedish* language, and was, for that reason, bestowed on many of the kings and warriors of this country. Others again derive it from *Scyth* or *Scythia*^b, by a transposition of letters, and gradual change of sound; which we think altogether forced. Lastly, *Grotius*^c conjectures with great probability, that it may be derived from *Swedt*, sweat, intimating the hard labour the first colony from *Scythia*, settled here, underwent, in clearing the woods, and rendering the country fit for tillage. But the archbishop of *Upsal*, in his *Annals*, calls the ancient *Swedes*, *Swediudar* and *Suithiodar* (A); and *Fernandos* speaks of them by the appellation of *Suethiodi*, whence the archbishop deduces *Suedia*. Without insisting upon either of these derivations, it is sufficient that centuries back this kingdom has been known by the name of *Suedia*, which we have changed to *Sweden*, agreeable to the rules of the *English* language. It would be an useless barren disquisition to lead the reader through the maze of conjecture hazarded by historians and antiquaries upon this subject: the former part of our history was loaded with too much of this kind of erudition, and we should think ourselves justly censurable, if, after the objections made upon that account, we should still retain a fault so easily avoided, where vanity does not wholly obscure understanding, and hurry us headlong against what we are sensible is a trespass on the laws of historical composition.

Geography.

THE part of ancient *Scandinavia* known by the name of *Sweden*, is bounded by the *Baltic*, the *Sound*, and the *Schagirac* or *Categate*, on the south; by *Norwegian Lapland* on the north; on the east it has *Muscovy*; towards the west it is secured by the impervious mountains of *Norway*. *Sweden* comprehends a vast tract of continent, extending from fifty-five degrees twenty-two minutes, to sixty-nine degrees thirty-one minutes north latitude; and from the eleventh to the thirty-second degree of longitude, east from *London*. Some geographers indeed reckon from the fifty-sixth to the sixty-ninth degree of west latitude, and from the sixteenth to the thirtieth of longitude; but later observations have corrected their errors, and fixed it as we have laid down. It must be observed, that *Finland*, though part of it was ceded to *Muscovy* at the last peace, is included within these limits: but as the frontiers of bordering kingdoms frequently vary, we chuse to adhere to such as were formerly deemed boundaries, and always called a part of *Sweden*.

The great divisions of Sweden.

THIS potent kingdom may be divided into seven grand provinces, each of which contains several lesser divisions, which it would be unnecessary to enumerate. The great divisions are, 1. *Sweden Proper*, bounded on the north by *Lapland*, and on the south by *Gotbland*, extending 710 miles from north to south, and near 225 from east to west. 2. *Gotbland*, surrounded on the east, south, and west, by the *Baltic*, the *Sound*, and part of the northern ocean. 3. *Livonia*, or *Liefland*, as the natives term it, bounded by the gulph of *Finland* on the north, the duchy of *Courland* and *Lithuania* on the south, by *Muscovy* on the east, and on the west by the gulph of *Riga*. 4. *Ingermenland*, or *Ingria*, bounded on the north by the gulph of *Finland*, the river *Nieva*, and the great lake *Ladoga*;

^a LOCCEN. Antiq. Suev. Goth. p. 8.

^b OLMAG. p. 156.

^c G. OR. in Procop. p. 53.

(A) The archbishop's opinion is confirmed by most fragments of antiquity. In all of these the words *Sui-* all the ancient monuments with *Funic* inscription, as *d uau*, *Swediudar*, *o. Suithi. dar*, frequently occur, well as by the *Annals* of *S. Olaus*, the *Edda*, and other

- a on the east by an imaginary line coming from the town of *Luba* to the river *Luga*.
 5. *Finland*, or *Finingia*, extending from the polar circle, or *Kimi Lapland*, on the north, to the gulph of *Finland* on the south. 6. *Swedish Lapland*, bounded on the north by *Danish Lapland*, on the south and south-east by *Fempterland*, *Angermania*, and *Botnia*, on the west by the high ridge of mountains which separate it from *Norway*, extending in length from east to west about 360 miles, and in breadth from sixty-five degrees thirty minutes, to sixty-nine degrees of north latitude. 7. The islands of *Gotland*, *Oeland*, *Oesel*, *Dago*, *Aland*, *Hogland*, and *Rugen*, which last is at present disputed between the *Swedes* and *Prussians*, as indeed are almost all the *Swedish* dominions in *Germany*. On this side, as well as on its frontiers towards *Muscovy*, the limits of *Sweden* are precarious, depending wholly on the success of a war, and the ability of the ministry in the cabinet; it cannot therefore be expected we should be very accurate in this particular, with respect to the present possessions of the crown ^a.

THE capital of *Sweden* is *Stockholm*, the metropolis of the whole kingdom, situated in *Sweden Proper*, and built on the junction of several little islands, upon piles, taking its name from two words expressive of that circumstance, *Stock*, timber, and *Holm*, island. About 340 years ago these islands were inhabited only by poor fishermen; but upon the building of a castle on one of them, to stop the incursions of the northern barbarians the *Muscovites*, the court was translated hither for security, houses were built, adjacent islands joined to this, and the city in time enlarged to its present dimensions, reported to make one of the largest cities in *Europe*, with respect to the number of houses, though the number of inhabitants does not exceed 35,000. In general, the houses are of wood, though persons of fashion build with brick. When a fire breaks out, it generally carries all before it, notwithstanding the excellent *police* established in this respect. Most of the timber buildings are made in *Finland*, according to models sent, and transported by water to *Stockholm*, ready to put up; so that losses sustained by fire are soon repaired, and less pernicious to the public than in almost any other country. *Stockholm* is stronger by nature than by art. Towards the sea it is secured by a number of little islands, which render the harbour difficult of access; and on the opposite side it is defended by the lake *Mellern*, which falls into the sea, and by high unpassable mountains, which form the strongest walls.

d The principal city stands in the island of *Stockholm*, about a mile and a half in circumference, the rest of the islands forming the suburbs, are connected by bridges with the city. Thus, says *Motraye*, it has all that is necessary to constitute, in the eyes of good judges, one of the finest cities of *Europe*. In the island of *Stockholm* stood the old citadel, long since destroyed by fire; at present it is embellished by the magnificent church of *St. Nicholas*, the senate-house, royal palace, the court of chancery, criminal college, a beautiful library, and a variety of other noble public and private edifices.

As to the government of *Stockholm*, it is in the hands of the great stadtholder, who is, in consequence of his office, a privy-counsellor. Once every week he sits in the town-house, to adjust the affairs of the city; and assisted by a sub-stadtholder and bailiff of the castle, presides in the college of criminals, by some called the college of execution. The next magistrates to him, in rank, are the four burgomasters, each of whom has his distinct department, and with them the counsellors of the city always vote, resolutions being taken by a majority of voices. Besides stated salaries, all these magistrates have certain perquisites, arising from taxes laid on the inhabitants for the support of government, so that they are not only honourable but lucrative places. Besides these salaries and perquisites, which are all issued from the city-treasury, *Stockholm* maintains a guard of 300 soldiers. To support this expence, besides a duty on all goods imported, and exported, which amounts to a considerable sum, this being the great mart of *Sweden*, a yearly tax is imposed on the burghers, adjusted by a common council of forty-eight persons chosen out of their own number, who regulate the imposition according to circumstances. Indeed they amount so high, that, with the king's taxes, they would be intolerable, but for the extraordinary privileges in trade which they enjoy. It is the excellency and safety of the harbour that chiefly conduce to render *Stockholm* the great seat of trade. For this reason all imported goods are brought hither, which are exchanged for the produce of the country, hemp, flax, pitch, deal, copper, and iron, commodities in themselves so valuable, that they draw a ballance against almost all the western and southern states of *Europe*.

In this province stands likewise the city of *Upsal*, long famous for its university, and the residence of an archbishop. It is, says *Salmon*, in his usual, blundering manner, the only archbishopric in any *Lutheran* country ^e, an assertion in itself absolutely false as far as it is intelligible. What travellers usually regard here, are the cathedral, library, and physick-garden, which last is brought to the highest perfection the climate will admit, un-

^a Geograph. Moderne, p. 726.

^e SALM. Mod. Hist. tom. i. p. 65.

der the auspices of that celebrated botanist the ingenious Dr. *Linnaeus*, whose abilities are respected by the learned in every country in *Europe*. It would be tedious to enumerate the other cities in *Sweden Proper*, as few of them merit a description; sufficient it is, that each province within this grand division has its capital, besides a variety of market-towns of less consideration.

Character of
the Swedes.

As to the persons of the *Swedes*, they are robust, strong, healthy, and hardy, inured to fatigue, and capable of supporting hardships, beyond almost any other people. Frequent instances of this will occur in their history, where courage was supported with a certain strength of constitution, which made the soldiers set danger and fatigue at defiance. We shall see them combating, and even surmounting difficulties, the very thoughts of which would freeze the blood of soldiers of other countries; and we shall see them fighting for kings they disliked, from principle; and against kings they admired, from their regard to liberty. But we shall describe the features of their minds from their own judicious historian, the learned *Puffendorf*. According to him, the *Swedes* have a peculiar gravity of disposition, engaging enough when tempered by a correspondence with other nations. Vanity and ostentation are their prevailing foibles; but these blemishes are confined to externals, the love of dress, shew, and pomp, by which many families are involved in ruin. Conceit and self-sufficiency accompany their best qualities, destroy their effects, and give them a supercilious, disagreeable manner. Alert and ready enough in learning the elements of arts and science, they seldom make any proficiency, on account of a certain impatience of temper and unsteadiness of mind; or, more probably, from that sufficiency taken notice of by our author, which persuades them that they are fully accomplished in their business, before they are half-instructed. To their little taste for mechanic employments is owing their slow progress in useful manufactures, especially such as require application and ingenuity. We may add to this description, that the severity of the climate seems to have influenced their minds as well as their bodies. Strength and solidity of judgment they often arrive at; but for vivacity and sprightliness of wit, these are qualities scarce understood in *Sweden*. Their natural genius disposes them for employments of fatigue and bodily labour, rather than imagination; and even in the art of war, their favourite occupation, their generals have been famous for courage and enduring hardships, seldom for stratagem, intrigue, and those refined qualities of the head, that display great talents. However indefatigable some of them are in civil affairs, they seldom raise their speculations above what the necessity of their employments requires. Wherever they are distinguished for ability, it proceeds more from experience than study. This appears more remarkably in their learned exertions, where we seldom see an instance of original genius, all their erudition consisting in compilations from the writers of other nations. The *Swedish* gentry are too proud to follow trade, or even the liberal professions, necessity alone compelling them to exercise the functions of the pulpit, the bar, or of physic. As to the clergy, they affect gravity and long beards, which often supply the want of learning; however, as they affect hospitality, they are greatly beloved by the people. We may, perhaps attribute their little skill in controversy, and theological erudition, to that despotism in the *Swedish* constitution, which admits not of liberty of conscience or disputes concerning religion. In the cities, pride and arrogance are less prejudicial than among the country gentlemen. Here they will condescend to engage in trade; but, if we may believe *Motraye*, they are better proficient in the art of cheating, and that species of little cunning, than of fair and honest traffic. The peasants, submissive, and even abject, to their superiors, when sober, are turbulent, insolent, and frantic, when drunk, to which they are much inclined, strong spirits being in the highest esteem; and perhaps with some degree of reason where the diet is poor, and the climate intensely cold. In general, the *Swedes* are religious in their way, constant at divine service, eminently loyal and affected to monarchy, but more so to liberty, or what they take for liberty; grave, even to formality; heavy, to the very borders of stupidity; suspicious, envious, and pilfering. Such at least is the portrait drawn by *Motraye*^f, an author too much in conceit with his native country to allow its whole merit to any other. It is indeed ridiculous to attempt a general character of a people from the small circle of our own acquaintance; yet this seems to have been *Motraye*'s rule. What man in his senses would characterise *England*, or even *London*, from what he sees at *Wapping*, or *St. Giles*? The manners of one province in *Sweden* differ as much from those of another, as the manners of a *Swede* and a *Dane*. Would we therefore enter fully into the character of nations, we must study their history, and explore their manners, by marking the effects of revolutions, the progress of laws, arts, and sciences, their conduct in war, and the sentiments of the people with respect to

^f Pag. 27, et seq.

a. peace; which, with a few other characteristical marks, will give the whole outlines of the picture.

BEFORE we finish this exterior view of *Sweden*, it may be necessary to say something of its woods and mines, which form the most valuable of its merchantable commodities. As for the woods, they overspread the greater part of the whole kingdom, and are all of the resinous kind, peculiar to cold climates, viz. pines, fir, juniper, beech, and some oak. For some years the *Dutch* have carried on a considerable trade with *Sweden* for deal, which they find as good as that of *Norway*; the demand for pitch and tar rose with the sale of deal, and now this branch of trade begins to lessen the exports from *Norway* and *Denmark*.

b. IN *Sweden* there is one silver mine so considerable, that it produces yearly to the crown about 20,000 crowns of pure silver; we mean, that the king has the pre-emption of all silver dug in the mine, paying one-fourth less than the real value. This mine has been so long wrought, that it is more than 130 fathom deep, the roof being supported with strong arches of oak. Writers speak only of one copper mine that has been much wrought, and even that, it is believed will be relinquished, the profits so little exceed the expence; but we are assured that of late years several other mines have been opened with great success.

c. IRON mines and forges are in great abundance, especially in mountainous parts, where there is the conveniency of falling streams, to turn their mills. It is computed that the exports in iron amount to near 400,000 pounds yearly; notwithstanding the forges have of late years been so much encreased in number, and the price of iron fallen by the rivalry among the traders. It is not many years since the *Swedes* were so ignorant in mechanics, that they exported all their iron-ore to *Prussia* and *Dantzic*, where it was cast in bars, and sold by the name of *Dantzic* or *Spruce* iron; however, some ingenious *Dutch* artists introduced the art of manufacturing it, and they are now extremely expert.

d. OF late years a variety of manufactures have been erected in *Sweden* particularly silk *Trade* and woollen, the latter of which begins to flourish; yet still the imports in silks, stuffs, and woollen cloaths, are very considerable, though by no means equal to the goods exported, as has been asserted by some writers; the trade with *France* only being disadvantageous to *Sweden*. To regulate commerce there is a college of trade erected, under the conduct of a treasurer and four counsellors. The bank of *Stockholm* is of the utmost advantage to commerce, as it always assists the credit of the merchant, and prevents his ever being at a loss to make payments, or extend his stock. Bills are drawn upon each other, and stock transferred, without the trouble of transporting money from place to place, which would be an intolerable labour, particularly in *Sweden*, where the current money is copper, and payments are generally made in that metal. Indeed the greatest trade of this kingdom has been always conducted by foreigners, the natives wanting either genius, application, or sufficient capitals. Their iron-works are carried on upon credit: for instance, their merchants contract with the *English*; they receive a certain portion of the payment before they have dug a bit of ore, and they are enabled to perform their articles sooner or later, just as the *English* merchant's money arrives. Their poverty and little disposition for commerce is of the utmost importance to the foreigners settled among them, who are permitted only because they are necessary. It is with envy they behold them flourish and grow rich; and the *English*, who love shew and figure, are particularly disliked; although the *Dutch*, from the plainness and parsimony of their living, make shift to glide down the tide of prosperity in quietness.

e. THE *Swedes*, and indeed most maritime nations, have followed the example of *England*; *Government* in establishing an act of navigation, prohibiting foreigners to bring to their markets of *Sweden* any goods, but what are the product of their own markets; an act that affects the *Dutch* chiefly, as they are the common carriers of *Europe*. But the just idea of a country is not to be acquired from such circumstances as these; we have therefore treated them with brevity, as they may be found in every modern traveller, in order that we may expatiate with more freedom on the constitution and laws of *Sweden*. From government it is that all the blessings of society flow. Where statutes are wisely formed, and honestly executed, man may live happily among the barren frozen mountains of *Lapland*, or amidst the scorching sultry sands of *Lybya*.

f. ACCORDING to *Tacitus*, the best political historian of antiquity, all government among the northern nations appears to have been monarchical; unrestrained by contracts with these people, the *Goths*, in particular, swayed the sceptre with an absolute authority. We g may judge of their constitution, by the nature of the governments they established in countries over-run by their wars. From them feudal tenures had birth; a kind of reward bestowed on the valiant and faithful, which, at that juncture, shewed the absolute power of the monarch, but in time became the instrument of hurting his prerogatives. These

were mostly held by military men, who, from their possessions, constituted the nobility and gentry of the country, on condition of performing certain services to the crown. In course of time, they began to complain of the tyranny of the monarch, and to enter into associations and confederacies to oppose him. Battles were fought, and the prince, if worsted, compelled to submit to certain limitations of his power, to admit the nobility and gentry into a share of the government, and perhaps to surrender his hereditary right to the crown, putting the power of election in the hands of the subjects. Neither despotism nor hereditary right were indeed universal over all the northern nations; but it appears, on the best authorities, to have been the most ancient form of government among the *Swedes*.

Changes in the constitution upon the first introduction of the christian religion.

ON the first planting of Christianity, another powerful body, who from their influence over the minds of the people, and that slavish implicit obedience paid to the papal authority, obtained great wealth and credit, claimed a share in the administration, and controlled the power of the civil magistrate in proportion as the ecclesiastical gained strength. To ballance the ecclesiastical power, as well as to restrain the pride of the nobility, the sovereign granted certain privileges to the burghesses and common people, entitling them to some influence in the legislature; but these being the vassals and tenants of the nobility, and greatly under the dominion of the clergy, were of little service to the crown, until a new regulation was made, whereby the commons were represented by a few leading wealthy persons among them, who were most independent of the barons. History, it is true, is not very clear, with respect to the manner in which the commons were first introduced into the great council of the nation; but we have documents sufficient to prove, that they were intended by the sovereign as a counterpoise to the nobility and clergy. They, again, in their turn, trespassed on the political line which separates the legislature, and keeps within certain boundaries the different departments that compose the constitution, of which we shall meet with some extraordinary instances, in the course of the ensuing history. Be this as it will, neither department so far encroached on the other, as absolutely to abolish any part of the constitution. The kingdom, for some centuries, has been governed by four estates, subordinate to the sovereign: 1. The nobility. 2. The clergy. 3. The burghesses. 4. The commons, or the peasants. Various attempts have been made by each to gain the ascendant, either by uniting itself with some other of the states, or throwing itself into the scale of the sovereign; but whatever temporary advantages might be gained, were soon again lost, and the equal poise of government restored.

The limitations of the ancient royal prerogative.

WE shall begin with the sovereign, as the head of the kingdom, and describe the prerogatives of the different states in their natural order. From a very early period of the monarchy, until the accession of *Gustavus Ericson* in 1523, the crown of *Sweden* was elective, and the royal prerogatives extremely limited. Vested with little more than the ensigns of sovereignty, the king could not declare war or effect peace, impose taxes, or levy troops, without the consent of the states, or, during their recess, of the senate. His revenues were scanty, as his power was circumscribed. They arose from a trifling poll-tax on the peasants, fines and forfeitures in criminal cases, and certain small demesnes about *Upsal*. Even this revenue was reduced by the encroachments of the nobility and clergy: at last, it was brought so low, that the king could scarce maintain two hundred horses; and was, in short, considered as little more than the chief officer in the field, and the president in the high council of the nation. The senate engrossed to itself almost the whole executive power; and though the right of filling up vacancies belonged to the sovereign, by which means he retained some weight; yet the new senators no sooner tasted the sweets of independency, than they forgot their obligations to their benefactor, and struck into the measures of their colleagues, to extend their own power, and retrench that of the sovereign. The government of castles, fiefs, or manors, granted by the king during life only, were gradually altered to hereditary possessions, claimed as such by right, and held by no other title than force. The rents were stopped by the nobility, and the tithes by the clergy, under pretence that church-lands were exempted from all taxes and impositions. The archbishop of *Upsal*, both as primate of *Sweden* and head of the senate, became the chief man in power, and often contended with his sovereign about prerogatives, which indisputably were inherent in the crown; and the other officers of state, and governors of provinces, in time, claimed a like independency on that very authority they were first instituted to support. Not only the barons, but the clergy fortified castles, by which they maintained a despotic sway within certain jurisdictions; arming their vassals, they waged war with each other, like so many petty tyrants, and often against their king, whose weakness they despised and insulted. Too proud to seek redress at his courts, each obtained justice for himself by dint of arms; the people were slaves, the nobility and clergy absolute sovereigns, and the prince, originally destined to govern the whole, reduced to a mere cypher.

f DE MOR. GERMAN, p. 256.

a THE valour, prudence, popularity of *Gustavus*, first restored its pristine splendor to the crown. The *Danes* become insupportably insolent, *Gustavus* stood up in defence of liberty, and by his generous efforts broke the yoke of usurpation. Gratitude took possession of every breast, and the states thought they could never sufficiently express their sense of the obligations they owed their deliverer. A solemn decree was passed, enabling *Gustavus* to take any measures he thought proper for the preservation of his dignity; his enemies were declared the enemies of the state; the right of peace and war vested in him, with a variety of other prerogatives expressly specified in the decree. *Gustavus Ericson resumes the prerogatives of the crown, and makes the government despotic.*

A FORTUNATE incident occurred at this time, which greatly assisted the designs of the artful monarch. Taking advantage of the *Lutheran* religion, now first introduced into Sweden, he recovered the royal castles and demesnes, which had been long alienated from the crown, and looked upon as church-property, under pretence of promoting the doctrine of *Luther*. The people oppressed with ecclesiastical tyranny rejoiced to see the clergy humbled, and the power and revenues of their favourite monarch enlarged. An act was passed by the states, ordaining, that all the privileges of the clergy should be at his majesty's disposal; that all grants of estates to the church, since the edict published by *Carnatsen* in 1447, should be repealed, and the lands so bequeathed, reunited to the crown; that the bishops should immediately surrender their strong holds, castles, and fortresses, to the king, and disband all their troops; that their pretended rights to fines and forfeitures should be restored to the royal prerogative, to which it originally belonged; that the superfluous plate and church-bells should be sold to pay the public debts; and that two thirds of the tithes, usually possessed by the bishops and abbots, should be sequestered for the support of the army in time of war, and for erecting and endowing public schools in time of peace.

IN consequence of an order from the diet, this decree was presented to the king by the chancellor and *Olaus Petri*, the great promoter of the Protestant religion in Sweden, with an assurance that the assembly would never, in the smallest instance, oppose his will. It was after thus humbling the haughty ecclesiastics, that *Gustavus* made a progress through Sweden, accompanied by a military force, to see the act put in execution. The clergy's tithes and grants were scrupulously examined, and many of them set aside, agreeable to the intention of the decree; whence the crown-revenues were augmented near two-thirds; besides 13,000 farms, which the church had appropriated to itself, were now annexed to the civil list, for the support of the royal dignity and of government. After concluding matters to his wish with the clergy, *Gustavus* then attacked the usurped rights of the nobility, in the same manner, and met with equal success. His next attempt was, to make the crown hereditary in his own family; to accomplish which he assembled the states, and proposed in the most artful manner the abolition of that ancient custom of electing their monarchs, which had been attended with such a variety of calamities. After recapitulating his own services, and the happy effects which would necessarily flow from his proposal, he assumed an air of sovereignty, and enforced his rhetoric with certain intimations, which the assembly well understood, that he would have his will punctually obeyed. There appeared not one man, who had the courage to stand up in defence of this greatest of national liberties. The respective departments of the state consented with the most servile submission, to surrender their rights, abrogate their power of election, and to settle the crown on his eldest son, to descend according to birth-right to their heirs. Thus, from a limited, Sweden became an absolute government; from the crown's being elective, it became hereditary. The latter still remains; but the former has received such alterations, as have reduced it within a narrower prerogative than ever, only that the senate, instead of the barons and clergy, have usurped the chief sway. As this is an event extremely memorable in the *Swedish* annals, it may be worth while to trace it to its source.

IN the year 1672, when *Charles XI.* took the reins of authority into his own hands, he found the kingdom involved in a dangerous and unfortunate war; the odium of which was thrown upon the queen regent, and those ministers who governed during the king's minority. A resolution therefore was taken in the diet of the states, that the power assumed by the senate, was a principal cause of the misfortunes which befel the public; and that as no such mediators were wanted between the states and his majesty, so the king was henceforward absolved from the oath he had taken, to be governed in all his measures by the senate. Upon this the senate was abolished, and a few of the members of most court-interest retained in a shadow of honours, under the appellation of his majesty's counsellors. Now it was that the king was raised above the peers, an act of the states declaring, that though regents, during a minority, might be called to account for their conduct; yet the king, receiving his crown, and deriving his authority from God, was responsible only to the supreme Being. Still, however, we find this clause of limitation, that he was tied down by no other engagements than those implied or expressed in his coro-

The senate abolished by Charles XI.

nation-oath, to govern the realm agreeable to law. In a word, several alterations in the government were made, all tending to enlarge the royal prerogative, and render *Charles* as absolute as any monarch in *Europe*. We are not told by what means his predecessors lost that despotic sway first regained by *Gustavus Ericson*, and now restored to *Charles XI.* but that it was considerably diminished, appears by the ascendant the senate acquired during his minority, and the solemn renunciation of their power made by the diet, soon after the king's marriage ^a.

CHARLES XII. maintained his prerogatives in their full power, till the unhappy defeat at *Pultowa*, and exile in the *Turkish* dominions, when the senate began to resume its ancient authority. On his return, however, to his *German* dominions, he soon convinced both the diet and senate, that they must not expect back those rights which they had timidly surrendered to his father. He told the states in particular, to remember they were only the king's counsellors, who derived the little power they had from him, and held it at his pleasure. He moreover ordered his chancellor to acquaint them, that he would send one of his boots to govern them, which he required they would obey implicitly. In a word, he deprived them, on his return to *Sweden*, of the shadow of authority they seemed still to retain.

The Swedes
recover their
liberties at the
death of
Charles XII.

CHARLES being killed at *Frederickshall*, the crown, by right devolved on the duke of *Holstein*, son of the elder daughter of *Charles XI.* But the promises, caresses, and intrigues of *Ulrica Elenora*, the youngest daughter, at that time residing at *Stockholm*, induced the states to elect her queen, and give the supreme command of the army to her husband, the prince of *Hesse Cassel*. The prince was at that time with his army in *Norway*. Immediately on the king's death, all the chief officers assembled at his quarters, to assure him of their services, in case any opposition was made to the princess's succeeding to the crown. No sooner was the prince assured of the army, than he sent a courier to *Stockholm*; where matters were so well conducted by the princess, that on the following *Sunday* she was publicly prayed for as queen, in all the churches. Next day she published a declaration, renouncing all arbitrary power, and at the same time inviting the states to assemble at *Stockholm*, to confirm the public voice by their election. They met at the time specified by the princess, but as if voluntarily, and without regard to her summons. She, however, opened the assembly with a politic speech, declaring, that she formed no pretensions to the crown, but by their true election; that, sensible of the miseries consequent on the exorbitant power of their monarchs, she cheerfully renounced every prerogative inconsistent with national liberty, and submitted to such restrictions and limitation as they should judge necessary to secure their freedom. The princess having thus acceded to all they proposed, was unanimously elected queen, notification of which was sent by a deputation, who at the same time assured her majesty of the constant loyalty and unalterable zeal of her diet. Some days afterwards were spent in settling the form of administration, agreeable to the old constitution of the kingdom. A bill, consisting of a variety of articles, was drawn up for this purpose, but interrupted by a motion which some of the members made, and supported with great warmth, to join the prince of *Hesse* with her majesty in the regency. It is doubtful where these debates would have ended, had not the prince entered the assembly, and assured the states, that he pretended to no share in the government, but would willingly and cheerfully discharge any part in the public service they would think fit to assign him. A declaration so moderate and prudent, terminated their debates, and the articles for re-establishing the old constitution passed into an act. Here it was expressly provided, that the queen should forfeit the crown upon any the least attempt, direct or indirect, to restore arbitrary power; and that whoever should advise her, or any of her successors, to arbitrary measures, should be declared an enemy to the state, and banished as a traitor to his country: that persons admitted into employments, should first swear themselves of the *Lutheran* religion, natives of *Sweden*, and enemies to arbitrary power: that her majesty should profess the *Lutheran* religion, the only one which should be tolerated in *Sweden*, except in the houses of foreign ambassadors: that her majesty should have no power to alienate the crown-dominions in favour of her younger children: that her heirs succeed not to the crown, till they have arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and solemnly signed the conditions of her majesty's accession, renouncing despotism, acknowledging that they hold the crown of the people, and submit their education to the states. By the fourth article, all laws which had not received the sanction of the states were declared of no force. The fifth prohibited the increasing of the public taxes without the concurrence of the diet. The sixth restrained the monarch from declaring war or making peace, without the consent of the states, or of the senate, during a recess. By the tenth, the queen was restrained from going out of the kingdom without the consent of her people. By the twelfth, the senate was to consist of 29 members, chosen by a committee of

Present form
of govern-
ment.

^a PUFFENDORF, tom. vii. ad fin.

- a the nobility, clergy, and burghers. By the twenty-fifth, the queen was to take no sum, exceeding twelve pounds, out of the treasury, without the consent of the diet or senate. Other articles stipulated, that all civil employments should be disposed of by the queen, with the consent of the senate; and military employments, above the rank of lieutenant-colonel, by the states or senate. The diet was to be called every three years, or oftener, if the public affairs should require it. The senators were to assist the queen with their advice, and to be responsible to the diet for their conduct. All officers and soldiers were to be sworn to allegiance to the queen, the diet, and the kingdom. The senate were to take upon them the administration, when the queen was absent, or indisposed, until the meeting of the states. Upon the absence, dangerous illness, or death of the queen; in
b a word, upon any sudden or alarming occasion, the senate might summon the states; and if there should be no heir-male in whose name they could be summoned, they were to assemble themselves, the 30th day after the queen's decease. Such are the principal articles of this act of limitation, signed by the marshal, or speaker of the nobility, by the archbishop of *Upsal* for the clergy, by the first burgomaster of *Stockholm* for the burghers, and by the body of the peasants; afterwards signed and ratified by the queen.

- At the next meeting of the states, which happened on the 27th of *February*, 1720, her majesty wrote a letter with her own hand, acquainting them of her extreme desire, that his royal highness might be joined with her in the administration; both on account of the tender affection she bore her royal consort, and the nice and difficult conjuncture of affairs.
c Upon receipt of this letter, a conference of the four states was held; and it was resolved, after warm debates, that raising his royal highness to a participation of the supreme authority, would be attended with great inconveniencies. The queen was no sooner acquainted with the sentiments of the diet, than she wrote a second letter, offering to resign the diadem, provided they would place it on the head of her consort, to revert to her, in case she should happen to survive him. The prince also sent a declaration, importing, that if the diet thought proper to confer the supreme dignity on him, he would confirm the limitation-act, and ratify such other stipulations, in favour of liberty, as they should believe necessary; for that, as he was the person who advised the queen to surrender arbitrary power, so they might depend on his conforming, in all respects, to the act of regency established in
d the last sessions.

- ALL being readily granted, on the side of the queen and her royal consort, that the states could require for the security of their liberties, it was unanimously resolved to grant her majesty's request, that she might be permitted to resign, and transfer the exercise of the royal prerogative to her consort. The resolution was notified on the 22d of *March* to the queen and prince, by a select committee, of each order of the states. On this occasion, his highness signed an instrument, containing an assurance of his preserving inviolably the conditions upon which he received the crown. In this instrument were contained certain restrictions and limitations, not mentioned in the former act of limitation. Among others it was expressly specified, that the king should not have power of draw-
e ing the smallest sum out of the treasury, without the consent of the states or senate; and that the number of senators should be reduced to sixteen. Thus the *Swedes*, not only recovered, but enlarged their liberties; the states regained a kind of sovereignty, and the king's prerogative was so limited, that he became wholly dependent on the will of the people. Since that time, the poise between the nobility and commons has been destroyed; the latter having lost a great number of their ancient privileges, and among others, that important one of assisting at the secret committee, in which all affairs of moment are transacted. Several memorials have been presented on this head, insurrections have appeared in different provinces, but to no effect; the nobility have got the power in their hands, and will probably keep it, until some very extraordinary revolution shall wrest it from
f them. Upon the whole we may safely affirm, that the commons of *Sweden*, with all their boasted freedom, are as great slaves as the peasants of *France*, with this difference, that they are exempted from the tyranny of an arbitrary government, though that is in a great measure counterbalanced by the oppression of their potent nobility (A).

WITH respect to the states, they consist of deputies sent from the nobility, clergy, burgh-
ers, and peasants, assembled of course once in three years, but oftener, if the exigencies
of affairs render it necessary. Each family sends a deputy, the whole number of nobility amounting to a thousand; and with them the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, and senior captain, of each regiment, sit and vote. It may appear surprising, that military offi-

*An account of
the states of
Sweden.*

(A) The author of the present state of *Europe* remarks, that the peasants may be considered as the landed interest of *Sweden*, for which they have great regard paid to them; but it is no great instance of respect, that they are wholly excluded the secret committee.

cers should, in quality of their commissions, have a seat in the high council of the nation; but in *Sweden*, the army form a part of the constitution. The officers are for life, and have estates in land, which pay rents equivalent to their pay, so that they may be reputed a part of the landed interest, independent of the crown. Besides, as they are generally persons of family, and have all property of their own, there is little to be feared from their attachment to the king.

THE clergy are represented by the bishops and superintendants; also by one deputy, chosen out of each rural deanery or district, containing ten parishes, whose expences are supported by the electors. These form a body of two hundred.

THE representatives of the burghers are chosen by the magistrates and common council of each corporation; *Stockholm* sending four, other corporations two, and some one; making in the whole about an hundred and fifty.

LASTLY, the peasants of each district choose one of their own quality to represent them, whose charges they pay, giving him instructions about such matters as are thought necessary to the good of their body. Those deputies are, generally speaking, about two hundred and fifty.

AT the first meeting of the states, the king attends with the senate, and the president of the chancery opens the diet with a speech on the part of his majesty, briefly remarking all the critical occurrences since their last meeting, and the principal reasons for their being now convoked. He is answered by each of the speakers of the four orders, and then the states repair to the different chambers appointed them; where each elects a certain number of members out of its own body, to compose the secret committee, appointed to prepare and digest matters for the consideration of the states. This committee may indeed be deemed the legislative power of *Sweden*, as matters generally go in the assembly according to the bias given in the committee; so that the peasants being excluded this privilege, have really lost all weight in the legislative state. Each of the several orders has a negative vote; but, in their respective houses, a majority of voices absolutely decides the business (B). It is customary for the orders to defer representing their grievances, until they have dismissed the business proposed by his majesty: then they give in their remonstrances, to which the king makes such answers as are thought adviseable; and at the breaking up of the diet, an extract of the whole proceedings, and the king's answer to their grievances, is given to every member of each order, which he carries home to his constituents.

The Senate.

NEXT to the states, the senate forms the most considerable branch of the government. They underwent various revolutions, sometimes rising to an exorbitance of power, at other times descending to the mere shadow of authority. At present, they are restored to the ancient constitution, having not only authority to advise and admonish the sovereign, but even to over-rule him, when he presumes to attempt any thing contrary to law: indeed, without the concurrence of the senate, he can undertake nothing. They are chosen, it is true, by the king, but they take an oath of fidelity to the kingdom, and are responsible for their behaviour to the states, who have the power to remove them, should they find cause to disapprove their conduct: but an exertion of this power seldom happens, either because the senate studiously avoid giving offence, or the diet is scrupulous about hurting the delicacy of the king's prerogative, or giving umbrage to persons in so great power as the senators. In a word, the senate was never a more respectable body than at present, being now established as a fundamental part of the constitution, having the direction of the revenue, and on the king's absence or illness, the whole executive power in their own hands. As to their number, it is indefinite. In queen *Christina*'s time the senate was composed of forty members; under *Charles Gustavus* they were reduced to twenty four; and at pre-

(B) That the form of government established at the accession of the prince of *Hesse* remains still without variation, appears by the following act, signed by the present king before his coronation. "Whereas the united states of the kingdom of *Sweden*, of their own motion, and by a free and voluntary choice, elect me successor to the crown of *Sweden*, of the *Goths*, and of the *Vandals*; I should be wanting in a suitable return to the confidence they reposed in me on my advancement to the throne, which is devolved to me by the disposal of the Almighty, and by their free election, if I did not in the most solemn manner confirm the assurance there given, to support them at the expence of my life and blood in the exercise of the pure doctrine and religion they profess, and to preserve and defend the liberties and privileges they have acquired. And as my desires are from every thing which might have the least shadow of constraint, I

"declare by this public act, which I swear to observe upon my royal word and faith, that I intend, not only to govern my kingdom according to the laws of *Sweden*, and the forms of the regency established in 1720, as well as in conformity with the assurance I gave the states of the kingdom in the year 1742 (when he was declared successor to the crown), but also that I shall regard as the most dangerous enemies to me and the kingdom, and treat as traitors to their country, all such as shall, either in public, or under any pretence whatsoever, undertake, or endeavour to introduce into this kingdom, despotical power, or arbitrary government; wherein God assist me."

Stockholm, Ap. 6, 1751. "Signed, Adolphus Frederick."

With such restraints on the prerogatives of the crown, and the privileges of the commons, the *Swedish* government may well be reputed an aristocracy, the whole power being engrossed by the nobility.

a sent they consist of twelve, agreeable to the ancient constitution. In Mr. *Meljeworth's* time they had salaries of three hundred pounds *per annum*, with several beneficial employments. The latter they still retain; but what the value of their present salaries may be, we know not.

We may reckon as a part of the constitution, the five great officers of the crown, who preside each in a tribunal composed of a certain number of senators. These are, the *drofter*, or chief justice, at present the first officer in *Sweden*, and formerly a kind of viceroy, with a power little inferior to sovereignty. The *drofter* has the honour of placing the crown on the king's head; and, what is of more real consequence, of presiding in the supreme court of justice, to which all the inferior courts make their appeal.

b THE next crown officer, in rank, is the constable, who presides in the council of war, inspects the military discipline, and in a word directs whatever belongs to the army.

THE admiral is the nearest, in rank, to the constable. His power, influence, and profits are very considerable, as he commands the fleet, appoints all sea-officers, and is supreme in all causes which fall within the cognizance of the admiralty-courts.

THE chancellor is an officer highly respected, his employment more immediately giving him great influence over the minds of the common people, as the director of police, rectifier of all public abuses, and dispenser of all regulations regarding society. By virtue of his office, the chancellor is also the keeper of the seals, he dispatches all state-affairs, and lays the business of the sovereign before the states.

c LAST comes the treasurer, who administers the king's revenue, examines the accompts of the several receivers, signs orders for payments, manages the public funds, and pays all the officers of the kingdom. It is surprising that an officer who holds the money of the nation in his hands, should here be deemed the lowest servant of the crown; but so scrupulously are his accompts examined before they are passed, that very little can be embezzled, by which his power is reduced to the mere salary and known perquisites of his employment. He likewise presides in the chamber of accompts, where the public taxes are assessed, and all affairs relating to the exchequer conducted.

d IN ancient times the laws of *Sweden* were as various as the provinces were numerous, each having peculiar statutes framed by the *laghman*, or governor of the province, just as circumstances required. Such a variety of laws must necessarily be attended with confusion; to remedy which an universal body of laws was compiled not two centuries since, by which the whole kingdom was to be directed. Yet even this collection is so imperfect as to require the constant assistance of the civil law, or rather of courts of equity, by which too much power is lodged in the hands of judges, whose poverty often obliges them to use it improperly. Indeed the consequences of corruption in the inferior courts are less felt, as the aggrieved has an appeal to a higher court, in all cases of property exceeding 70*l*. Few causes indeed but are terminated in the supreme court, in which the king frequently sits in person, and decides; also the president of the chancery, and two or three senators and inferior officers.

e SOME writers alledge, that affairs properly belonging to the admiralty, fall under the cognizance of the ordinary courts. They are however to be judged according to the sea-laws, founded on the antient *Wisby* laws, formerly famous all over the *Baltic*. But in fact the admiralty claims only the cognizance of causes immediately relating to the king's fleet, all other naval disputes belonging to the ordinary courts of justice^a.

f FOR the decision of all ecclesiastical causes, each diocese hath a consistory, of which the respective bishop is president. Here causes concerning legitimacy, marriage-contracts, and all spiritual affairs, are tried; but the courts have no power of administering an oath, or inflicting corporal punishment; and from them there lies an appeal to the respective provincial courts, and in some cases to the king.

f LAW is no where administered at a lower price than in *Sweden*, the chief expence arising from a late institution, that all declarations, acts, and sentences, be passed upon sealed paper of different prices, according to the quality of the matter in agitation. This forms a part of the king's revenue, and of consequence becomes more useful to the public, than those enormous fees given to pettyfoggers, for perplexing and obscuring the light of reason and understanding. In *Sweden*, especially in criminal cases, the parties plead in person; hence the practice of the law is but little sought after by gentlemen, and it is rather the refuge, than the choice of persons of liberal education.

g It is remarkable, that notwithstanding the *Swedes* have perfectly secured their freedom against the encroachments of the crown, yet one of the greatest liberties of the subject is fallen into disuse; we mean juries consisting of twelve men, a custom so ancient in *Sweden*, that their writers pretend it was originally derived by other nations from them. At

^a LOCEN: Antiq. Scrv. Goth. p. 53. JOHAN. MAGN. p. 104.

present juries are only known in the lower courts, and there they have salaries, and remain in office for life. They have this in common with juries of other countries, that their verdict must be unanimous, whereas in all the other courts judgment is given by a majority of voices. a

THE laws of this country have wisely provided against disputes concerning property, by ordering registers to be kept in every province, of all sales and alienations, as well as engagements respecting property. Should a purchaser fail of registering the particulars of a purchase, an after-contract will take place, which is all the penalty annexed. In Sweden alone, of all *European* countries, criminals are allowed to purge themselves by oath, where the evidence is not very clear against them. Duelling is punished with the survivor's death, and stigmas fixed on the memory of both parties; but if neither die, both are closely confined for two years upon bread and water. So rigid a punishment makes this barbarous practice less frequent in Sweden, and persons of the most scrupulous punctilio think it no breach of honour to apply for reparation to the respective provincial court, where the aggressor is made to give public satisfaction. b

Revenue.

THE revenues of the crown, or rather the kingdom of Sweden have been much impaired by the repeated misfortunes sustained during the long war in the reign of *Charles XII.* and that with *Russia* in the late king's reign. Still, however, as the expences of the government have been proportionably reduced, there remains a competent provision for the civil and military lists, and whatever else the public service requires. Those revenues arise from the demesne lands of the farms, the customs, the copper and silver mines, tythes, poll-money, fines, stamped or sealed paper, and other duties payable for proceedings at law. In all they are computed at near one million sterling, of which the customs produce about a fourth, and the demesne lands a third. Thus, while the *Swedish* finances are regularly and frugally managed, they will always be able to maintain the government in such a condition as not to stand in need of subsidies from foreign courts, or in any degree to apprehend invasions and insults from their neighbours. c

THE poll-tax was levied only upon the peasants, until the reign of *Charles XII.* when the distresses of the kingdom obliged the ministry to raise money by every possible means, and extend the tax to persons of superior condition. This has been since abolished; and we have been told, that before the *Swedes* engaged in the confederacy against his *Prussian* majesty, the deficiency of the revenue, by the removal of this oppressive impost, was compensated by a subsidy from *France*, a circumstance which made the common people at first extremely eager to enter upon the war. d

IT has been already observed, that military tenures are supposed to have been first established in Sweden; certain it is, that the nobility and gentry held their lands of the crown by knight's service. They brought into the field a body of horse proportioned to the value of their tenures, a custom which seems to have prevailed universally among nations whose dominion was founded in conquest. It was indeed the greatest security of lands obtained by force to parcel them out among the officers of their victorious armies, who would for their own interest defend them, and upon all occasions attend the call of the government with a body of troops, maintained without expence to the public. Such, originally, was the constitution of every northern kingdom, a politic measure, which in succession of time was attended with great inconveniencies to the sovereign. Forgetting their primitive obligations, the nobility formed confederacies against the sovereign, made him totter on his throne, and sometimes dethroning him, rendered the crown elective, curtailed the regal authority, or clogged it with such restrictions as reduced it to a mere shadow. Hence proceed the various forms of government in *Europe*, all springing from the same source. The militia of Sweden indeed has undergone but few changes. The officers, who have lands parcelled out to them, are obliged to bring the same men and horses into the field, while they are fit for service; and hence the militia of Sweden are equal to the best regular forces. *Charles XI.* put the army upon the best footing it ever stood, and his regulations continue to this day. Formerly no levies could be made without the consent of the commons or fourth state, in obtaining which there was usually found much difficulty. But this prince appointed commissioners, who were to assign to each province their quota of soldiers, according to the number of farms it contained. Every farm of sixty or seventy pounds was charged with one soldier, who received his diet, cloaths, and about twenty shillings yearly from the farmer. The married soldier has a wooden house built for him by the farmer, who allows him hay and pasturage sufficient for a milch cow, and furnishes land enough to supply him with bread, which he prefers to quartering. Once enlisted in the king's service, no soldier can quit it on pain of death. But as the farmers are obliged to find recruits in the room of persons killed or disabled, they complain grievously of the oppression, while the government congratulates itself on thus having a strong military force, with little or no expence to the sovereign. e f g

- a ALL the officers of horse and foot are maintained out of lands lately resumed, and united to the crown. Each has a convenient house and competent portion of land assigned him, as near as possible to the quarters of his regiment, with which he is better satisfied than soliciting for the pay at the treasury. The laws for maintaining this constitution are exact and particular. They provide with great caution, that neither the peasants shall be oppressed nor insulted by the licentiousness of the soldiers, nor the lands or houses ruined; to prevent which they are visited at certain periods, and the possessor compelled to make such repairs as are found needful. As every officer, on entering upon an estate, subscribes to an inventory, so, on his promotion, he puts the estate in good repair before he receives the benefit of his new employment; and in case of his death his heir cannot inherit before this is done to the satisfaction of the officer who succeeds.

b NOR are invalids neglected in *Sweden*, the king having annexed to each regiment about twenty supernumerary farms, as a provision for those officers who are past service; while the common soldiers, whom age, wounds, and infirmities, have disabled, are received in a large, well endowed hospital, supported by a sort of tax on military preferment.

- c THE trade and navigation of *Sweden* have been greatly augmented by the progress of the *English* commerce in the *Baltic*, which has reduced within bounds the commerce carried on in these seas by the *United Provinces*. In pacific times *Sweden* seems to reap the chief advantage of this commerce, in point of navigation; but whenever that kingdom is engaged in war, then our merchants carry on the whole trade in *English* bottoms. But as these are particulars which may be collected in every political writer, we shall drop the subject, in order to proceed to our history.

S E C T. II.

Containing the public Transactions, and Reigns of the several Swedish Monarchs, to Biorno III.

- d THE ancient history of *Sweden* is so involved in fable, absurdity, and anachronism, as foils all the attempts of criticism to unravel. However, as the general laws of history, deduced from the example of the best writers, and particularly our plan, require that we should trace every nation as near its origin as circumstances will admit, we should be inexcusable if we did not gratify the reader with a view of the first monarchs of *Sweden*, and such a succession of kings as the documents now existing will afford. Jo. Magnus, Job. Gothus, Loccenius, Suavingius, Jacob Gyllon, Saxo Grammaticus, Puffendorff, and a variety of other writers, have exhibited regular catalogues of the princes that reigned in the more obscure period; but as they differ greatly among themselves, and found their authority upon ancient legends and monuments, which each has interpreted in his own way, they are to be read with caution, and trusted with considerable allowances. One, for instance, places *Eric* at the head of the monarchy^a; another goes four kings higher, making *Eric* the fifth *Swedish* prince^b; a third flounders some centuries deeper into obscurity, beginning his series with *Magog* the son of *Japhet*, and grandson of *Noah*^c; in a word, they vary not only with respect to the origin of the monarchy, but of the succession of the princes. Assured that it would now be impossible to reconcile their differences, we shall follow, in general, the most approved historians, confronting them, however, with others, as often as we find occasion, and endeavouring from this collision of sentiments to strike out the truth.

- f ALL historians agree that ancient *Scandinavia* was first governed by judges, elected, for a certain time, by the voice of the people. This in particular was the form of government in *Sweden*, the country being divided among a number of these temporary princes, until *Eric*, if we believe *Loccenius* and *Johannes Gothus*; or *Suenon*, if we rather credit *Puffendorff* and *Johannes Magnus*, was raised to the supreme power, A. M. 2014, or 1951, just as we follow one or other of these authorities. In either case, the inconveniencies attending the form of government, and the merit and popularity of these princes, are said to have determined the people to elevate them to the sovereignty of the whole country, uniting the prerogatives of all their temporary magistrates in the person of one king for life, or until his conduct required he should be stripped of his authority (A).

ERIC governed his people with applause; he preserved peace, and augmented his dominions, by sending colonies to *Schonen*, as well as several of the *Danish* islands in the *Baltic*; a fact, however, which is contested by *Grammaticus* and the *Danish* writers.

^a LOCCEN.

^b RUDBECK. Atlant. tom. ii.

^c SUANING. Chron. Dan. p. 2.

(A) *Messenius* advances strong arguments against *Suenon's* being the first prince; and as we have nothing to oppose to them, we have chosen to begin with *Eric*, according to *Loccenius's* chronology.

Gylfo. AFTER *Eric's* death the *Goths*, or, as some writers call them before this time, the *Swedes* (B) were divided into factions, and harrassed with civil wars for the space of 400 years, during which period we have no account of their form of government. Some writers alledge they reverted to their ancient custom of electing judges; others again affirm that a monarchical form was maintained, and to prove their assertion, instance *Uddo*, *Alo*, *Othen*, *Charles*, *Biorno*, and several other persons who held the sovereign power, but of whom they transmit nothing besides the names. To them succeeded *Gylfo*, mentioned in several ancient *Swedish* and *Norwegian* monuments to have reigned about this time.

Olin, or Othen. IMMEDIATELY after *Gylfo*, *Messenius* places *Humulf* (C), *Numble*, father to *Dan*, the first king of *Denmark* (a circumstance very discordant with their chronology), *Thor*, *Urber*, and *Osten*. But the first prince of whom we have any kind of history, is *Othen* or *Odin*, said to have passed from *Asia* to *Scandinavia*, where he was raised to the throne of *Sweden*. Great skill in magic is attributed to him; and *Puffendorf* makes him the greatest warrior of his age. Driven out of *Asia* by *Pompey*, he opened a way with his sword into *Scandinavia*, conquered the *Saxons*, frequently defeated the *Danish* king *Lotber*, and performed a variety of exploits, concerning which the *Danish* historians and *Loccenius* are entirely silent^d. There would indeed appear to be a considerable error in chronology here, which we should vainly attempt to rectify. For some time he kept his court at *Upsal*, afterwards he built a palace near lake *Lagen*, called from his own name *Odenfala*. He framed several wholesome laws for the good order of society, promoting religion, and the decent performance of funeral obsequies, the last act of gratitude which could be done to persons meriting well of the public. He rewarded bravery, by setting a certain price on the heads of his enemies. After his death he was enrolled among the gods, and worshipped as a deity on a day set apart every week^e. According to *Puffendorf*, *Oden* instituted a nonennial feast at *Upsal*, to which were invited all the kings of *Scandinavia*. Here it was that an ancient custom so glorious, if true, to *Sweden*, had its origin. His *Swedish* majesty mounting his horse was attended by two kings, the *Danish* monarch holding his bridle, and his *Norwegian* majesty the stirrup^f. The same author adds, that, notwithstanding his many excellent qualities, his rebellious subjects drove him for ten years into exile, from which he was recalled a little before his death.

Niord. *TORFÆUS* alledges, that *Freyer*, *Friwo*, or *Frotbo*, succeeded *Othen*; but *Loccenius* places *Niord* immediately after that monarch. He was one of the high-priests of *Upsal*, equally famous for forcery as his predecessor, to which, and the credulity of the people, he owed his elevation. By some historians he is represented as a pacific and religious prince; but *Puffendorf* speaks of his warlike qualities, in which, however, he was unfortunate. Attacked by the sovereign of *Muscovy*, on account of some injury that prince had received from *Othen*, he defended himself with courage; but at last, oppressed with numbers, he lost a battle, and fled to *Denmark*. *Sweden* was the reward of the conqueror, and transmitted by him to his successor, who governed with such tyranny, that the people revolted and recalled *Niord*. In some ancient records he is called *Nearcbus*, and said to be brother to *Freyer* or *Frotbo*, whom *Loccenius* makes his successor.

Frotbo. IN *Frotbo's* reign, says *Puffendorf*, the northern kingdoms enjoyed profound tranquility: He was a religious and magnificent prince, sparing no expence in ornamenting the temples of the gods. It is said he adorned a large temple at *Upsal* with a rich gold chain, each ring weighing several pounds, and the whole enclosing the building^g.

HISTORIANS are divided about the successors of this monarch. *Puffendorf*, and a few others, mention *Sigtrug*, *Suibdager*, and *Osmund*; but *Messenius* and *Loccenius* place no less than nine kings before *Sigtrug*. All, however, agree that *Sigtrug* did succeed to the crown, though they differ with respect to the time.

Sigtrug. NOT long after *Sigtrug* ascended the throne, *Gram* king of *Denmark* demanded his daughter in marriage; but his majesty designing to bestow her in marriage on *Humble*, brother to the king of *Finland*, sent back the ambassadors with a polite denial. The *Dane* found means to gain the princess's consent, by his liberal presents; upon which he set out in disguise to *Sweden*, came to court, and carried her off. This occasioned a war between the two kingdoms, which ended fatally for the *Swedish* monarch; and the *Danish* historians alledge, that *Gram* united the dominions of the vanquished to his own; nor is this positively denied by the most approved *Swedish* writers. *Gram's* understanding was intoxicated

^d PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 12.^e LOCCEN. lib. i.^f PUFFEND. p. 14.^g JOHAN. MAGN. p. 4. 7.

(B) It is remarkable, that although most *Swedish* historians deduce the *Swedish* nation from the *Goths*, yet they frequently speak of them as distinct nations, and the titles of the *Swedish* kings at this day distinguish them.

(C) According to *Puffendorf* and *Messenius*, *Humulf* lived about 400 years before the nativity; and yet his grandson *Humble* is affirmed by *Suaningius*, and the *Danish* writers, to have flourished 1048 years before *Christ*.

- a with prosperity. He grew insolent, cruel, and oppressive. His new subjects rebelled, he was driven out of the kingdom, or, as others relate, slain in battle by *Suibdager*, who succeeded to his crown ^b.

THIS prince, who was king of *Norway*, now united the three northern crowns, and became the most potent monarch of his time. After a short reign he was defeated at sea, and slain by *Hading*, the son of *Gram*.

No sooner was the death of *Suibdager* known, than his son *Asmund* was raised to the throne, with the title of king of *Sweden*, *Norway*, and *Gothland*. Desirous of revenging his father's death, he made war on *Hading*, and was slain, after an obstinate battle, in which he killed *Hading's* son, and wounded the king himself in the leg.

- b *UFFO* succeeded to the crown and quarrel of his father and grandfather. At his accession, his dominions were ravaged by the troops of the victorious *Dane*, which he retaliated, by making a descent on *Denmark*. This obliged *Hading* to return to the defence of his own kingdom; upon which *Uffo* embarked his army for *Sweden*, not chusing to venture a battle. The conquest, however, of *Sweden* was the utmost ambition of the *Danish* monarch, and the ultimate aim of his politicks. He assembled a more numerous army than before, and invaded *Sweden* once more; but found *Uffo* encamped so advantageously, that it was impossible to advance, and as unsafe as disgraceful to retreat. He was reduced to the greatest extremities, his soldiers perishing with cold and hunger, when necessity obliged him to attempt opening a way through the midst of the *Swedish* camp. Despair rendered the *Danes* irresistible, they fought with fury, pushed their way through, and saved the remainder of the army in *Gothland*, from whence *Hading* with great danger escaped to *Norway*, and thence into *Denmark*.

UFFO, in despair that his greatest enemy should have escaped out of his hands, set a price on his head, publishing, that whoever should put *Hading* to death, would be assuredly recompensed with his daughter in marriage. *Hunding*, one of the heroes of the age, animated with the greatness of the reward, attacked *Hading* with a troop of desperadoes, but failed in the attempt. In his turn, *Hading* contrived the death of his enemy. Pretending that he sought the means of reconciliation, he desired a passport to the court of *Uffo* at *Upsal*, in order to perform a certain vow he had made. His request was granted, he arrived

- d at the *Swedish* capital, was invited to a grand entertainment which *Uffo* prepared, with a view to countermine his designs; but some of the assassins discovering the plot, *Hading* left the court privately, and traversing almost impervious woods and mountains, arrived in *Denmark*. Some time after, he returned secretly to *Upsal*, accomplished his design, assassinated *Uffo*, and buried his body magnificently, in order to win the affections of the *Swedes*. This account differs, in many particulars, from what we have already related in *Hading's* life; but it must be remembered, that we deduce the history of each nation from its own historians, only comparing them in material points with foreigners.

- THE schemes of the deepest politician are not always successful. The *Swedes* and *Goths*, detesting the murderer of their prince, elected *Hunding*, *Uffo's* brother, for their king. Upon this the war rekindled with fresh vigour; both made extraordinary exertions for victory; but tired with fruitless battles, and the profusion of blood and treasure spent to no purpose, they resolved upon a peace as cordial and sincere as ever their animosity was bitter. They swore a perpetual alliance, and entered into a very extraordinary agreement, that as soon as the one should be informed of the other's death, the survivor should immediately lay violent hands on himself. After reigning with great felicity for some years, the news came to *Upsal*, that *Hading* was no more: it was false, but *Hunding* had not patience to wait for a confirmation; he resolved to die, and immediately prepared a magnificent entertainment, assembled all his officers round him, plied them with wine, and at the close of the feast flung himself into a vessel full of hydromel, where he perished. The *Danish* monarch received the news with the utmost grief, and that he might equal his friend in generosity, hanged himself in sight of the whole court.

- THE death of *Hunding* naturally paved the way for his nephew, the son of *Uffo*; but the young king's step-mother, an ambitious woman, resolved to keep the government in her own hands. *Regner* could not oppose her, as his first success was owing to her policy; however, *Suenwita*, daughter to *Hading* late king of *Denmark*, interposed. She made a voyage to *Sweden*, gained access to the young king *Regner*, and found him eloquent, liberal in his sentiments, and politic beyond his years. After exhorting him to rescue the kingdom out of the hands of a woman altogether unworthy of sovereignty, she made him several handsome presents, received the promise of his hand, and returned to *Denmark*. On her departure, *Regner* assembled all his father's friends and adherents; he attacked his mo-

^b LOCEN. lib. i. MEURS. p. 3.

ⁱ SUANING. Chron. p. 26. LOCEN.

ther in-law, made her prisoner, put her to death; and after being publicly proclaimed king of Sweden, married *Suanvita*.

FROTHO, brother to this princess, reigned then in *Denmark*. His ambition hurried him into a war with *Sweden*, while king *Regner* was absent. Besides a powerful army of *Danes*, he was strongly reinforced by some nations inhabiting the eastern side of *Sweden*. *Suanvita*, however, was not intimidated by her brother's formidable strength, nor her husband's absence. She boldly embarked her forces, set sail, joined battle, defeated, and took almost the whole prisoners; but, from natural affection to her country, released them on such conditions as secured the peace of *Sweden*. Unmindful of her generosity, *Frotho* attacked her a second time, and received the just punishment of his ingratitude. He was defeated, and left dead on the field. From this time *Regner* and *Suanvita* lived in peace and harmony the remainder of their days. He died first, and she was so much affected with her loss, that she soon followed him.

Holward.

HOLWARD, surnamed *Hotebrod*, no sooner ascended the throne than he resolved to revenge the injuries done to his father, making war at the same time on the *Russians*, *Esthonians*, *Finlanders*, *Suabians*, and *Courlanders*. His design was to reduce all these nations under his obedience, and he succeeded. After finishing these expeditions, he married *Gyrta* of *Norway*, by whom he had two sons, *Attilus* and *Hotben*. Next he turned his arms against *Denmark*, and after two undecisive battles, left king *Roe* dead on the field, in the third. *Helgon*, *Roe*'s brother, resumed the quarrel, he equipped a fleet, gave battle to the *Swedes*, and defeated them, after having mortally wounded *Holward*. Profiting by his victory, he reduced the whole kingdom, and annexed it to his own crown; but intoxicated with prosperity, his insolence destroyed what his bravery had won. The *Swedes* rebelled in every province; but still *Attilus* could never ascend the throne until he married *Urfilla*, daughter of *Helgon*, with whom he received the crown of *Sweden*, on paying a certain yearly tribute. *Attilus* was remarkable only for his avarice; he heaped up treasures without any other view than the gratification afforded by the quest of money. His queen, who formed a design on the treasure, persuaded him to invite her son *Rolvo*, by a former marriage, now king of *Denmark*, to his court. On his arrival a plan was laid for carrying off the treasure, and flying out of the kingdom. On the day of their departure, *Rolvo* amused his father-in-law with frivolous discourses, while his mother was shipping the money; then he followed her, and both got safe out of the kingdom, notwithstanding they were diligently pursued by *Attilus*.

Hother.

HOTHER succeeded his father *Attilus*, unlike him in the qualities of mind and person. He was liberal, polite, and handsome, the most elegant courtier and fine gentleman of the North. His accomplishments won the heart of *Nanna*, daughter to *Givar* king of *Norway*; but *Hacho*, king of *Denmark*, who formed pretensions to the princess, obstructed the marriage by every possible means. A war ensued, *Hother* invaded *Denmark* with a fleet and army, and was repulsed, escaping with great difficulty to *Jutland*, where he wintered. He was not discouraged, however, by his disgrace; labouring to recruit his army and refit his fleet, he a second time gave battle to the *Danes*; but the combatants were separated, by the darkness of the night, before victory was decided. Next day both armies resumed the engagement with redoubled fury, *Hacho* was slain, his army defeated, and his kingdom annexed to the crown of *Sweden*. *Denmark* indeed did not long remain in a state of servitude; for *Hother* was no sooner departed for *Sweden*, than *Fridlef* took possession of the throne. *Hother* marched against him without delay, and defeating him, deprived him of his kingdom and life. Afterwards he reigned peaceably for some years over *Sweden* and *Denmark*; but the nobility of the latter rebelling, he raised an army, gave them battle, and lost his life.

Roderick.

RORIC, or *Roderic*, who next ascended the throne, did not suffer his father's death to remain unpunished (D). He raised a powerful army of *Swedes* and *Danes*, and conquered the *Russians*, *Esthonians*, *Finlanders*, and other northern nations. All acknowledged the superiority of his arms, and bent their neck to the yoke; yet, moderate enough to content himself with his lawful dominions, he gave up all his conquests, and even governed *Denmark* by a viceroy.

Attilus II.

To his crown succeeded *Attilus* his brother, and the second *Swedish* monarch of that name. This prince, engaged in a war with *Denmark*, was murdered by the treachery of his enemies. *Rito* and *Vigo*, half-brothers to the *Danish* monarch, came to the court of *Attilus*, and took an opportunity of assassinating the king; a base action, for which they were rewarded liberally by the dastardly prince who employed them.

(D) This prince, surnamed *Slingabond*, is reckoned by their historians; but, instead of calling him the son of *Hother*, they make him son to *Halden*, and assign him only a part of *Denmark* for his dominions (1).

(1) Vid. *Meurf. lib. i.*

^a *HOGMOR* and *Hogrin* succeeded to the throne. All we know of these princes is, that they reigned long, carried on a war against the king of *Denmark*, and both perished in a battle fought at sea with that monarch. *Hogmor and Hogrin.*

NEXT the *Swedes* elected *Alaric*, whose son was prince of *Wermaland*. He began his reign with vigorously attacking *Gestiblund* king of the *Goths*, with design to annex his dominions to *Sweden*; but he found the business more difficult than he apprehended. *Gestiblund* applied to *Frotho* (E), king of *Denmark*, for assistance, who gave him *Godescale* with a body of *Slavonians*, and *Eric* with a numerous army of *Norwegians*. These auxiliaries first defeated *Ganto*, son of *Alaric* and reduced his province. Some say he was left dead on the field, and all agree, that, after his defeat, the conquerors joined the *Goths*, and marched against king *Alaric*. The *Swedish* monarch, after vainly endeavouring to detach *Eric* from the interest of *Gestiblund*, challenged the latter to single combat; but *Eric* would not permit the issue of the war to depend on the arm of a prince worn out with age and infirmity. He offered himself, was accepted, a battle was fought, and *Alaric* left dead upon the spot. *Alaric.*

ERIC procured the crown of *Sweden* in reward of his victory, and he annexed the kingdom of the *Goths* to his own, at the death of *Gestiblund*. Descended from one of the most considerable families in *Norway*, he acquired great reputation by his valour and eloquence, as well as consummate wisdom. The king of *Denmark* performed nothing without his advice, and besides the crown of *Sweden*, which *Eric* procured by his interest, was constantly making him presents, in testimony of his esteem. In a word, he carried his regard to such a length, that he resolved to connect the families by marriage, and raise *Eric's* brother to the throne of *Norway*. It is added, that the *Norwegians* revolting, the new king demanded assistance of *Denmark* and *Sweden*. *Frotho* and *Eric* marched with all possible dispatch to succour their ally; *Frotho* came up first with the enemy, and must have been defeated, had not the *Swedish* monarch's arrival changed the fortune of the day, saved his brother's crown, and the *Danish* army. *Eric.*

HILDEN succeeded *Eric* in the thrones of *Sweden* and *Gothland*. The crown had scarce adorned his temples when he entered upon a furious war against the *Norwegians*, who, at the death of *Eric* and *Frotho*, claimed independency, and even endeavoured to revenge the insults offered them by those two powerful monarchs. His arms had but little success; one defeat followed another, and he found himself in a little time on the brink of perdition, when he applied for succour to the *Russians*, and obtained powerful reinforcements, under the conduct of *Fridlef* the son of *Frotho*, king of *Denmark*. *Fridlef* had served long in *Muscovy*, and was in high credit on account of his exploits. It was no difficult matter for him to raise an army, every one ran to his standard, and he was ready a few days after it was erected, to begin his march at the head of 30,000 able-bodied men, with whom he proposed, first to subdue the *Norwegians*, and then to rescue *Denmark* out of the hands of one *Hiarn*, who had usurped the sovereignty. On his arrival on the frontiers of *Sweden*, he was joined by *Halden* with a body of *Swedes*. Both princes made an irruption into *Norway*, and obtain a signal victory. After this repulse the *Norwegians* durst not hazard a battle; they shut themselves up in a strong fortress on the borders, from whence they greatly incommoded the allied princes with repeated sallies. At length, however, *Fridlef* carried the place by storm, put the garrison to the sword, and secured peace to *Halden*. A few years after *Fridlef*, now king of *Denmark*, experienced *Halden's* gratitude. Falling deeply in love with the princess of *Norway*, her father refused to give her to him in marriage, upon which he began a second cruel war against that people, in which he was powerfully assisted by *Halden*. The *Norwegians* were defeated in a pitched battle, their king slain, and his daughter carried off, the prize of victory. For a number of years the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* lived together in the strictest ties of friendship. At last *Halden* was assassinated by some malecontents, who, not satisfied with murdering the father, contrived the death of his son *Siward*, and, failing in that attempt, endeavoured at least to prevent his ascending the throne. *Halden.*

In spite of all opposition *Siward* at length obtained the crown, by means of one *Stercather*, a man of extraordinary personal qualities and great influence. The *Goths*, however, dismembered themselves from *Sweden*, and gave their sovereignty to one *Charles*, a person of very ancient family and great popularity. *Charles* knowing that the *Swedes* would not patiently support this act of independency, took the most vigorous measures to support his authority, and formed several powerful alliances. He married his daughter to *Harold*, son of *Olaus* king of *Denmark*; and *Siward*, to destroy the intention of this match, gave his daughter *Ulvilda* in marriage to *Frotho*, *Harold's* brother, by this means preserving *Den-* *Siward.*

(E) More probably *Rolvo*; for *Frotho* I. reigned several years before *Alaric*, and the second of that name some ages after.

mark a neutral power between both. It fell out otherwise, for *Harold* declared for *Charles*,^a and *Siward* was powerfully assisted by *Frotho*. Several bloody battles were fought, *Harold* was murdered by his brother, and *Frotho* raised to the throne of *Denmark*: but he enjoyed the fruits of his villainy no longer than till his nephews, the sons of *Harold*, came of age. They thirsted after revenge, and obtained a most signal one, having burnt their uncle in his palace, and stoned to death his queen *Ulvilda*. Afterwards they made an irruption into *Sweden*, and killed king *Siward*, after having defeated him in battle.

Eric.
As *Siward* left no male children, the son of his daughter *Ulvilda* was raised to the throne of *Sweden*, at the death of *Frotho*; but he did not long enjoy his crown in peace. His cousin *Halden*, not contented with having murdered the father, mother, and grandfather of *Eric*, was now plotting against his life, as the only impediment to his obtaining the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. First, he made himself master of *Denmark*, the government of which he gave to his brother *Harold*, and then went to *Gothland*, where he raised a powerful army, with which he marched against *Eric*, attacked him, and was defeated, saving with difficulty the remains of his army in *Helſingia*. Not discouraged with this repulse, he recruited his army with all expedition, and attacked *Eric* a second time with redoubled vigour, but similar fortune. He was again beaten, and forced to seek shelter with the shattered remains of his army in the inaccessible mountains of *Gothland*, from which it was not possible for *Eric* to dislodge him. He fell, however, upon a stratagem that answered his purpose. He invaded *Denmark*, defeated *Harold* in four battles, and obliged him to recal his brother *Halden* out of *Sweden*, for the defence of his own dominions.^c

It was just on *Halden's* arrival that *Harold* was a fourth time defeated, almost his whole army destroyed, and himself slain, as he was endeavouring to carry off the remains of his forces. Upon this victory *Eric* set out for *Sweden*, whither *Halden* pursued him with a numerous fleet, determined to revenge all his losses by one decisive engagement. Both fleets met on the coast of *Sweden*, and *Eric*, who was led into an ambuscade, received a total overthrow, in which he lost his life (F).

Halden Ber-
gram.

This victory paved the way to the throne of *Sweden*, which *Halden* annexed to that of *Denmark* and *Gothland*, signalising the beginning of his reign by a vigorous war he waged against the pirates and corsairs, who had greatly molested the navigation of the *Baltic*. While he was thus engaged, a rebellion was excited in *Sweden* by one *Siwald*, who represented to the people how shameful it was to acknowledge for king the person who had burnt their king *Siward*, stoned his queen *Ulvilda*, slain their late king *Eric*, and was himself a foreigner. He admonished them to elect a prince of their own nation, whose interest and inclination would equally attach him to the country. His reproaches and exhortations made an impression; the people revolted, and offered the crown to *Siwald*, descended of the blood-royal. *Halden* flew immediately to quell the sedition, and his presence soon intimidated those who had declared for *Siwald*. They abandoned him, and left that hero alone to oppose the whole force of one of the most powerful monarchs in *Europe*. *Siwald* was not discouraged; he sent a herald to *Halden*, declaring that with his seven sons he would fight him; but *Halden* answered, that the match was unequal, as he alone would, then be opposed to eight enemies. *Siwald*, however, replying, that his sons and himself^d were one blood, the challenge was accepted, and the eight combatants were left dead on the field. A proof of valour and prowess so astonishing ought naturally to have deterred others from declaring themselves the enemies of *Halden*. One *Hastben*, however, sent him a challenge, depending on his enormous stature, and the good-fortune which had hitherto attended him in all his encounters. His cartel was accepted. *Halden* fought him and six associates, all of whom he left prostrate on the field. In a word, after gaining the merited reputation of the greatest warrior of his times, *Halden* died, and was, agreeable to the custom of that age, enrolled in the calendar of heroes (G).

Unguin.

HALDEN bequeathed by will his dominions to his kinsman *Unguin*; whence their opinion who report that his son *Asmund* died before him, seems confirmed. Yet is it questioned, upon good foundation, whether *Unguin* stood in any degree of affinity or relationship to the king. This prince annexed the crown of *Gothland* to that of *Sweden*, and died after a short but prosperous reign^b. Others alledge, with more probability, that he lost

^b SUANING. p. 27.

(F) The *Danish* historians alledge, that *Eric* was made prisoner, and might have obtained advantageous conditions, if his pride would have suffered him to have held his crown of *Halden*. This he refused, and the conqueror ordered him to be exposed to wild beasts (1).

(G) It is supposed, and not without reason, by some historians, that *Halden's* reign is composed of events which happened under several different kings; however, as we could not now separate them upon any authority, we have transmitted them in the usual form.

(1) *Meurf. lib. i.*

a his life in a battle against *Regnald* king of *Gotbland*, who, in right of conquest, succeeded to the crown of *Sweden*.

To render his victory still more extensive in its consequences, he invaded *Denmark*, with *Regnald*, a view to annex that kingdom to his crown. Here he fought a battle which, after continuing for three days with unremitting fury, at last ended with his life. *Regnald's* fate determined the fortune of the day; a panic seized his troops, and they suffered the enemy to snatch victory out of their arms, retiring with precipitation to the fleet. Afterwards a great part of the army entered into the service of *Hacho*, a famous pirate of *Norway*.

HISTORIANS are greatly divided about the successor. *Loccenius* and *Suaningius* assert, without hesitation, that *Asmund*, the son of *Regnald*, was raised by the universal voice of the people to the throne of *Sweden*; while *Puffendorff*, and *Johannes Magnus*, from whom he deduces his authority, are no less positive that the crown fell into the hands of *Sirwald*, the victorious monarch of *Denmark*. *Asmund* had four sons, the most formidable pirates of the age, who became the terror of the *Baltic*, and the scourge of honest industry and fair commerce. At sea they met with the four princes of *Denmark*, who likewise led piratical lives; a fierce combat ensued; both sides exerted their utmost endeavours for victory, and with such equal fortune, that they struck up peace, and entered into the most cordial amity. The *Swedish* princes accompanied their new friends to the court of *Denmark*, where *Hagbord*, the third brother, fell deeply enamoured of *Segris*, the king's daughter, a young lady possessed of every accomplishment of mind and person. She had, before his arrival, been betrothed to *Hildegislaus*, a noble *German*, of great merit; but changing her inclinations at the first interview with the *Swedish* prince, such an emulation arose between the lovers as could only be appeased by blood. *Hildegislaus* would have had recourse for redress to his own courage, but he was dissuaded from challenging his rival, by the insinuating arts of the cunning *Bolvissus*, a nobleman grown grey in court-intrigues. He undertook to sow the seeds of jealousy between the *Swedish* and *Danish* princes, and thence to oblige the former to quit the court. His wiles succeeded; the *Danes* were soon convinced, that the children of *Asmund* had secret designs, which they pushed under the mask of friendship and esteem. They contrived the murder of the four princes, and actually assassinated *Helvinus* and *Armud*, the second and youngest. But their death did not remain long unre-

Asmund, or Hamund.

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d venged. *Hagbord* fell sword-in-hand upon the *Danish* princes, and made them suffer the just punishment of their credulity and treachery; but imagining that all his endeavours to obtain the king's consent to marry the princess, would now be vain, he got access to the palace, disguised like a woman, penetrated to the princess's chamber, and carried her off. *Loccenius*, indeed, says, that in a female disguise he entered into the princess's service, found admittance to her bed, ravished her, was discovered, and put to death. He adds, that the princess, distracted with love and despair, set fire to her part of the palace, and consumed it, herself, wealth, and attendants. *Hacquin* now alone remained of all the sons of *Asmund*. Immediately on his return to *Sweden* he levied an army to revenge the murder of his brothers. No sooner had he landed his troops in *Zeland*, than he ordered them to cut down

e large boughs of trees, which they held in their left hands, as they marched towards the capital. The centinels round the city were struck with fear at the sight of so unusual a phenomenon as a moving wood; they abandoned their posts, and communicated their panic to the whole court. The king doubted not but it foreboded ruin to him; however, he determined to fall gloriously, and after he had achieved every thing for the preservation of his people, collecting a tumultuous army, he sallied out of the city, began a fierce engagement, and fell by the hands of the enemy. *Hacquin* used his good fortune in a manner that shewed how little he deserved it; his cruelty spared neither age nor sex; all, without distinction, were hewn down in cold blood, and *Denmark* was struggling in the arms of expiring freedom, when advice arrived of the death of *Asmund*. *Hacquin*, upon this,

Hacquin.

f repaired with all expedition to *Sweden*, to take upon him the sovereignty, leaving the command of the army with one of his generals, surnamed *the Proud*, who was soon driven out of the country after his master's departure. The king was not long repairing the losses sustained by his general. He over-ran *Denmark* with a powerful army, and, to subject the conquered to every possible ignominy, set a woman to rule over them; a fact omitted by all the *Danish* historians. The remaining years of this prince's reign were pacific and happy; *Denmark* paid him tribute, and *Sweden* and *Gotbland* acknowledged him as immediate sovereign. The equity, moderation, and prudence of the latter part of his reign fully effaced the errors committed in the beginning. For ten years before his death he lost the use of all his faculties, and was suckled like an infant, through a horn. Still, however, he preserved the affection and esteem of his subjects, and died highly regretted (H).

* *Loccen. lib. i. p. 25.*

(H) About this period the utmost confusion prevails among all the northern historians. Some mention *Hacquin* the successor of *Asmund*, and succeeded in his turn by *Osten*, *Alaric*, and *Ingo*; while others relate the life of *Hacquin* the son of *Germunder*, of a character totally different from the former.

Egil Auniff.

According to most writers, *Hacquin* was succeeded by *Egil Auniff*, who was near being deprived of his crown, by the intrigues of *Thunno*, the treasurer in the late reign. This person had converted to his own use great sums of the public money, and his wealth enabled him to aspire at sovereignty. To avoid being called to an account by the young king, he openly revolted, and assembled a numerous army of desperadoes. The little success he met with in his first rencounters with the royal forces did not discourage him. Too far advanced in treason to retract with safety, he now plundered on in mere despair, and fought eight successive battles, in all which he was worsted, according to *Loccenius*; tho' *Gothus* alledges, that *Egil* was so hard pressed as oblig'd him to apply for succour to *Asmund* king of *Denmark*. It was then, says this last historian, that he fairly turned the tables upon *Thunno*, destroyed his army, drove him into banishment, and passed the rest of his life in perfect tranquility. *Egil* ended his days unfortunately. One day, as he returned from the chase, he was set upon by a mad bull, and so miserably gored that he expired on the spot.

Gothar.

EGIL's sceptre was put into the hands of his son *Gothar*, call'd by some writers *Ottar*. His majesty's first care was, to strengthen himself by powerful alliances, and to secure the tranquility of his people by entering into friendly connections with the neighbouring states. With this view he cast his eyes on the daughter of *Asmund* king of *Denmark*, and demanded the princess in marriage. An ambassador was sent, with a splendid train, to the court of *Denmark*; but in his passage through the province of *Halland*, he was set upon and murdered by robbers, supposed to have acted agreeable to orders from his *Danish* majesty. *Sigward* had now mounted the throne of that kingdom, and seemed but little disposed to comply with the inclinations of his father and sister, to avoid which *Gothar* was persuaded he fell upon this pitiful stratagem. To avenge himself, he immediately declared war, and obtained a considerable victory over the *Danes* in *Halland*. Next he conquered *Schonen*, and ravaged all the enemies provinces, until he obtained his mistress and carried her off in triumph. In his absence, one of his vassals had carried on an intrigue with the princess his sister; and the king, on his return, condemned him to death; a sentence that was executed without mitigation. The friends of the deceased, determined upon revenge, invited the usurper of *Denmark* into *Sweden*, promising to assist him, in the conquest of the kingdom, with powerful forces. Ravished with so fair an opportunity of gratifying his ambition, *Farmeric*, for that was the usurper's name, joyfully received the proposals made by the malecontents, raised an army, and began a cruel war against *Sweden*. *Gothar* was not terrified with the approaching storm; but, assembling his forces, marched with a good countenance, and gave battle to the *Danes*. Fortune, however, was not propitious; he was defeated with great slaughter, and left dead on the field, amidst the horrible carnage. *Farmeric* made a brutal use of his victory; no sooner was the king's body recognised, than, denying it burial, he ordered it to be exposed, on the top of a mountain, to wild beasts and birds of prey. He was even insolent enough to send into *Sweden* a wooden image of a raven, with an inscription, importing, "That king *Gothar* was now of no more consequence than the raven." Hence it was that this unfortunate prince obtained, after his death, the surname of *Wandelkroka* or *Raven*^a.

Adel.

ADEL succeeded to his father's crown, and was preparing to revenge his death, when advice was received of a complete victory *Farmeric* had obtained over the *Slavonians* and *Livonians*. This obliged the young king to suppress his resentment, it being hazardous to declare war so early in his reign, against a prince flushed, and greatly strengthened by repeated conquests. Not long after, he yielded to his impatience of vengeance, engaged the enemy by sea, and after a warm contest, that continued for three days, concluded a peace, on condition that *Farmeric* should marry his sister, and thenceforward live in perfect harmony with *Sweden*. This good intelligence between the two crowns was but of short duration. *Swavilda*, sister to the *Swedish* monarch, was unjustly accused by her husband of holding criminal conversation with his son-in law *Broder*, and accordingly put to death, being torn asunder by wild horses. All *Adel*'s caution could not restrain him from breaking out into bitter invectives against *Farmeric*, on receiving this melancholy news. He solemnly vowed revenge, and instantly set about the means of accomplishing it. Entering *Denmark* in a hostile manner, he laid waste all before him, without once encountering the enemy, who were immersed in civil wars; *Farmeric*'s cruelty having incurred the hatred of his subjects. At length, the *Danish* monarch was forced to seek shelter in a strong fortress he had built, where he was besieged by the *Swedes*, taken prisoner, broke upon the wheel, and his treasures rifled. *Adel* finished his expedition with the conquest of *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking*, annexing these provinces to the crown of *Gotbland*. As for *Denmark*, he gave it to *Broder*, the son of *Farmeric*, on condition that he paid him a certain yearly tribute. On

^a GOTH. lib. i. PUFFEND. p. 57.

a his return, the king offered sacrifice at *Upsal* to his false gods; and as he was surrounding the temple, on horseback, in procession, he was thrown off, and his neck was dislocated, at the age of fifty-five, and after a reign of forty-five years^c.

OSTAN immediately ascended the throne of his father, and was hardly established in the ^{Ostan.} sovereignty, when one of the most considerable families in *Sweden* revolted, and drew into their faction a great number of adherents. To crush this sedition in its bud, the young monarch begun his march at the head of an army into *Gothland*. Here the rebels found an opportunity of destroying him. They surrounded the house where he lodged, in the night, and set it on fire, consuming the king and all his attendants. This prince died at the age of fifty-five, after a reign of twenty-six years^f, leaving a son and successor near of

b age. *INGUAR* inherited his father's crown and the warlike spirit of his ancestors. At a very ^{Inguar.} early period of life, he distinguished himself as one of the first warriors of the times. *Snio* was in possession of the throne of *Denmark*, and aspired at the conquest of *Schonen*. The latter, to accomplish his designs, had endeavoured to secure the friendship of the king of *Gothland*, by paying his addresses to his daughter. The young lady shewed no aversion to the match; but, in the mean time, his *Swedish* majesty made overtures more agreeable to her father, and was accepted in preference to his rival. This was an affront which *Snio* determined to revenge. He flew to arms, invaded *Schonen*, and conquered the province. Not satisfied with his success, he laboured to gain the affection of the young queen of *Sweden*, and establish a clandestine correspondence, injurious to the honour of her husband. ^c *Inguar* was not of a disposition tamely to bear so gross an insult. He raised forces, re-conquered *Schonen*, subdued *Denmark*, and annexed it to his own crown. At the death of his father-in-law, he succeeded to the crown of *Gothland*; and not contented with this fresh accession to his power, his ambition aspired at the conquest of several nations lying eastward of his dominions. His designs succeeded; his arms were every where victorious: but he was taken off by the hands of an assassin, in the prime of life, and full bloom of glory (A).

ASMUND inherited the three crowns and extensive conquests of his father. He ^{Asmund.} ascended the throne at twenty years of age, and entered upon the government with a full resolution to avenge *Inguar's* murder. Accordingly he entered the territories of that people ^d supposed to have contrived the assassination, and, after ravaging the whole country, returned with great booty. Next, he turned his thoughts to the arts of peace; and to give his people a higher relish of the blessings of tranquility, he offered great encouragement to husbandry, by cutting down vast forests, and parcelling out the lands among the industrious, without incumbering them with rents. Thus he increased population, established plenty among his subjects, and reigned in the hearts of his people. He cut out roads and highways at the public expence, for the convenience of commerce, and set on foot a thousand useful and public-spirited projects; notwithstanding which, his brother, who formed designs on the crown, drew a powerful faction to espouse his pretensions. A civil war ensued, a battle was fought, *Asmund* lost his life and crown, and the *Swedes* the best monarch ^e that had ever wielded their sceptre: a prince glorious in war, wise in peace, the father and the friend of his subjects.

AFTER a reign of twenty years, *Asmund* was succeeded by his brother *Siward*, whose vic- ^{Siward.} tory cleared the way to the throne. The ambition of this prince was not gratified with the possession of three crowns; he must extend his dominions by the conquest of *Norway*. Fortune smiled on his endeavours; he conquered, and slew in battle *Siwald* king of *Norway*, and succeeded to his crown. Intoxicated with prosperity, he exercised the most barbarous and wanton cruelties, scourging his new subjects with a rod of iron, and governing with such severity, as soon became intolerable to the *Norwegians*. They revolted, and called to their assistance the *Danes*, who expressed the same inclination to throw off the ^f yoke. They had proclaimed *Regner*, a prince of *Norwegian* extraction, sovereign of *Denmark*, flocked to his standard, and exhorted him with such eagerness to march to the relief of the *Norwegians*, as admitted of no refusal. He met *Siward* in the field, vanquished and slew him, and then disposed of the kingdom of *Norway* in favour of his own son, likewise named *Siward*.

HIROI was next raised to the throne of *Sweden*; but it is disputed whether he was the ^{Hiroi.} son of *Asmund* or of *Siward*, or the younger brother of both. It is acknowledged on all hands, that, during the last reign, he obtained the crown of *Gothland*; and that, in his

^c LOECEN. lib. i. p. 38. SUAN. Chron. p. 35. ^f TORF. in ser. reg. Dan. LOECEN. 38.

(A) Here follows a chapter in the *Swedish* history, direct. We shall follow *Puffendorf*, who comes the which writers have supplied by various and contradictory relations, just as humour and caprice would seem to nearest, in our opinion, to probability.

time, great crouds of *Goths* and *Danes* settled in the country of the *Vandals*, at the mouth a of the river *Odger*, building the city of *Vineta*, so famous in after-ages for its flourishing commerce^s. Just as *Hirot* ascended the *Swedish* throne, it happened that his *Danish* majesty, having repudiated his own queen, demanded in marriage *Thera*, princess of *Sweden*. According to the custom of the age, *Hirot* refused to grant his daughter's hand, before the suitor had distinguished himself by some atchievement to deserve her. This the gallant performed, having killed several wild beasts let loose in the chamber of his mistress. By this lady the king of *Denmark* had several sons, all of them famous for their cruelty.

Ingel.

At *Hirot's* death, *Ingel*, the son of *Asmund*, was at length raised to the throne, from which he had been unjustly excluded for two reigns. Of him it is reported, that being in his youth of an extremely mild disposition, his tutor *Suibdager*, in order to alter his tem- b per, obliged him to eat wolves hearts; a regimen which, we are told, soon produced the desired effect. On the day of his accession to the crown, he assembled all the petty kings governing the different provinces in *Sweden*, and sat in their presence on a footstool placed before the throne. Here was presented to him, according to ancient custom, a horn filled with wine, which he drank off, swearing, either to extend the frontiers of *Sweden*, or to perish in the attempt. The very night following he shewed he would stick at nothing to perform his vow; for he set fire to the house where seven of the petty kings were lodged, and destroyed them in the flames. These were violences to which the *Swedes* were not accustomed. Determined to punish such perfidy, they revolted, gave battle to *Ingel*, and defeated him, but the victory was not decisive, and served only to produce c an accommodation. Here *Ingel* acted with his usual insincerity; feigning a hearty reconciliation, he pretended to do them every kind of good offices, invited them to an entertainment, and when he had them all assembled, set fire to the house, and burnt them alive. In this manner he got rid of twelve petty tyrants, who had usurped the supreme government of as many *Swedish* provinces. *Ingel* had a daughter named *Afa*, of the same bloody disposition with her father. She was married to the prince of *Schonen*, whom she murdered, together with his brother-in-law, delivering their dominions into the hands of their enemies. To escape the punishment due to so horrible an action, she fled to her father's court; but *Iwar* of *Denmark* resolved to take vengeance. He posted with an army to *Sweden*, and laying all waste with fire and sword, so terrified *Ingel*, that, to avoid d falling into his hands, he set fire, at the persuasion of his daughter, to his palace, and perished with it. The only action of this prince's reign that is reported to his honour, is his reducing into one volume the *Swedish* law, in which work he employed a person of great learning for those times, *Vigar Spache*, celebrated to this day in *Sweden*.

Olaus Træt-
telga.

INGEL's son, *Olaus*, escaped the fire which destroyed the rest of the royal family. This prince is numbered among the *Swedish* kings, though for what reason we know not; as it does not appear that he ever possessed the sovereign power. We find nothing more related of him, than that retiring to *Wermeland*, he cut down large forests, employed his time in husbandry, and obtained the surname of *Trætclga*, from the vast quantity of wood he had hewn down^h.

Charles.

THE king's death, the flight of the presumptive heir, and the inroads of a powerful enemy, all contributed to raise *Charles*, a *Swedish* lord of distinction, to the throne, an honour he enjoyed but a very short time. *Regner* king of *Denmark*, could not support the thought of losing so valuable a kingdom. He challenged *Charles* to single combat, and slew him; rendering himself, by his victory, master of the crown of *Sweden*, which he placed on the temples of his son *Bero* or *Biorno*, called by *Loccenius* the third of that name, and the first christian prince of *Sweden* (A).

^s Chron. Slavor. lib. i.^h TORFÆUS in ser. reg. Dan. lib. 1.

(A) It is true, that *Loccenius* does not make this *Biorno* the son of *Regner*; on the contrary, he expressly says, that his parentage is doubtful, though we have ventured, on the authority of *Torfæus* and *Puffendorf*,

to mention him as of *Danish* extraction. The year of his accession is no less dubious; but *Torfæus* places it in 831 (1).

(1) Vid. lib. ser. reg. Dan.

S E C T III.

In which the history is deduced to the reign of Eric of Pomerania. A. 1415.

- ^a **A**LL historians, German, Swedish, and French, agree, that in *Biorno's* reign the Bero or Bior-
 gospel was first preached in *Sweden*, by *Ansgarius*, a pious monk, sent thither by no III.
Lewis le Debonnaire; or, as *Loccenius* will have it, by *Charlemagne*. According to *Puffen-*
dorf, the saint's first mission proved unsuccessful; the king denying him audience, or leave
 to preach christianity in his dominions: an assertion very contradictory to the relation of
 the learned abbe *de Fleuri*, who expressly affirms, that ambassadors came from *Biorno* to
Lewis le Debonnaire, beseeching him to send proper ministers to teach the gospel in *Sweden*,
 where numbers of people were prepared to receive it, and the king disposed to encourage
 it. After relating the dangers which *Anscharius* and *Vitmar* encountered in their passage,
 he adds, that *Biorno*, hearing the missionaries were arrived, sent them a welcome, and
^b the affair being canvassed in council, it was unanimously resolved, they should have leave
 to remain and preach the gospel in *Sweden*; a work on which they immediately entered
 with the utmost success. Several *Swedish* nobility were baptized, and among others, *He-*
rigar, governor of *Birca*, a lord possessed of the king's friendship, the founder of a ca-
 thedral, and the great instrument of the propagation of the faith. It was not long after
 the arrival of the missionaries, that *Biorno* fell into trouble, was dethroned, and reduced to
 extreme misery. *Esbern*, a man of high quality, whose daughter had been violated by
Regner, levied an army, and waged furious war against *Biorno* and his father. He was
 slain, indeed, with most of his adherents, in one battle; but the *Swedes*, who were tired
 of the *Danish* yoke, resumed the war with redoubled vigour, and drove both *Regner* and
^c *Biorno* out of the kingdom (A).
ASMUND was then raised to the throne, but he did not maintain his possession long. *Asmund*.
 Under him the christians suffered terrible persecutions, and in this reign it was, that *St.*
Hitard, probably the monk *Vitard* suffered martyrdom. His people revolted, and he was
 deposed, and forced, out of necessity, to have recourse to piracy; which he exercised with
 unparalleled cruelty, against the *Vandals*, *Angles*, and other commercial nations.
 It was now that *Olaus*, surnamed *Trætélga*, was raised to the throne of *Sweden*, being *Olaus the*
 re-called by the voice of the people to succeed *Asmund*. To prevent any disturbances *Tree Cutter*
 from *Denmark*, he demanded in marriage for his son *Ingo*, the daughter of king *Regner*. or *Trætélga*.
 It was granted, without hesitation, and thus he continued to reign peaceably over *Sweden*
^d and *Gothland*. About the year 853, *Ansgarius* returned to *Sweden*, and presented himself
 before *Olaus* at *Birca*, the largest city, at that time, in the kingdom; and so populous,
 that it could, in a few days, arm 12,000 men, without prejudice to any public manufac-
 ture. The progress *Ansgarius* made among such a multitude was prodigious; hundreds
 were baptized in a day, and the king not only embraced the faith, but propagated it with
 all his influence. He may indeed be said to have died a martyr to the christian religion;
 for, after he had established his son king of *Denmark*, a famine happened in *Sweden*,
 which was attributed by the pagans to the increase of christianity. They endeavoured to
 persuade the king to sacrifice to the heathen gods; but on his absolute refusal, they imme-
 diately offered him up a sacrifice (B).
^e At the death of *Olaus* his son *Ingo* was placed on the throne; a prince of a pacific *Ingo*.
 disposition, who dreaded nothing so much as disturbing the tranquillity of his people.
 The neighbour from whom he apprehended the most danger was the king of *Denmark*;
 and, to prevent annoyance from that quarter, he married the princess his daughter. How-

^b FLEUR. Hist. Eccles. Ann. 829.

^c GOTH. lib. i. LOCCEN. lib. ii.

^d PUFFEND. p. 71.

(A) *Loccenius* and *Puffendorf* certainly mean two dif-
 ferent persons by this *Biorno*, whom they both call the
 first christian prince. Yet the prince, of whom the
 former speaks, flourished, according to him, in the
 days of *Charlemagne*; and the other, mentioned by
Puffendorf, in the reign of his son *Lewis*. *Loccenius*
 indeed speaks of two *Biornos*, that answer to both these
 periods (1).

(B) It is confidently asserted by the *Swedish* historians
 that *Olaus* conquered *Denmark*, governed there in per-

son for five years, and then resigned the crown to his
 son *Ennignus*, whom the *Danish* writers call *Emignus*,
 denying that he was son to the king of *Sweden*. In-
 deed *Olaus* is entirely omitted by *Torfeus* in his cata-
 logue of *Swedish* princes; and, possibly, because he
 was not acknowledged sovereign of the whole kingdom.
Sweden, as well as *Denmark*, was in these days often
 governed by several kings; though that prince who had
 the greatest power usually claimed the title of king of
Sweden (2).

(1) Vid. p. 39, 45. Loccen. p. 49. lib. ii.

(2) Goth. lib. i.

ever, lest long repose might emasculate the minds of the youth, he permitted them to make incursions into the frontiers of *Russia*; and some writers alledge, that he led an army thither in person, and perished in the field sword in hand ^a.

Eric Wader-head.

His son *Eric*, surnamed *Waderbead*, or *Weatherbead*, succeeded him. All that is recorded of this prince favours strongly of the fabulous. He was a great magician, and took his name from the astonishing influence he had over the weather, from the mere turning of his hat ^f.

Eric Segher-fell.

To *Waderbead* succeeded his son *Eric*, surnamed *Segherfell*, or the *Victorious*, from the constant series of good fortune that attended him. He conquered the provinces of *Finland*, *Esthonia*, *Livonia*, and *Courland*, and kept possession to the end of his reign. The war he carried on against *Sven* king of *Denmark*, terminated with equal success. First he deprived him of *Halland* and *Schonen*, and at last of the whole kingdom of *Denmark*; *Sven* saving himself, with great hazard, in *Norway*. Thence, say the *Swedish* writers, he passed over to *Britain*, and spent seven years in *Scotia*, (a term used extremely vaguely by all the historians of the north) returning at length to his own dominions at the death of *Eric Segherfell*, about the year 940 ^z.

Eric Stenchil Milde, or Aarsfel.

ERIC, surnamed *Stenchil Milde*, or *Happy-born*, was raised to the throne at his father's death. *Stenchil* not only embraced, but pushed with zeal, the christian religion. After his accession, he demanded teachers from the bishop of *Hamburg*, and had two sent, *Adelwart* and *Stephen*, who were strongly patronized by his majesty, and successful in their mission. They publicly baptized the king at *Stigtuna*, and his example was followed by the most considerable personages in *Sweden*. To distinguish his zeal for christianity, he caused the fine heathen temple at *Upsal* to be demolished, the idols to be broken, and prohibited sacrifices to be made under the severest corporal penalties. In a word, such was his ardor to propagate the true religion, that, neglecting his own safety, he fell a sacrifice to heathen superstition, and was murdered in a tumult of the people, occasioned by the demolition of the temple ^b.

Olaus Scot-konung.

OLAUS, surnamed *Scotkonung* (A), who succeeded to the crown, was not discouraged from publicly professing christianity, by the unfortunate example of his father, or, as other writers imagine, of his brother ¹: on the contrary, he dispatched ambassadors to *Ethelred*, then reigning in *England*, requesting him to send missionaries to *Sweden* to preach the gospel. In compliance with his earnest desire, three ecclesiastics, of exemplary piety and profound learning, were detached (B). On their arrival in *West Gothland*, they preached before the king, and baptized him. Either the force, or novelty of their doctrine, induced numbers of the nobility to become converts. Charity was reckoned the first of virtues, and this might be called the harvest of churchmen, when offerings were so considerable, that at one mass, upwards of six hundred marks in silver coin were taken ^c.

WHILE the light of christianity, or rather the power of the clergy, was thus spreading itself in *Sweden*, *Olaus Truggeson*, king of *Norway*, was endeavouring to wrest *Denmark* from *Sven*, who had lately recovered his crown. As he found the enterprize clogged with unexpected difficulties, he laboured to engage *Olaus* of *Sweden* in his interest. The method which appeared most effectual, was, to demand his *Swedish* majesty's sister in marriage; and such proposals were made, as it was not thought advisable to decline. Her highness was sent to *Norway*, and both kingdoms united in the closest ties of friendship. *Sven* prognosticated ruin to himself from such an alliance; he used every expedient to break it, and at last succeeded so far, as to wean *Oluf's* affections from his queen, and prevail on him to send her back to *Sweden*, by the indirect offers he made of his daughter, the most celebrated beauty of the age. *Olaus* had no sooner got rid of his queen, than he demanded the *Norwegian* princess; but *Sven*, having now gained his purpose, kept his daughter's marriage in treaty, and demanded for himself the mother-in-law of *Olaus* king of *Sweden*. In a word, his intrigues brought on a war between *Sweden* and *Norway*. *Olaus* equipped a fleet to revenge the injury done to his sister, came up with the *Norwegians*, gave battle and defeated them. To avoid being taken prisoner in the pursuit, the king of *Norway* threw himself over-board, and perished in the sea. His death made *Norway* an

^a LOCCEN. p. 49. lib. ii. PUFFEND. p. 73. Chron. p. 67. NVEFT. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii.

^f J. MAG. p. 34.

^z SUAN. Chron. p. 66.

^b SUAN.

¹ LOCCEN. lib. ii. p. 51.

^c Idem ibid.

(A) *Olaus* was likewise surnamed the *Tributary*, on account of a certain annual tax he paid to the pope to carry on the war against the Infidels, called *Rem-scot* in *Sweden* (1).

(B) *Locennius* gives their names, calling them *Sifrey*, *Escheld*, and *David*; a fountain in *Gothland*, at which the king was baptized, still bearing the name of the former.

(1) *Loccen. lib. ii.*

^a easy conquest. *Olaus* invaded, subdued, and annexed it to his own crown: after which he married his mother-in-law to *Swen*, and gave him for a portion half the kingdom of *Norway*. But this country soon after reverted to the lawful heirs. *Oluf*, the son of *Harold Granske*, who had been excluded his right by *Triggeson*, now claimed the crown, and supported his demands with a powerful fleet, that not only annoyed the coasts of *Sweden* and *Norway*, disturbed the commerce of the *Baltic*, but forced the *Sound*, and seized the kingdom of *Gothland*. In progress of time peace was concluded, and the crown of *Sweden* quietly resigned to *Oluf*.

This prince's severity in punishing all his subjects who refused to embrace christianity; occasioned a rebellion in his kingdom, and obliged the *Norwegians* to offer the crown to *Canute* king of *Denmark*. The king of *Norway* made such overtures to his *Swedish* majesty, that he engaged in the quarrel between *Canute* and *Oluf*, and sent strong reinforcements to the latter against his own subjects and the *Danes*. At last *Oluf* was defeated, and forced to fly *Norway*. Afterwards he recovered his dominions by the assistance of his *Swedish* majesty; but at last perished in a battle, fought against his own subjects, on the frontiers of *Norway*.

UPON his death it was that *Olaus* unalienably annexed *Gothland* to the crown of *Sweden*; with a view to prevent the wars consequent on a partition of the kingdoms; and this is the reason assigned by historians, why the descendants of *Olaus* neglected, for many ages, to assume the title of king of the *Goths*.

^c We have it on the best authority, that *Olaus* was succeeded by his son *Asmund Kolbrenner*, which *Loccenius* translates *Carbonarius*, so called from a law passed in his reign, that if any of his subjects injured another, a part of his house should be thrown down and burnt, proportioned to the injury given. However absurd this law may appear, *Asmund* is said to have been a sensible, pious, and upright prince, a strenuous advocate for christianity, and enforcer of the laws. *Loccenius* relates a war in which he was engaged against *Norway*, and the *Anglo Saxons* of *Britain*; but we do not chuse to trouble our readers with the recital of events so doubtful, that it is even disputed who were the powers engaged (A).

ASMUND Kolbrenner was succeeded in the throne by *Asmund Slemme*, likewise surnamed *Gommeel*, on account of his great age. Very different in disposition from his father, ^{Asmund Slemme;} he gave himself little trouble about the progress of christianity, and regarded religion only as it affected policy and the laws. He had the name of *Slemme* from his having, in concert with the *Danes*, marked out a certain frontier between *Schonen* and *Sweden*, in order to cut off the continual controversies about the limits of that province. The *Swedes* claimed a right to the whole, as far as *Oresund*; and they bestowed this opprobrious name on their king for surrendering their right. Finding the contempt into which he had fallen, he endeavoured to wipe it off by reducing *Schonen*: for this purpose he raised an army, met *Canute* the rich, was defeated and slain.

AT *Asmund's* death, *Hacquin Rufus* was elected king of the *Goths*, while the *Swedes*, ^{Stenchil;} who pretended to a superior right of election, chose *Stenchil* their sovereign. These two princes came to an accommodation, and terminated their differences amicably; stipulating, that *Hacquin* should retain the crown for life, he being now in an advanced period of life; and that at his death *Gothland* should revert inseparably to *Sweden*. Agreeable to this treaty *Hacquin* reigned peaceably for thirteen years, and was then succeeded by *Stenchil*, grandson to *Olaus* the *Tributary*, a wise prince, who reflected dignity upon both diadems. His principal care was to protect religion and the laws; but he was no less a warrior than politician. The *Swedish* writers expatiate on his prodigious strength, dexterity, and courage; instancing, as proofs of his warlike genius, three signal victories, which he obtained over *Swen Esfrith*, king of *Denmark*. Yet the *Danish* biographers of this prince affirm, that instead of carrying on a war with *Sweden*, *Swen* had always drawn large ^f succours from it. Notwithstanding these contradictory assertions, we think it our duty to mention, that the *Swedes* push their notion so far as to affirm, that both kings perished in battle.

INGO, a person of noble, but not royal blood, was raised to the throne at the death of *Ingo Stenchil*. His qualities were truly princely, and merited a crown; they now shone with brighter lustre. Possible it is, that he carried his piety beyond the measures of true po-

^k PUFFEND. Hist. p. 74. ^l Idem ibid. ^m LOCCEN. lib. ii. p. 67. ⁿ Id. ibid. ^o MEURS. lib. i. ^p LOCCEN. lib. ii. p. 69.

(A) It may be proper to add, that according to *J. king of Denmark and England*. Upon what authority *Gotbus* and *Loccenius*, *Asmund Kolbrenner* was killed they have founded this assertion, it would be difficult *anno 1035*, in a battle fought with *Canute*, the rich for us at this distance of time to enquire.

licy. He forbid sacrifices and worship to idols, and propagated the christian religion with such zeal, as incurred the resentment of his subjects, and brought on a premature death, having been murdered in his bed^a.

Halstan. *HALSTAN*, his brother, inherited his crown and virtues. No sovereign ever more strongly possessed the affections of his subjects. His address, rather than the sweetness of his disposition, gained him the reputation of the best natured of men. He died in 1064, after a short, but happy reign, being succeeded in his throne by his son *Philip*, a prince who trod closely in the footsteps of his excellent father.

Philip. For many ages the memory of *Philip* was dear to the *Swedes*, so gentle, so mild, so affable were his manners and conversation. As to the particulars of his reign, they are not transmitted to posterity^b.

Ingo. In the year 1082, *Ingo*, the fourth of that name, ascended the throne. According to some writers, he was the son, while others call him the brother of *Philip*; but what was of more consequence, that he resembled him in manners, it is agreed upon by all hands. The piety of his life, and the zeal he professed for christianity, obtained him the surname of *Good*; nor was his queen *Raguild* less celebrated for her virtues. After her death, she was in a manner deified, and her urn visited by religious from every quarter of the kingdom. By this princess *Ingo* had two daughters; one he married to *Eric* the holy king of *Denmark*; the other to *Magnus* of *Norway*, and thereby united in ties of the strictest friendship the three northern crowns. *Ingo's* whole life was a series of worthy and pious labours. He administered justice with rigour, except where circumstances required the interposition of his clemency. The good he rewarded, but waged unremitting war on robbers, plunderers, and pirates, with whom *Sweden* was at that time grievously infested by sea and land. The scrupulous attention he paid to the execution of the laws, raised him enemies. The *Ostro-Goths* meditated a revolt, and contrived means to poison *Ingo*, whom they considered as the great obstacle to their licentious projects^c.

Ragwald Knaphæfde. In fact, they had no sooner removed him, than they elected *Ragwald*, a lord of considerable possessions, and a very ancient family. His stature was gigantic, and his strength prodigious, and he possessed a ferocity and cruelty of disposition perfectly suited to his brutal aspect. Jealous of his royal prerogative, he carried it to a degree of despotism, trampling on the laws and liberties of the people. The violence and fierceness of his disposition gained him the surname of *Knaphæfde*, and gave birth to a conspiracy, that put^d an end to his life.

Magnus. At the death of *Ragwald*, the *Ostro-Goths* elected *Magnus*, son of *Nicholas* king of *Denmark*; but the *Swedes*, jealous of their rights, disputed this election, by chusing another king, who was slain soon after his accession in a battle fought against the *Ostro-Goths*. For some time *Magnus* remained in peaceable possession of the crown; but becoming odious to the people by his crimes, the *Swedes*, in concert with the *Ostro-Goths*, presented the crown to *Suercher*, a man of a character the very reverse of the former.

Suercher. This prince ascended the throne in 1148, and from the station of a private man, acquired the reputation of the most amiable and accomplished monarch of his times. His reign would have been truly happy, had he given less way to parental tenderness, and acted^e with the authority of a father and sovereign to subdue the enormous vices of his son; a prince, who indulged himself in every excess that the most wanton imagination could suggest, or utmost profligacy, caprice, and libertinism invent. At the head of a band of young libertines, devoted to their passions, he made an incursion into *Halland*, violated virgins and matrons, and ravished the sister and wife of the governor. The *Swedes* exclaimed loudly against this action, and the *Danes* determined to revenge it. For this purpose they took arms, and some writers affirm, that *Suercher* had the misfortune to see his son fall under the blows of his enemies; while others alledge, that charged by his father with the conduct of the *Danish* war, prince *John* assembled the people to raise the taxes necessary to support it, and was murdered in a tumult of the populace, incensed to^f the highest degree at an expence incurred by his profligacy. As for the king himself, he was assassinated in his sledge, by a party of male-contents; and it was supposed the fatal blow was given by one of his own domestics, who had yielded to the force of gold, and committed a barbarous murder on a master he loved and esteemed, merely to gratify his avarice (A).

^a PUFFEND. p. 83. tom. i.
PUFFEND. p. 87, 88.

^b Idem ibid.

^c LOCCEN. lib. ii.

^d ANN. ibid.

^e LOCCEN. lib. ii.

(A) It is worth remarking, that, though *Magnus* and *Suercher* were stiled kings of the *Ostro-Goths*, they were in fact sovereigns of all that country now called *Sweden*. Whence it would seem, that *Ostrogothia* and *Suecia*

were frequently used by the *Latin* writers as synonymous terms; notwithstanding the former comprehends only a part of the latter.

- a Now a difference arose between the *Swedes* and *Goths*, the latter preferring *Charles*, the son of *Suercher*, to the throne, and the former declaring *Eric*, the son of *Jeswar*, king. This prince had chiefly gained the affections of the *Swedish* nation by marrying *Christina*, daughter to *Ingo the Good*; a prince whose memory they held in veneration. As it was now an established principle with both nations, that the crowns should be united, to prevent the consequences of a rupture, they compromised the dispute. *Eric*, by this agreement, was to remain in possession of both crowns during his life, and they were then to devolve to *Charles*, their descendants to reign alternately, still reserving the rights of the people. This treaty continued in force for the space of a century, and became the fruitful source of numberless calamities to the sovereign and subjects.
- b In the year 1154 *Eric* made a successful expedition against the *Finlanders*, a people hitherto buried in the grossest idolatry, and refusing submission to the *Swedish* government. After totally subduing and breaking their refractory disposition, he obliged them to receive the gospel. He then returned to *Sweden*, and performed every duty of an excellent king. He administered justice with the most scrupulous delicacy; he promoted religion with zeal; he founded monasteries, and endowed them liberally; he compiled an admirable body of laws, called in the vernacular language *St. Eric's Lag*, and he saw them executed with punctuality. The more discerning about his court were of opinion, his zeal carried him to an imprudent excess, in denying pagans and idolaters the benefit of these laws. It was said, that his religion degenerated to superstition and bigotry, and his justice to rigour and even cruelty. Certain it is, that the severity with which he punished all offences against society, drew on him the displeasure of those who lived on rapine and the spoils of the public. They conspired against their sovereign, formed a powerful faction, and invited a son of the king of *Denmark* to join the league (B). With this succour they expected soon to become masters of the kingdom. The king of *Denmark* and his son passed with a powerful army into *Sweden*, and joined the rebels. *Eric* marched with a handful of forces to oppose the enemy; he came up with them in the plains of *Upsal*, fought like a warrior, and died with the reputation of a hero, after having singly withstood the utmost efforts of ten *Danish* officers.
- c CUTTING off *Eric's* head, the enemy carried it in triumph to *Upsal*, pillaged the royal palace, and proclaimed *Magnus* king of *Sweden*. But the reign of this prince was of short duration. The *Swedes* denounced vengeance for the death of their monarch, and flew to arms to make good their menaces. Assisted by the *Goths*, under the conduct of *Charles*, they cut the enemy in pieces, leaving dead on the field the king and prince of *Denmark* (C).
- d By this victory *Charles* became, according to agreement, king of *Sweden* and *Gotbland*; but as he was supposed to have been an accomplice in the murder of *Eric*, the *Swedes* at first refused to acknowledge him. They would willingly have bestowed the crown on *Canute* son of *Eric*; but that prince had withdrawn to *Norway*, on discovering that *Charles* had conspired against his life. At last, however, *Charles* obtained his ultimate wish: He found himself seated firmly on the thrones of *Sweden* and *Gotbland*, and he determined to merit his prosperity, by complying strictly with his engagements: With this view he recalled *Canute* from *Norway*, settled the succession agreeable to the treaty between him and *Eric*, and declared the son of that prince presumptive heir to the crowns. Whatever means he took to acquire dominion, his conduct shewed, that he knew how to use it. His reign was pacific, his government unexceptionable. He was generous to the clergy, without superstition or bigotry, and protected the church, without being a dupe to priestcraft. He erected several monasteries, and obtained from pope *Alexander III.* the dignity of an archbishop, and the *pallium* for the bishop of *Upsal*. It somewhat impeaches the character we have drawn of this prince, that some writers confidently affirm, he burthened the people with an unsupportable complaisance for the see of *Rome*, granting his holiness the inheritance of all who died without issue, and a certain proportion of the effects of those who had children; a heavy tribute that continued to the papacy of *Gregory X.*
- e CANUTE ERICSON did not chuse to wait the death of *Charles*, by whom he was appointed successor. Refusing that prince's invitation to return to *Sweden*, he began levy-

Charles and
Eric the Ho-
ly,

Charles Suer-
cher's son.

Canute Eric-
son.

¹ Loccen. lib. iii.

² Puffen. tom. i. p. 92.

(B) M. Puffendorf falls into a variety of mistakes about the name of this *Danish* prince, whom he calls *Magnus*, the son of *Henry Scatteler* king of *Denmark*. But no *Danish* historian mentions a king of that name; and as to *Henry Scatteler*, son of *Ubbo*, nephew of king *Nicholas*, he had no son called *Magnus*. Possibly the learned author mistook *Magnus* the son of king *Nicholas*, for the son of *Henry Scatteler*; but even there he is

guilty of a double blunder, in the person and in the chronology.

(C) The conquerors employed their booty in building a church on the field of battle, at a little distance from *Upsal*. This church they called *Danemarc*, endowing it with many privileges, settling a handsome revenue upon it, and adorning it with plate and a variety of rich ornaments.

ing

ing forces in *Norway*; and entering *Sweden* all of a sudden, he surprised *Charles*, took him prisoner, and beheaded him, under pretence of his having been accessory to his father's death. Immediately, on advice of his death, the widow of *Charles* fled out of *Sweden* with her children, and found an asylum in the court of *Waldemar I.* of *Denmark*, who promised her all manner of succour against king *Canute*. In effect, his troops took the field at the same time that the *Goths* were in arms to revenge their king's death, for whom they expressed a singular attachment. Both armies being joined, they marched against *Canute*, under the conduct of *Kol*, brother to the late king *Charles*. A battle was fought, but *Kol* being slain just as victory was ready to declare for him, the combined army was seized with a panic, routed, and cut to pieces ^k.

THIS success turned the scale wholly in favour of *Canute*; it rendered him absolute master of *Sweden* and *Gothland*, which he governed peaceably for twenty-three years. During this whole space of time his tranquillity was but once disturbed, and that by a slight incursion the *Esthonians* and *Courlanders* made into *Sweden*, killing the archbishop of *Stecka*, and pillaging the rich city *Sigtuna*. He died at *Ericksberg*, in *West-Gothland*, in the year 1192, and was buried with great funeral pomp in the cloister of *Warnheim*. His character may be described in a few words. He was equally ambitious and capable of reigning. To gratify his lust of power, he stuck at no means, and yet he exerted it with such superior capacity and moderation, that no *Swede* had reason to lament his success ^l.

Suercher.

A. D. 1192.

THE cruelties exercised by the late king on the family of king *Charles* did not prevent the *Swedes* from raising his son to the throne. True, *Eric* the son of *Canute* shewed some inclination to dispute the crown with him; but as the face of affairs promised but little success, he reconciled himself by treaty with *Suercher*, stipulating that he should succeed at the death of that prince. What gave *Suercher* the greatest advantage over his competitor was, his marrying a princess of *Denmark*, whence he was enabled to draw powerful succours from that kingdom. He at the same time possessed excellent qualities, and governed for some years with great wisdom. In the end, however, he became suspicious and a tyrant. To secure himself in the throne, he believed it necessary to massacre all the friends and relations of *Canute*; but, in spite of his utmost vigilance, *Eric*, the only male child of that prince, escaped him, saving himself in *Norway*, where he lived for several years. At last the inhabitants of *Uplandia*, shocked with the cruelty of *Suercher*, and moved with compassion for the young prince, rose in arms against the government, and recalled *Eric*, promising to open his way to the throne, at the expence of their lives and fortunes. He accepted their invitation, and appeared in *Sweden* at the head of a few troops, furnished by king *Ingo*. On his arrival almost all the *Swedish* nobility declared for him. He marched against the king, defeated, and forced him to save himself in *West-Gothland*, where he expected succours from *Denmark*. *Waldemar II.* dispatched the bishop of *Roschild* with six thousand men to his assistance; but scarce had this reinforcement joined the remains of *Suercher's* army, when *Eric* came up, and obtained a second complete victory, all the allied forces being cut in pieces, and the *Danish* generals left dead in the field ^m. *Suercher* took refuge in *Denmark*, where he lived for two years, during which time he assembled a very formidable army, and marched towards the frontiers of *Sweden*. A third time he gave battle to *Eric*, but with the same fortune as before; his troops were cut to pieces, and himself left among the carnage on the field. Thus *Eric* came at length into the peaceable possession of the crowns of *Sweden* and *Gothland* ⁿ.

Eric Cnutson.

To remove every difficulty, and avoid every obstacle to the peace and happiness of his kingdom, *Eric* renewed the treaty of alternate succession with the children of the late king; giving the strongest testimonies of his sincerity, by appointing *John*, the son of *Suercher*, his successor in the throne. His policy extended farther. To reconcile himself to *Denmark*, he espoused the princess *Reckot*, sister to *Waldemar*. From this time he reigned with the utmost felicity, died regretted, and was buried at *Warnheim*.

John I.

AGREEABLE to the late treaty, *John* ascended to the throne as soon as vacant, governing for the short term of three years with admirable wisdom and policy. Some military operations he set on foot met with less success than the justice of his cause and prudence of his measures merited; but he died highly esteemed, and lamented by all who were friends to their country, and lovers of integrity, moderation, piety, and prudence in a monarch.

Eric theStammerer.

THE treaty of succession still continued in force. *Eric the Stammerer*, son of *Eric Cnutson*, wore, in his turn, the badges of sovereignty. This prince had a paralytic disorder that affected his tongue, and deprived him of the use of the left arm and leg. It gave him a most ungraceful appearance, and a look of simplicity that conveyed a very unfavourable first impression; but these ideas soon gave way to a real esteem, inspired by his bravery, wisdom, and virtue. There was in his reign a family of the name of *Falkunger*, so powerful

^k Auct. citat. ibid.
END. p. 95.

^l LOCCEN. p. 80.

^m MEURS. Hist. Dan. lib. v. LOCCEN. lib. iii.

ⁿ PUF-

- a and ambitious as to form designs on the crown. To gain over the lords of this house to his interest, *Eric* married his sister *Helena* to one of them, whose name was *Canute*, a person highly respected for his eloquence. To a cousin of this nobleman's he gave his second sister, and he himself espoused the daughter of *Sven Falkunger*. All these ties, strong as they might appear, could not stay the ambition of the *Falkungers*. *Birger Jerl*, of the whole family, remained faithful to the king. All the rest revolted, and obtained a victory over the king, which obliged him to fly to *Denmark*. In his absence, *Canute Falkunger* was proclaimed king of *Sweden* by his adherents; but the usurper's reign was of short duration. *Eric* raised an army in *Denmark*, and marched against the usurper, who advanced to meet him with a good countenance. His majesty was victorious, his competitor wounded, his son *Helsing* taken, and though the king's own nephew, beheaded by his order. Thus the public tranquillity was at length restored, and those treacherous allies of his majesty punished in the manner they deserved.

In *Eric*'s reign a nuncio from his holiness arrived in *Sweden*, prohibiting ecclesiastics to marry, as before that time they were permitted.

- c This monarch's chief military operations were against the *Tawastians*, a people of *Finland*, immersed in the most absurd idolatry. The king sent *Birger Jerl*, his brother-in-law, with an army into that country. *Birger* carried all before him, defeated the enemy, pardoned all who embraced Christianity, and put the rest to the sword; a strange method of convincing the reason, too frequently employed in those days, in points of religion. Before *Birger*'s return from this expedition, king *Eric* yielded up his last breath, leaving the reputation of a consummate politician, and skilful and intrepid general.

- d AFTER the king's death *Ivar Bla*, one of the chief nobility of *Sweden*, convoked the states for the election of a new sovereign; and so successful were his intrigues, that their suffrages raised *Waldemar*, eldest son of *Birger Jerl*, and nephew of the late king, to the throne. Thus the treaty of alternate succession was broke through, but *Birger Jerl* was not satisfied. He hastened to *Sweden*, called the diet, and declared they had taken a wrong step in raising his son to the sovereignty, insinuating, that he was too young to support the weight of government, and indicating plainly enough, that it would have been more conducive to the public good to have bestowed the crown on himself. But the diet answered, they were under the necessity of chusing either him or his son; and that if he disliked the election, they would cast their eyes elsewhere. *Birger* found the diet resolute, and thought it advisable to dissemble. He pretended to be highly pleased with the honour conferred on his family, and protested that only his concern for the public good could ever make him appear ungrateful for so signal a demonstration of their esteem and regard. Thus *Waldemar* was crowned at *Jenscoping*, and the administration put into *Birger*'s hands, during his son's minority.

Waldemar.

Birger Jerl
displeased
with his son's
election.

A. D. 1251.

- e MANY excellent institutions took place under the administration of *Birger*, who laboured to give his regency all the lustre which the crown ever reflected under the most powerful and prudent princes. He built and fortified the city of *Stockholm*; he revised the *lands lag*, or that system of law which contained all the statutes of the kingdom; he gave new regulations to the *Swedish* cities, deduced from the old laws of the city *Birca*. In a word, he put in practice whatever could raise the reputation of his country, secure its felicity, and increase his own reputation. In acknowledgement of his services, the king, his son, at the request of the nation, granted to *Birger Jerl* the title and dignity of a duke, instead of that of earl, which he before enjoyed (C).

Birger Jerl
regent of *Sweden*.

- f THE house of *Flockunger*, one of the most powerful families in *Sweden*, beheld with a jealous eye, the success of a family long their rivals in ambition. They used their utmost endeavours to ruin the duke, and he exerted himself to surprise *Charles*, who was the principal person among his enemies. At last their animosity rose to such a height, that a civil war seemed unavoidable. Both parties armed, and took the field. They met near *Helwardsbroo*, and began an engagement, which would undoubtedly have proved decisive, had not the combatants been separated, in the heat of the battle, by the breaking down of a bridge. After this accident, they contented themselves with discharging their arrows and javelins at a distance.

Civil war in
Sweden.

In the mean time several noblemen, more moderate in their sentiments, who foresaw the ruinous consequences of a civil war, interposed, offering their mediation to accommodate

^a Ibid. ^p GOTH. p. 56. LÖCCEN. p. 82. PUFFEND. p. 92. ^q LÖCCEN. lib. iii. JOH. GOTH. lib. ii. ^r PUFFEND. p. 100.

(C) The word *Jerl*, in the ancient *Swedish* language, imports that degree of quality which we call *earl*; a word, in all probability, of northern extraction, and possibly derived from the *Swedish* (1).

(1) Vide Löccen. p. 540.

Birger's per-
fidy.

matters amicably. A truce, and passports, in order to begin a negotiation, were settled; in consequence of which several of the *Flockengers* came to the duke's camp, where they were seized by his order, and beheaded without regard to the most solemn oaths and engagements; an action so base and perfidious as cannot in the least be palliated, and tarnishes the glory of his regency. *Birger* was not the only person who had pledged his faith for their security. The bishop of *Lincoping* did the same; and was so much shocked at the breach of it, that, by way of atonement, he resigned his see, and began a pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, in which he died.

CHARLES FLOCKENGER, having escaped this massacre, breathed nothing but vengeance; but his menaces were impotent, as he had lost his most powerful and trusty adherents. After several vain attempts to renew the war, and rejecting all the overtures made by *Birger*, he retired for security to the grand-master of the *Teutonic* order, in which service he died, after having performed acts of so astonishing valour, as signalized his memory for many future ages.

Waldemar
marries.

A. D. 1266.

Jealousies be-
tween the king
and his bro-
thers.

DUKE Birger being now secure from all attempts, and rid of the most formidable of his enemies, celebrated, with great pomp, his son's marriage with the princess *Sophia*, daughter of *Eric*. But though *Waldemar* was now of age, the old duke, almost oppressed with years, could not prevail on himself to surrender his power. At last he died, and the reins of government were taken by the young king into his own hands (D). Each of the three princes his brothers kept a separate court, and *Magnus* especially lived with all the taste and magnificence of a king. This prince possessed many great qualities. He was munificent, learned, affable, and accomplished in all the arts that constitute the fine gentleman. The nobility flocked to him, and the *Swedish* nation was so captivated with his generosity, that the king began to express uneasiness at his popularity. He persuaded himself that his brother aspired at the crown; and queen *Sophia*, who hated *Magnus*, confirmed these sentiments. It is a little extraordinary, however, that amidst these suspicions, *Waldemar* should make a pilgrimage to *Rome*, and afterwards to *Jerusalem*, entrusting the administration to *Magnus* in his absence; and that immediately on his return he should accuse his brother of endeavouring to fix the crown on his own head, notwithstanding the proofs of his fidelity he had given. To prevent the consequences of the king's jealousy, a diet of the *Swedes* was held at *Strignen*, the differences between *Waldemar* and *Magnus* were canvassed, and all possible means employed to terminate their disputes amicably. *Benvit*, the youngest brother, gave a most extraordinary instance of moderation. He, far from embroiling the kingdom with any new claims, surrendered *Finland* to his brothers, in order to put an end to their differences about their several patrimonies.

The two bro-
thers, Mag-
nus and Eric,
retire to Den-
mark.

They return,
and give the
king battle.

A partition-
treaty con-
cluded.

THIS cession of *Benvit's*, and the representations of the diet, could not effect the much-desired reconciliation. Both sides were now so much enflamed, that it was not possible to bring matters to an accommodation; but as *Magnus*, and *Eric* his brother, were not in condition to make head against *Waldemar* in the field, who was strongly supported by the alliance of *Norway*, they passed over to *Denmark*, and entered into a strict confederacy with king *Eric*, the treaty between them bearing date A. D. 1276. At the head of a considerable army they returned to *Sweden*, where they were joined by their friends and adherents. On the first notice of their march, king *Waldemar* put his army in motion, and, being greatly superior in numbers, he was so confident of success, that he gave himself up to feasting and diversions, being satisfied with sending out a detachment to look for the enemy. *Magnus* and *Eric* improved the misconduct to their own advantage. Defeating the detachment, they attempted to surprise *Waldemar* at *Romlabada*, but he got notice of their intentions by some persons who had escaped out of the late battle. Instead, however, of making any resistance, he deserted his army, and fled to *Wermeland*, whither he was pursued, and made prisoner by a body of light horse, detached by *Magnus*.

THE victorious *Magnus* now assembled a diet, in order to restore the public tranquillity, by removing every possible cause of contention. He knew that by this he risked nothing, being perfectly secure of the affections of the nobility and people. Accordingly the states decreed, that *Waldemar* should, for his share, possess *East* and *West Gotbland*, with the province of *Smaland*, renouncing all pretensions to the rest of the kingdom, which was assigned to *Magnus*.

* Auct. citat. ibid.
CEN. ubi supra.

† Loccen. lib. iii. p. 85.

‡ Idem. lib. iii. PUFFEND. p. 105.

¶ Loc-

(D) *Birger* left four sons; *Waldemar* king of *Sweden*, *Magnus* duke of *Sudermania*, *Eric* prince of *Smaland*, and *Benvit* duke of *Finland*; which dukedoms and principality were all appennages that duke *Birger* had prevailed on his son the king to confer on his bro-

thers. The event shewed, that *Waldemar* had made them too powerful for his own tranquillity. The troubles they excited were truly melancholy, and baneful to *Sweden*.

a THIS treaty being concluded, *Magnus* sent back the *Danish* auxiliaries; but these troops, dissatisfied at having no arrears paid them, committed horrible ravages in their march. When the king of *Denmark* afterwards demanded payment of the subsidy stipulated in the treaty with *Magnus*, that prince answered, that he would deduct an indemnification from the devastation made in his dominions by the *Danish* forces. This aggravated the *Danes* still more; they redoubled their licentiousness, and *Magnus* resolved to make reprisals. He entered the provinces of *Schonen* and *Halland*, committed horrid cruelties, laid the country waste, burnt and destroyed all before him; but was forced to retreat precipitately, on the approach of the enemy, who were greatly superior in numbers, and his own troops fatigued, and loaded with booty. *The Danes lay Sweden waste.*

b *ERIC* of *Denmark* sought his revenge, by intriguing with *Waldemar*, to join him against his own brother, promising, as an inducement, to reinstate him in all his dominions. These were motives sufficiently powerful to engage *Waldemar*; he agreed to every thing proposed, and immediately the *Danish* army took the field, but not till *Waldemar* and his family had arrived at *Denmark*. They met the *Swedish* army, commanded by *Uffe Carlson*, at *Vexio*, came to blows, and were defeated with great loss, and forced to retire with precipitation. *Waldemar renews the war against his brothers.*

ERIC of *Denmark* seemed to be animated with his losses, which he firmly determined to revenge. Next year he levied a prodigious army, took the field in person, attended by *Waldemar*, entered *Gotland*, and committed dreadful devastations, but was at length slain by a *Swedish* soldier, according to *Puffendorf*, and the *Swedish* writers (E).

c ALL this while *Magnus* beheld the ravages of the *Danes* with great composure. He was strong enough to offer battle; but he declined it, contenting himself with shutting the enemy up in *Gotland*, knowing well that the winter would oblige them to retire, without drawing a single advantage from their expedition. However, a treaty was set on foot by certain noblemen of each nation, who lamented the expence of blood and treasure to both kingdoms, for so trifling a difference as the subsidy in dispute, which did not exceed six thousand silver marks. The difference was at length compromised, and a treaty signed, whereby *Magnus* agreed to pay four thousand marks, and to give the city *Lædesa* in security of payment. As to *Waldemar*, his interest was entirely forgot by the *Danish* monarch, and he found himself under the necessity of renouncing the whole kingdom of *Sweden*, of which, it must be acknowledged, his pusillanimous conduct proved him unworthy. After thus abdicating the crown, by treaty, *Waldemar* retired to *Denmark*. *Treaty struck up.*

d *MAGNUS* had scarce ascended the throne, before an accident occurred, which might have cost him his liberty. The king of *Denmark* had borrowed a sum of money from one *Peter Portze*, mortgaging to him for payment the sum due by *Magnus*, agreeable to the subsidy-treaty with that prince. *Peter Portze* had repeatedly demanded payment of *Magnus*; and at length his importunity obliged the king to cede a certain castle, by way of security. *Portze*, however, knew that the castle was not an equivalent for the money, and contrived a stratagem for obtaining justice. Under some specious pretence which he devised, the king made him a visit, and was entertained sumptuously; but when he was preparing to go away, *Portze* reminded his majesty of the money due to him, demonstrating that the castle he received in security was by no means an equivalent, and giving him to understand, in a resolute tone, that he expected full compensation before he suffered him to depart. As the king had but few attendants, all resistance he found would be in vain; he paid the money, swore that he would never revenge the affront, and was suffered to depart. It is related, to his honour, that he not only kept his oath, but embraced every opportunity of loading *Portze* with favours, saying, That he was a brave man, who could not but be faithful to his king, as he dared to be just to himself, at the hazard of incurring his sovereign's resentment. *Magnus Laetitia I.*

e Soon after his coronation, *Magnus* married *Hidwig*, daughter of the duke of *Holstein*, a lady of extraordinary beauty. This marriage, and the countenance which his majesty gave to men of merit, drew great numbers of the *Holstein* nobility to court. They were raised by the queen's interest, to high posts and preferments, which soon raised the jealousy of the *Swedish* nobility, particularly of the house of *Flockenger*, the old rivals of *Birger Jerl's* family. The discontented nobility remonstrated to the king, that he had broke his coronation-oath, which forbid him to prefer foreigners to posts of trust and profit in the realm. *Magnus* answered, that to govern with glory to himself, and benefit to his people, prudence re- *The bravery and resolution of Peter Portze.*

f The king dis-oblige the people by raising foreigners to high posts.

* PUFFEND. p. 106.

† Ibid. p. 109.

(E) This account differs, in all its circumstances, from the relations of the *Danish* writers. In the first place, the expedition into *Gotland* happened in 1277, and *Eric* was not slain before the year 1286. Next, he

was not slain in *Gotland*, or by the hand of a *Swedish* soldier, but by his own courtiers, at *Findarup*, a village near *Wiburgh*, in *Jutland*. Yet *Puffendorf* and others expressly affirm, that his death happened at *Axelwold*.

An insurrection, and several of the king's favourites massacred.

quired he should promote men of honour and ability, of whatever country, who offered a their services. As to the rest, he said, that when natives shewed themselves equally deserving of his countenance as the foreigners he had raised, they should not fail of having the preference in his favour. Incensed at this answer, which reflected on their understanding and ability, they leagued against *Magnus* and the foreigners; while *Waldemar* privately fomented the quarrel, hoping to find an opportunity amidst the civil war of regaining his crown. The *Flockengers* were at the head of this confederacy. For the execution of their design, they embraced the opportunity of the queen's going to *Scara*, in *Gotbland*, to meet her father. In this journey she was attended by *Ingemar*, and other *Holsteiners*, the most obnoxious to the *Flockengers*. On her majesty's arrival in *Gotbland*, the malecontents met *Ingemar*, and demanded to know by what right he thrust himself into the chief offices of b the realm, in contempt of the *Swedish* nobility. His reply was spirited but unfortunate; for the *Swedes* immediately seized, and put him to death; after which they massacred all the other *Holsteiners*, except the duke, whom they imprisoned in *Jernsburgh* citadel. The queen fortunately made her escape, and secreted herself in a monastery ².

The king's policy.

MAGNUS was sensibly afflicted with the news of these violences offered to the queen and his favourites; but the power of his enemies within and without the kingdom made him dissemble, and try to effect by policy what he apprehended would exceed his ability to execute by force. He soothed, by the most artful letters and expressions, the more resolute and powerful among the disaffected, and at last persuaded them, that they had fully regained his majesty's affection: but some time after, assembling the diet at *Scara*, he c accused the *Flockengers* of high treason; and no person appearing in their behalf, or no arguments being urged in their defence, he ordered them to be seized, conveyed to *Stockholm*, and beheaded all, besides *Philip de Rundi*, who saved his life by a large sum of money. From that time the *Flockengers* could never recover their ancient splendor, and *Magnus* possessed his crown in perfect tranquility. He entered into the strictest alliance with *Denmark*, uniting the two royal families by several intermarriages. Justice was distributed with the utmost precision in every part of the kingdom; a variety of salutary laws, for the relief and ease of the subject, were passed; yet did *Magnus* govern with so tight a rein, that it was believed he would have made the crown absolute, and fixed it invariably in his own family, had not death interposed, and removed one of the greatest, wisest, and best of d the *Swedish* monarchs, who, from the excellency of his laws, and equity of his govern-

His death and character.

A. D. 1290.

Birger ascends the throne. *Torkel Cnutson* regent.

ment, obtained the surname of *Ladislaus*. At the death of this great prince his son *Birger* was but eleven years of age; *Magnus* had therefore by his will appointed *Torkel Cnutson* regent of the kingdom, and tutor to the young prince (F). *Cnutson* began his regency with subduing some provinces towards the frontiers of *Sweden*, and arresting the late king *Waldemar*'s sons, from whom some attempts to recover the crown were apprehended. He next sent a powerful army to *Finland*, against the *Carelians*, who, jointly with the *Russians*, had ravaged the frontiers of the kingdom. After an obstinate war, the *Carelians* were conquered, their country made a province of *Sweden*, and themselves obliged to receive the lights of Christianity. In order to check e the *Russians*, the fortress of *Wibourg* was built, and the city *Hexholm* taken from that barbarous people.

A. D. 1299. *Birger* espouses the princess of Denmark.

THE young king *Birger* being now of age, he celebrated his marriage with the princess of *Denmark*, who had been contracted to him in his father's life-time, and had ever since lived at the *Swedish* court. At *Birger*'s accession to the crown, he was molested by fresh incursions made by the *Russians*; to prevent which he built, at the persuasion of *Cnutson*, the strong fortress of *Landskroon*, a scheme well-designed, tho' it never answered the intention. Sickness prevailing in the garrison, it was attacked, taken, and levelled to the ground by the *Russians* ^a.

A law prohibiting the sale of prisoners.

BIRGER, in fact, had but the name of king, every thing being done by the direction f of *Cnutson*, who was undoubtedly one of the first politicians of the age. This great minister did not confine himself to warlike expeditions; it was no less necessary, he said, to render the people happy than powerful. For this purpose he collected the laws into a smaller compass, rendered them as perspicuous as concise, and enforced them with the strictest impartiality and rigour. He passed a law, which afterwards was called king *Birger*'s law, prohibiting the sale of slaves, saying, "That it was unjust Christians should sell each other, when *Christ* had made them all free, at the price of his blood."

² Loccen. lib. iii. p. 91.

^a Ibid. p. 95.

(F) Besides *Birger*, king *Magnus* left two other sons, *Eric* and *Waldemar* (1).

(1) Vid. Loccen. lib. iii. p. 90.

^a It was about the year 1302 that *Birger* and his queen were solemnly crowned, upon which *Cnutson* resigned all his offices, but had them restored to him by the king, with additional power. Prince *Waldemar* had married the princess of *Norway*, with a view of being powerfully supported against the king his brother. Both he and *Eric* complained of *Cnutson*, as if he had shewn a partiality for the king's interest, although he was the common guardian of all the children; but the true reason of *Waldemar's* resentment was, that *Birger* had declared his son *Magnus*, then but three years of age, his successor in the throne. For these, and other reasons, they chose another guardian, and demanded their patrimonies, which they put into the hands of *Ambior*, great bailif of *Sweden* ^b.

^b On the other hand, the king was dissatisfied with the conduct of his brothers, and suspicious of their power and fidelity. In these sentiments he was confirmed by his queen, an ambitious woman, and by *Cnutson*, who highly resented the affront put upon him by the princes, in choosing another guardian. The king of *Denmark* likewise, for reasons of state and of private pique, helped to light up the fire of contention. In the end, the very same causes which had thrown *Sweden* in confusion in *Waldemar's* reign, disturbed the reign of his nephew *Birger*. *Puffendorf* alleges, that *Cnutson* had persuaded the king to load his subjects with very oppressive taxes, in order to maintain a brilliant and magnificent court; yet nothing can be more inconsistent with the character of this minister, than any measure which could prove burdensome to the people ^c. According to the same author, it was *Cnutson* that persuaded him to seize on the revenues of the duchies appropriated by his father's will, for the portions of the younger children, which money he applied for the space of six years to his own use. He committed other violences, particularly the seizing upon certain lands destined for the maintenance of the poor, unjustly charged upon his minister. Another arbitrary action of the king's is expressly said to have been committed at *Cnutson's* house, who invited his majesty and the two dukes, his brothers, to an entertainment. As the guests were preparing to go away, the king called his brothers to him, and telling them, that he had advice of their intention to quit the kingdom, he desired to know the causes of their proceedings; adding, that if they would clear themselves of the suspicions he harboured of their fidelity, they must sign a writing which he produced. Such a proposition, so unexpected, could not but alarm the dukes. If they refused, they fore-
^d saw that the consequence would at least be imprisonment; they signed therefore the paper without hesitation, promising by this act, never to withdraw out of the kingdom, or approach the king's person, without leave; to keep only such a retinue and household as his majesty should prescribe; to attempt nothing, either openly or clandestinely, against his person and government; and to pay an implicit obedience to his will, and fidelity to himself, his queen, and his children.

Contentions arise between the king and his brothers.

They are forced to make concessions to the king.

HAVING finished this affair to his satisfaction, he returned to *Wiesingoe*, pleasing himself with the notion of having executed a very extraordinary stroke of policy. His joy, however, was but of short duration. Suspicion again laying hold of his mind, he summoned the dukes his brothers to appear before him. Duke *Eric* alone obeyed the order, and was accused of carrying contraband merchandise out of the kingdom, of travelling in a hostile manner with arms, and of committing several violences against the peasants; to which the king added, that one of *Eric's* domestics had struck his porter, because he had not opened the door immediately on his knocking; and that both the dukes maintained courts so brilliant as could not but give umbrage ^d.

The king grown a second time jealous of the conduct of his brothers.

^e ALL *Eric's* endeavours to vindicate himself availed nothing. The king indeed for that time dismissed him, but he watched every opportunity of seizing the two brothers. They had advice of his designs, and saved themselves in *Denmark*, where they implored king *Eric* to use his influence in procuring them the peaceable possession of their apenages. Immediately on their departure, their estates were confiscated, and *Birger* ^f had an interview on the frontiers with the *Danish* monarch, whom he found means to engage wholly in his interest. This obliged the dukes to quit *Denmark*, and seek shelter in *Norway*, where they were favourably received, treated with great hospitality, and promised all the assistance in king *Hacquin's* power. Two cities, *Nydeburgh* and *Kundel*, with all their dependencies, were assigned them for their support. From hence they made excursions into *Gotbland*, which they ravaged without mercy, laid in ashes the city *Ledese*, and built the fortrefs called *Daleburgh*, for their security, in which they confined a number of *Swedish* gentlemen they had taken prisoners.

The two brothers take refuge in Denmark.

To put a stop to these disorders, *Birger* sent an army to *Gotbland*; but his troops were surprised and defeated by *Eric*. He next took the field in person, with a powerful army (G), ^{Eric defeats the king's army.}

^b Idem ibid.

^c PUFFEND. p. 118.

^d Ibid p. 123. GOTH. lib. ii.

(G) *Puffendorf* mentions only two thousand, which must either be a blunder of the author, or, more probably, of the printer. *Tom. i. p. 121.*

They come
to an accom-
modation.

Cnutson falls
a sacrifice to
the enmity of
the princes.

Birger sur-
prised, and
taken prisoner
by his bro-
thers.

The king of
Denmark
takes part with
Birger, and
enters Sweden.

A. D. 1306.

A. D. 1307.

Insurrection
in Gothland.

Birger is re-
stored to a
part of his
dominions.

Birger resolves
to recover the
rest of his do-
minions.

and the duke received in the mean time a strong reinforcement from *Norway*. Both princes were in full march to come to a decisive action, when certain senators, offering their mediation, terminated their differences, and prevailed on the king to restore his brothers into favour.

No sooner were the princes reconciled than they came to an explanation concerning the cause of their quarrel; and all agreeing that *Cnutson* had acted the part of an incendiary, that old minister was dismissed from his employments, and imprisoned. Soon after he was charged with several high crimes and misdemeanors of which he had never been guilty, and, in consequence, beheaded publicly at *Stockholm*, to the great grief of the people, and joy of the two dukes, some of the nobility, and all the clergy, whose overweening insolence and oppressive privileges he had boldly curbed and retrenched. Duke *Waldemar* repudiated his daughter *Christina*, whom he had married: such was the recompence these three ungrateful princes bestowed on their most faithful and able guardian and minister ^f.

BUT the innocent blood of the honest *Cnutson* did not cement their union; on the contrary, their jealousies daily increased, and they now, when too late, perceived that *Cnutson* had acted an upright and prudent part; that he had prevented their coming to extremities, and shewed an equal affection for them all. The king endeavoured to keep the princes in absolute subjection; while they, on the other hand, aspired at his crown. They privately assembled a number of their friends, surprised *Birger* in his palace, made him prisoner, and obliged him to resign the crown in favour of duke *Eric*, and deliver up *Stockholm*. However, the citizens looked upon this as a violence, and refused to obey the king's orders; upon which the dukes began a regular siege, while a part of their army over-ran several provinces of the kingdom ^g.

THE king, queen, and the royal family, were imprisoned, except *Magnus*, the eldest, who escaped out of his uncle's hands, and took refuge in *Denmark*. Touched with compassion at the miserable condition of his brother-in-law, the king of *Denmark* raised a powerful army to restore *Birger*. Upon his entering *Sweden*, the dukes advanced with a good countenance and well-disciplined army, to give him battle, which the *Dane* chose to decline, thinking it more prudent to have recourse to treaty. During the negotiation the dukes were taking the most vigorous measures to reduce the rest of the kingdom, to attach the people to their interest, and to engage *Hacquin* of *Norway* to declare war against *Denmark*; but his *Danish* majesty counteracted their intrigues at the court of *Norway*, and not only prevailed on that monarch to decline the proffered alliance with the dukes, but to refuse his daughter to *Eric*, who sought her in marriage, except upon such conditions as could not be complied with (H).

THIS year duke *Waldemar*, with a body of *German* horse, made an incursion into *Schonen*, but was obliged to retire at the approach of winter. His troops were quartered in *West Gothland*, and behaved so insolently to the peasants, that an insurrection ensued, and several of the *German* soldiers were massacred. To revenge the death of their comrades, the remaining *Germans* fell upon the peasants, and made great slaughter of them. These misfortunes were increased by a sudden incursion of the *Danes*, when happily a treaty was set on foot by the more moderate on both sides. It proved, however, little more than a preliminary, whereby *Birger* and his family were set at liberty, and the final decision of the quarrel referred to a congress appointed at *Marckery* in *Smaland*.

IN consequence of the treaty concluded on this occasion, *Birger* was restored to a part of his dominions, and the dukes received an oath of fidelity, not as kings, but sovereigns, of the remainder. The first use *Birger* made of his liberty was, to attempt the recovery of his crown and kingdom. Passing over to *Denmark*, he met with a hearty reception from his brother, and received assurances of powerful succours. At the same time a dispute arose between *Hacquin* of *Norway* and duke *Eric*, which greatly forwarded *Birger's* affairs. The king of *Denmark* seized this opportunity to persuade *Hacquin* wholly to break with the duke, and marry his daughter *Ingiburgha* to *Magnus*, *Birger's* son. In a word, *Hacquin* agreed to bestow his daughter, with six thousand marks in silver, on *Magnus*, appointing him besides his successor to the crown of *Norway*, provided he died without male issue. At the same time a peace was concluded between the kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*; upon which *Eric* of *Denmark* assembled a powerful army, com-

^f Loccen. lib. iii. 99. ^g Idem. ibid.

(H) The *Danish* writers, however, alledge, that *Hacquin* equipped a fleet, made a descent on *Zeland*, and carried off a considerable booty (1).

(1) *Meurf. lib. iv. Pontan. et Grammat. sub reg.*

a posed of *Danes* and *Germans*, to assist *Birger*, who joined him with a body of *Swedes*. The dukes advanced against the two monarchs; but not caring to hazard a battle, they contented themselves with blocking up the roads, and cutting off their convoys of forage and provisions. All their endeavours could not prevent *Jeneköping* from falling into the hands of the royal army, which immediately afterwards penetrated, through vast forests, to *East Gothland*; which the dukes were forced to evacuate, *Eric* retiring to *Calmar*, and *Waldemar* to *Stockholm*, to cover the province of *Upland*^b.

DURING these transactions, the king of *Norway* was laying siege to *Kongel*, and the two kings, *Birger* and *Eric*, after over-running the country, had sat down before *Nicöping*. The garrison made a vigorous resistance, and the kings were obstinate in their resolution to carry the place. At last the nobility represented the imprudence of neglecting greater advantages they might gain in the time spent before this town; the little benefit that would accrue from the conquest, the difficulties of the undertaking, the scarcity of provision in the camp, and the ill-humour of the army on account of the approaching severe season: but all their remonstrances could not oblige the princes to alter their resolution; upon which the *Danish* nobility took the shameful resolution of abandoning their king, and returning to *Denmark*, leaving him to try his fortune as he could, and fight his own battles; a desertion that would have greatly endangered his person, had not the duke of *Mecklenburgh* remained firm with the cavalry.

c THE duke had in the mean time retaken *Jeneköping*, and gained some other advantages; however, he chose to try what a negotiation might produce in the present circumstances of the allied monarchs. With this view he demanded a conference with the king of *Denmark*, and offered to end all disputes sincerely and amicably with *Birger*. He moreover exhorted his *Danish* majesty to use his influence with *Birger*, to pay more respect to the treaties he concluded, as he might be assured he could never profit any thing by using force. In consequence of this request an interview was held at *Helsingbourg*, and a peace concluded between the dukes and *Birger*, on much the same conditions as the former; a partition being made of the kingdom, but with this addition, that the dukes should do homage to *Birger*, as vassals of his crown^d.

d THE reconciliation of the brothers proved no less destructive to the people than the war which ensued from their enmity. They now rivalled each other in pomp, splendour, and magnificence. Each held his court, and strove to render it the most brilliant. Such an expence required extraordinary funds; the people were loaded with taxes which they could no longer support. In *Smaland* a rebellion appeared, headed by one *Bagge*; and another, of a more dangerous nature, soon after in *Gothland*, which obliged the king to quit the province, upon having several of his attendants murdered. Both these insurrections, however, were quelled by the assassination of *Bagge*, and his majesty's promise to lower the taxes^e.

e As the kingdom had now enjoyed profound tranquillity for the space of seven years, the dukes had reason to persuade themselves, that the king their brother's reconciliation was perfectly sincere; but they little penetrated the true sentiments of *Birger*. *Waldemar*, in his way to *Calmar*, made him a visit at *Nicöping*, and was received with all the appearances of the utmost cordiality and affection. Such professions of regard were made by *Birger* as entirely deceived the duke; who was so much convinced of his sincerity, that he requested duke *Eric* to come to *Nicöping*, in order to put the last hand to their reconciliation so happily effected. Notwithstanding he still suspected *Birger*, yet he yielded to the arguments and intreaties of *Waldemar*; but was no sooner arrived at *Nicöping*, than he received some hints of the king's design, and would have immediately put back, had not *Waldemar* used the most pressing instances to the contrary. At night *Birger*'s perfidy broke out; for after treating them with magnificence, and loading them with favours and civilities, he ordered his people to break in to their apartments while they were asleep, to seize and confine them: thus retaliating on them the same base action by which he came into their power some years before. *Eric* endeavoured to defend himself, but was overpowered, after being first covered with wounds. *Birger* was present at this cruel scene; and having satiated his revenge with the most cutting taunts and opprobrious language, ordered them to be stripped half-naked, and tied neck and heels with iron chains. They were then thrown into a dungeon; and the king set out, with intention, to surprise *Stockholm*. In this he was disappointed, the garrison made a brisk sally, defeated him, and sent a body of forces to lay siege to *Nicöping*, where the princes were confined; but before it was taken, both died, *Eric* of his wounds, and *Waldemar* of hunger; the former three, and the latter eleven days after his imprisonment^f.

*Birger be-
sieves Nico-
ping, and the
nobility desert
him and Eric;*

*Peace concluded.
A. D. 1310.*

A. D. 1317;

*Birger perfidi-
ously seizes the
dukes, throws
them in a dun-
geon, where
one perishes
of his wounds,
and the other
of hunger.*

^b SUAN. lib. iii. PUFFEND. p. 122.

^c PONT. lib. ix.

^d LOCEN. lib. iii.

^e PUFFEND. p. 123.

MATTHEW KETTEMUNSON, who directed the siege, ordered, as soon as he got possession of the place, their bodies to be exposed to the people, to stir them up the more against *Birger*, whose unnatural cruelty made him now the detestation of mankind, and induce them to support the children of duke *Eric*. *Birger*, on the other hand, recalled his son *Magnus* from *Denmark*, obtained a body of auxiliaries from king *Eric*, and was taking vigorous steps for maintaining his rights, recovered at the expence of the blackest perfidy and cruelty. Nevertheless, he was defeated by *Kettemunson*, and forced to retire to *East-Gothland*, which country he found all in arms against him; but these tumultuous peasants he soon defeated and dispersed. Proud of his success, he put his troops in quarters, imagining the enemy would not again presume to make head against him; but he was deceived, *Canute Portze* and *Kettemunson* first defeated, and then kept his son *Magnus* besieged in *Steckenburgh*, till he was obliged to surrender for want of provision. With the prince were made prisoners several noblemen and officers of the court, who had been the greatest fomenters of the divisions between *Birger* and the dukes^m.

Steckenburgh
taken.

Kettemunson
declared pro-
tectior.

Schonen in-
vaded.

Peace con-
cluded.

IMMEDIATELY upon this success *Kettemunson* was declared protector of the kingdom, and empowered to carry on the war against the king. His first step was to settle the affairs of the nation, and establish peace in those provinces which for a series of years had scarce tasted the blessings of repose. Then he entered *Schonen* with a strong body of forces, and laid all waste before him, without pity or remorse, carrying off crowds of prisoners, and among them persons of the highest distinction in the province. The pretext for this invasion, was the assistance lent to *Birger* by his *Danish* majesty, who had been the chief instrument of the late massacre of the *Gothland* peasants.

THE invasion of *Schonen* produced a peace between the two nations, both obliging themselves to live upon terms of friendship for three years; but the death of his *Danish* majesty prevented its taking effect. The *Swedes* began with an infraction of one material article of the treaty; namely, the free pardon stipulated for *Magnus* and his adherents taken in *Steckenburgh*. They first put *Bruneme* to death, and some other noblemen, ordering their bodies to be exposed to the populace of *Stockholm*. Then the protector made preparations for attacking *Birger*, who had retired to the isle of *Gothland*; but the king prevented him, by retreating to *Denmark*; where he was but coldly received by the then reigning prince *Christopher*.

A. D. 1319.
Magnus
Smek.

ON *Birger's* recess, *Kettemunson* convoked a diet at *Upsal* for the election of a king. He had so managed affairs, that the crown was assigned to *Magnus*, son of duke *Eric*, then a child of three years old; who soon after succeeded likewise to the crown of *Norway*, by *Hacquin's* will.

Birger's son
put to death.
A. D. 1320.

NEXT year a diet was held at *Stockholm*, to deliberate on the manner they should treat *Magnus*, the son of *Birger*, at that time kept in close confinement. The father was now so odious to the people, that they resolved to punish his crimes in the person of his son; notwithstanding the capitulation of *Steckenburgh* expressly declared, that his life should not be touched. A few years before he had been declared successor to the throne; yet now, without any fault of his own, he was, by a sad reverse of fortune, condemned to die by the very same diet; a sentence that was executed without respiteⁿ.

A. D. 1333.
Kettemun-
son's policy.

THE *Swedes* flattered themselves, that they had at last got a prince to their wish in *Magnus*, the son of *Eric*; but they soon perceived, that he was weak, effeminate, and open to flattery, whence was laid the foundation of all those misfortunes that befel the kingdom, and afflicted the *Swedes* for the space of two hundred years after. Nevertheless, the kingdom enjoyed perfect tranquility for the space of twenty-eight years after his accession. *Kettemunson*, the regent during the king's minority, fomented so artfully the troubles in *Denmark*, as to enlarge the limits of *Sweden* by the addition of some valuable provinces. *Schonen* took an oath of allegiance to king *Magnus*, who promised to defend the nobility, clergy, and people, in the full exertion of all their liberties.

A. D. 1336.
King Magnus
takes upon him
the administra-
tion.

ABOUT the year 1336, *Magnus* was married to *Blanche*, daughter of the duke of *Namur*; and *Kettemunson* dying, he took into his own hands the reins of government. The change became immediately sensible to the people. Before the administration was steady, wife, and politic; now every thing was actuated by caprice, and dictated by wild young favourites, while the counsels of the aged and experienced were disregarded. By his hot-headed youthful counsellors it was, that *Magnus* was persuaded to attempt the conquest of *Denmark*, not contented with *Schonen*, and the other provinces, obtained without shedding a drop of blood.

To give some colour of justice to his ambitious designs, he sent an embassy to *Rome*, to favour a confirmation of the possession of *Schonen*; intimating at the same time, that *Denmark* being a fief of the holy see, the pope had a power to dispose of it to whom he pleased.

^m PUFFEND. p. 123.

ⁿ LOCEN. lib. iii.

a It was moreover insinuated, that *Denmark* having for some years refused to pay the usual tribute to his holiness, now was the time for recovering *St. Peter's* rights, by granting this kingdom to his *Swedish* majesty, who would receive it on these conditions, and pay whatever tribute should be required. But this embassy met with no success, his holiness declaring, that he would neither confirm *Magnus* in the possession of *Schonen*, nor grant him the investiture of *Denmark*, without hearing both parties concerned. Indeed, all the politics of the *Swedish* king were sapped by the superior abilities of *Waldemar*, then king of *Denmark*; yet he obtained from that prince what he never would have granted, but for the distracted condition of his kingdom. *Waldemar* signed an act, whereby he ceded to *Sweden* the provinces of *Schonen* and *Bleking*, with the isles of *Lyster* and *Haen*. He also ceded, for the sum of 8000 marks of silver, the province of *Halland*, and this treaty was solemnly ratified and sworn to by both parties. On his part *Magnus* promised all manner of assistance to the *Danish* monarch against his enemies, and the privilege to his subjects of trading to all his ports in *Sweden* and *Norway*.

Peace betwixt the two kingdoms: A. D. 1343.

For twelve years after the death of his guardian *Kettlemunson*, the king of *Sweden* lived in peace with all his neighbours, and acted in a great measure agreeable to the plan laid down by that able minister; but now the whim of signalizing his valour unhappily seized him, and he meditated an expedition against the *Russians*. To support the expences of this very unnecessary war, he was constrained to oppress his subjects with heavy taxes; to render them miserable, to shew that they were powerful. A great body of *German* cavalry was levied, under the conduct of *Henry* earl of *Holstein*. As soon as the necessary preparations were made, *Magnus* begun his march, and took the castle of *Noteburgh*, with the whole surrounding country: but these successes were checked in the very bud. *Magnus* agreed to a truce for two months; the enemy, in the mean time, assembled, fell unexpectedly on the *Swedes*, and forced them to retire with shameful precipitation. Then *Noteburgh* was attacked, and the king's garrison put to the sword; and all *Finland* would have felt the resentment of those barbarians, had not *Magnus* appeased the *Russians*, by yielding up part of *Carelia*.

A. D. 1348. Magnus undertakes an expedition against the Russians.

THIS unfortunate expedition involved *Sweden* in many difficulties. If *Magnus* was forced to increase the taxes, in order to carry on the war, it became no less necessary to lay new impositions, to enable the king to pay the debts contracted by this feeble endeavour to prove his valour, and enlarge the boundaries of his kingdom. Besides, some of the crown-lands were mortgaged, and among others the city of *Calmar*, which was pledged to the earl of *Holstein* for a sum of money. Nor was this all, the pope's revenues had been expended on this romantic expedition: and now the king, unable to reimburse his holiness, fell under his censure, and was excommunicated. The people, at the same time, began heartily to despise and hate their king, for the mixture of weakness and tyranny they perceived in his disposition. They saw him lavish the public money on a young worthless favourite, whom he had created duke of *Halland*, while the queen was bestowing favours upon him of a different nature, which equally disgraced herself and the king.

Magnus lays heavy taxes on his subjects.

At length the senate resolved to terminate the grievances of the people. They advised *Magnus* to resign the crowns he was unable to support, to his children; that of *Sweden* to his eldest son *Eric*, and of *Norway* to his second son *Hacquin*. *Pontanus* indeed alledges, that the crown of *Norway* was ceded in 1334. On the king's refusal to comply with the intreaties of the senate, the nobility revolted, and placed the crown on *Eric's* head.

MAGNUS retreating to *Schonen*, demanded succours from *Waldemar*; but the *Danish* monarch gave him to understand, that the full restitution of *Schonen*, and all the other provinces wrested from *Denmark*, must be the necessary condition of his aid. Some time after he consented to a negotiation, as well to establish peace between *Magnus* and his subjects, as between *Sweden* and *Denmark*: however, the difficulties about *Schonen* rendered all endeavours fruitless.

Magnus retires to Schonen.

In the mean time *Magnus* and his son, each supported by a powerful faction, waged cruel war. *Eric* in the first place, defeated, took, and put to death, the duke of *Halland*, his father's favourite, and the great object of the people's hatred. This action gained him the affection of the *Swedes*, as the conduct of *Magnus* alienated them daily more and more from the attachment they owed him. At length the duke of *Mecklenburgh* and earl of *Holstein* offered their mediation, by which, after much altercation, affairs were accommodated. A treaty was concluded, whereby *Magnus* resigned a part of his dominions to his son *Eric*, and shared with him the title of king of *Sweden*. He reserved to himself *Upland*, *Gotland*, *Wermeland*, *Dalecarlia*, the northern parts of *Halland*, *West-Gotland*, and the isle of *Oeland*. *Schonen*, *Smaland*, *Finland*, and the south of *Halland*, were given to *Eric*. *Magnus* was like-

The kingdom divided between Magnus and Eric.

P MEURS. lib. i. p. 2. lib. viii.

9 PUFFEND. ubi supra.

7 LOCCEN. lib. iii. p. 104.

5 PONT. Hist.

wife obliged to promise, that he would surrender into *Eric's* hands, all the letters, papers, and titles, respecting *Schonen*; as it was not doubted but *Waldemar* would regain that province by any means in his power.

The queen administers poison to *Eric*.

This agreement did not prevent the nobility and people from shewing extraordinary marks of regard for *Eric*, and of equal dislike to his father. Queen *Blanche* was alarmed on hearing of *Eric's* intention to marry, and give her a rival queen, who would necessarily diminish the respect paid to her, as the only sovereign princess in the kingdom. To secure her power, she persuaded *Magnus* to give *Eric* an invitation to his palace, under pretence of some extraordinary business he had to communicate to him. *Eric* came without suspicion, and had a cup of poison administered to him by the hands of his unnatural mother, whose ambition had suppressed every dictate of humanity, honour, and maternal affection. The young prince expired with these words, "The same person who gave me life, has now robbed me of it," about twenty days after drinking the poison (A).

Magnus recovers his dominions.

MAGNUS now regained possession of all his dominions, taking the most solemn oaths at his restoration, that he would correct the errors of his former reign, and govern the state in the most irreproachable manner. Far, however, from observing his promises, he sought every opportunity of revenging himself on the senate, and those persons who had favoured *Eric*. With this view he entered into a close alliance with his Danish majesty, carried his queen and young son, *Hacquin*, king of *Norway*, to visit him at *Copenhagen*, and engaged *Hacquin* in marriage with the princess *Margaret* of *Denmark*, then seven years of age. On this occasion it was, that he yielded up *Schonen*, *Bleking*, and all the Danish provinces, which had for some years been the cause of contention between the two kingdoms. The pretext for ceding them was, a maintenance for the princess *Margaret*, now betrothed to *Hacquin*; but the Danish historians alledge, that *Magnus* was mean enough to make over *Sweden* to *Waldemar*, provided he would maintain him in full possession for his life. Certain it is, that all the deeds and papers regarding *Schonen* were delivered to *Waldemar*, without laying the proceeding before either the senate or the states; who were extremely incensed at a measure so pernicious and disgraceful to the kingdom (B).

A. D. 1360.

The nation incensed at the king's conduct.

WALDEMAR no sooner found himself in possession of the proper documents, than he took the field with a powerful army, and marching to *Schonen*, seized upon the whole country. To stop the clamours of his subjects, *Magnus* made a shew of resistance. He appeared at the head of a body of troops, but declined giving battle, under pretence of the great superiority of the enemy; a poor disguise, that served only to render him more odious and ridiculous. This suggestion received full confirmation from the treaty that was struck up between them immediately after, by which he ceded *Schonen* a second time in the strongest manner, and promised to regard *Waldemar* henceforward as his brother.

MAGNUS gave *Waldemar* to understand, that he should be glad to see his subjects of the isle of *Gotbland*, who had refused to pay his oppressive taxes, punished. *Waldemar* embraced the hint, and to oblige his ally, or rather to serve his own purposes, made a sudden descent on the island, killed eighteen hundred peasants, who stood in their own defence, seized *Wisby* the capital of the island, and richest city of the North, pillaged the inhabitants, and loaded his fleet with immense booty. But this iniquitous measure ended unhappily for both princes. *Waldemar's* fleet was shipwrecked returning to *Denmark*, his garrison left in *Wisby* massacred by the inhabitants, and *Magnus* thereby rendered still more odious to his people.

A. D. 1361.
Waldemar pillages *Oeland*.

NEXT year *Waldemar* made a descent on the island of *Oeland*, put five hundred peasants to the sword, stormed the fortress of *Borkholm*, and pillaged the whole island, a violence that highly delighted *Magnus*, as nothing gave him so much satisfaction as the ruin of that people over whom God had placed him, for their security and protection.

Tired out with oppression at home, and injuries and affronts from abroad, the *Swedes* had recourse to *Hacquin*, king of *Norway*, imploring him to have compassion on their sufferings, and rescue them from absolute unavoidable destruction. *Hacquin* heard their prayer, arrested *Magnus*, and confined him in the citadel of *Calmar*. Upon this the senate took heart, and began to hope for a prosperous turn in the affairs of the kingdom. They required of *Hacquin*, that he would enter into no alliances with his Danish majesty; on the contrary, that he would come to an open rupture with that prince; and instead of marrying his daughter, that he would make proposals to the earl of *Holfstein's* sister, the princess *Elizabeth*, and thereby strengthen his interest in *Germany*.

^c PONT. *ibid.* PUFFEND. *ibid.* ^u MEURS. *sub reg. ibid.*

(A) *Pontanus*, and almost all the Danish writers, place this event in the year 1354. They are likewise more tender of queen *Blanche's* character than *Laccenius* and the historians of her own nation (1).

(B) *Magnus* obtained the surname of *Smeek* on this occasion, from his being duped by the specious promises of *Waldemar* (2).

(1) *Pont. lib. viii. Meurs. lib. v.*

(2) *Laccen. p. 185.*

a *MAGNUS*, then a prisoner, feigned to approve of these terms imposed on *Hacquin*, which were confirmed by the states, on condition that if he should refuse to ratify them, he should lose his right over *Calmar*; and if, on the other hand, *Magnus* and *Hacquin* should be guilty of a breach of the conditions, the diet and senate should be released from their allegiance to them, and impowered to chuse *Henry* of *Holstein* for their lawful sovereign. Deputies were therefore sent to demand the princess, and they obtained her; but the ship in which *Elizabeth* sailed was driven, by stress of weather, on the coast of *Denmark*, where she was detained by the politic *Waldemar*. The duke of *Mecklenburg* and earl of *Holstein* took arms to oblige him to release her; but *Waldemar's* intrigues gained over *Hacquin*, and persuaded him to marry the princess *Margaret*, in direct opposition to the conditions he had lately sworn to. The Swedish historians alledge, that, to cut the way strait to the crown of Sweden, *Waldemar* no sooner saw his daughter married to *Hacquin*, than he had poison administered to *Magnus* and his queen *Blanche*; a fact denied by good authority, and supported only by some libels and defamatory papers handed about at the time. The queen died immediately, but *Magnus* recovered by the skill of his physician (C). Waldemar's policy.

b AFTER this infraction of the treaty, the Swedes, in resentment of *Hacquin's* conduct, elected *Henry* of *Holstein* king; but that political prince declined the honour intended, and strongly recommended duke *Albert* of *Mecklenburg*, nephew to king *Magnus*. *Albert* likewise declined the offer, but proposed his second son *Albert*; who immediately set out for *Gotbland*, where he was proclaimed king, by a certain number of the nobility, who had taken refuge there to avoid the effects of *Magnus's* indignation. Thence *Albert* went to *Stockholm*, which he took with little trouble, on account of a powerful party within the walls, that appeared in his favour.

c HAVING got possession of the capital, all the nobility who opposed the measures of *Magnus*, were assembled to declare their reasons for throwing off their allegiance to him. It was no difficult matter to urge pretences for their disobedience; the folly of *Magnus* had afforded but too many. His desire of rendering himself absolute; his repeated breach of promises to the diet and senate; the cession of *Schonen* and the Danish provinces; his connivance at the plundering of the islands of *Oeland* and *Gotbland*; and at the marriage of *Hacquin* and *Margaret*; his exorbitant and oppressive taxes; and lastly, his attempt to exterminate the principal families among the nobility. After formally deposing *Magnus* according to all the forms of justice, they proclaimed *Albert* a second time, in the capital. *Magnus*, however, who was supported by a strong party, by the kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*, resolved not to stand by their award. Collecting all his friends, he joined a body of Danes and Norwegians, and with his son *Hacquin* penetrated to the province of *Upland*. Here he was met, defeated, and taken prisoner, by *Albert*, his son *Hacquin* escaping wounded out of the field*. Magnus deposed.

To profit by his victory, *Albert* laid siege to all the places that stood out for *Magnus*; but the number of Danish troops in the kingdom greatly obstructed his progress. This obliged him, with the consent of the senate, to purchase a peace with *Waldemar*, at the expense of the isle of *Gotbland*, the city *Wisby*, the fortress of *Helsingburgh*, great part of *Helsingia*, with several other lands and cities. He likewise consented that his father and brothers should enjoy and possess the whole duchy of *Mecklenburg*, the duchy of *Schwerin*, and principality of *Roster*, independent of the crown of Sweden. They promised in return to restore *Werburch*, not to release *Magnus*, or come to terms of peace with *Hacquin*, but on condition that these two princes ratified the treaty now concluded. A. D. 1336: Peace concluded with Denmark.

f A PEACE so solemnly sworn to by all parties, ought to have been solid; but it was of short duration, the promises of princes being never longer obligatory than they find them consistent with their interest. *Albert* entered into a league offensive and defensive, with the earl of *Holstein*, the *Futland* nobility, the dukes of *Sleswick*, *Mecklenburg*, and the Hans towns, against the kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*. He then made an irruption into *Schonen*, and conquered that province, while his allies were busied in subduing *Denmark*, which king *Waldemar* was forced to abandon. A. D. 1368. The peace broken.

BUT he was less successful against the king of *Norway*, who entered Sweden at the head of a numerous army, obliged *Albert* to quit the field, and laid siege to *Stockholm*. At last both sides consented to an accommodation, whereby *Magnus* was set at liberty, paying

* Loccen. lib. iii. PUFFEND. p. 131. PONTAN. lib. x. MEURS. vit. Wald. 18.

(C) It is said that *Christopher*, the only son of *Waldemar*, died on the same occasion by poison, which was given him by mistake. certain, that *Henry* was elected only by the lords banished the kingdom by *Magnus*, and taking sanctuary in the isle of *Gotbland* (1).

(D) Notwithstanding the authority of *Puffendorf*, it is

(1) Loccen. p. 109.

Death of king
Magnus.

A. D. 1375.

Olaus elec-
ted king of
Denmark.

A. D. 1385.
Albert incurs
the displeasure
of his subjects.

The diet ex-
press their
disapprobation
of his conduct.

Albert enters
upon violent
measures.

Queen Mar-
garet is elec-
ted queen of
Sweden by
the malcon-
tents.

12,000 marks for his ransom, ceding the crown of *Sweden*, with his pretensions to the pro-
vince of *Schonen*, to king *Albert*, and accepting as an equivalent the provinces of *West-Gotb-*
land, and those of *Wermeland* and *Dali*. Sixty gentlemen, as pledges of his truth, obliged
themselves, in case *Magnus* broke his faith, to surrender themselves prisoners to *Albert* at
Stockholm. In effect *Magnus* kept his word, lived the rest of his days in *Norway*, and at
last perished crossing a little ford near *Blonenfort*. Thus died an unhappy monarch, the
most unsteady, weak, voluptuous, and arbitrary, that had ever wielded the *Swedish* sceptre.

WEARIED of the repose which had now blessed his reign for the space of five years, *Albert*
took up arms to support his nephew the duke of *Mecklenburgh's* claim to the crown of
Denmark. At the death of *Waldemar*, the states of that kingdom had elected *Olaus*, son of
Hacquin and *Margaret*, in prejudice of *Albert's* right. A great fleet was equipped on this
occasion, but it was so roughly treated in a storm, that the duke relinquished his preten-
sions.

As soon as king *Albert* found himself disengaged from this war, he employed his atten-
tion in rendering himself absolute. Prosperity swelling his heart, he began to despise the
Swedes, and, after the example of his predecessor, entered upon every measure that could
possibly irritate and incense them. Particularly he introduced numbers of foreigners into
lucrative posts and employments, believing them the fittest tools to work his purposes.
These he invested in the governments of fortresses, and the most important trusts of the
state, preferring persons of no merit or birth, to the first nobility of the kingdom, for no
other reason than because they were foreigners, and subservient to his will. He even went
so far as to introduce *Germans* into the senate, in direct violation of the express laws of the
realm; and the kingdom was filled with foreign mercenaries, under various pretences,
whose insolence and avarice become quite insupportable to the people. *Albert* imposed new
taxes for the maintenance of this standing army of mercenaries, and gratifying the rapacity
of his needy favourites. At last the country was so drained of money, that it was impos-
sible for the people to pay the taxes, or answer the demands of the prince, which seemed to
rise in proportion to their poverty. On this he assembled the states, and represented to
them, that the revenues of the crown were insufficient to maintain the regal dignity; that
the people must contribute; and, the strictest and most effectual method would be to
annex to the crown the thirds of the civil and ecclesiastical revenues of the kingdom. The
diet besought him not to rob them of those possessions and rights bequeathed them by their
ancestors, or seek to extend the power of the crown, beyond the limits assigned by law.
They represented that the present revenues of his crown, were sufficient to maintain it in
the utmost splendor, provided he retrenched his extraordinary liberality to foreigners, and
discharged that mercenary army with which the people were oppressed. By these means,
they said, he might live on the present revenues with the same magnificence his predeces-
sors had done.

ALBERT, displeased with this refusal, determined to use force; accordingly he seized
upon the thirds of all rents of the laity and clergy, a violence that set the whole nation in a
flame. The nobility, too weak to resist him, went over to *Denmark*, and implored assis-
tance from queen *Margaret*, a princess too wise not to employ their discontent to her own
advantage (A). She promised them the most effectual redress of all their grievances, pro-
vided they secured the crown of *Sweden* to her, in case she happened to gain the advantage
over *Albert*. "When, says she, I expose my crowns of *Denmark* and *Norway*, to the issue
of a doubtful war, it is but reasonable I should have the prospect of an additional crown."
She not only insisted upon their promise of electing her to the throne, but of making the
crown permanent in her family; a condition which, hard as it was, the *Swedes* were forced
to accept, rather than endure the tyranny of *Albert*.

In this manner it was, that *Margaret* was elected queen of *Sweden*, by the malcontents.
Assured of her resolution and aid, they began to levy forces, and declare open war on the
king; however, as he was supported by a strong party, and in possession of the chief for-
tresses, they had numberless difficulties to encounter. The war indeed was but of short
continuance, but it occasioned an infinity of calamities and misfortunes to *Sweden*, rent in-
to factions, most inveterate in their animosity. *Albert* soon perceived that it would be im-
possible to support his armies long, for want of money, the country being totally exhaust-
ed; he resolved, therefore, to come to a decisive action with *Margaret*. He sent her no-

^a Vit. MARC. p. 26. DES. ROCH. Hist. tom. iv. p. 26.

(A) Some writers of good credit alledge, that war was already declared between *Albert* and *Margaret*, and that the former was the aggressor, by supporting the claim of *Henry of Mecklenburgh*, in right of his wife *Ingeburga*, the elder sister of *Margaret*, to the crown of *Denmark* (1).

(1) Meurs. l. v. p. 2.

a tice, that he would give her battle on a certain day, in a great plain near *Faloping*, in *West-Gotland*. This message was accompanied with some coarse and indecent raillery, which disgraced the character of a prince. In a word, so certain was he of victory, that the intermediate days were spent in mirth and pleasantry, the king taking an oath that he would not uncover his head till he had subdued the amazon queen. But all his hopes were soon frustrated, the armies met, and *Albert*, after a very bloody battle, was defeated and made prisoner, together with his son, who had attended him during the campaign (B). *Albert is defeated and made prisoner.*

b WHATEVER misfortunes *Sweden* had sustained before the imprisonment of *Albert*, they were nothing, when compared to those she was now about to suffer. The princes of *Mecklenburgh*, the earls of *Holstein*, and the *Hanse* towns, united, in support of this unfortunate monarch; and one of the most bloody wars recorded in history was kindled afresh. They had *Stockholm*, *Calmar*, and the chief fortresses, in their hands, whence they made excursions which greatly harassed the queen's army. They burnt *Westeraas*, *Enköping*, *Rostock*, *Wismar*, and other places, cutting in pieces several bodies of peasants, who assembled in their own defence ^b. *A league in favour of Albert.*

c ON the other hand, the inhabitants of *Stockholm* suffered all the miseries consequent on tyranny, suspicion, and a siege. While the queen's forces were battering the city without, the *German* garrison within accused them of partiality to *Margaret*, and an inclination to surrender the city, for which they punished them with the utmost severity. These insolent masters seized and imprisoned the magistrates, put certain citizens to death, and plundered all without distinction. At length the citizens took arms, and a civil war must have broke out, to the ruin of both sides, had not the governor of the citadel and some moderate persons interposed, prevailing on them to take a mutual oath that they would live in friendship. This accommodation was but of short duration. A little time after, the *Germans* assembling in the night at the town house, the governor sent for the chief citizens, as upon business of importance. When they came, a list was read over to them of such persons as were accused of high treason, and correspondence with the enemy. These were instantly seized, imprisoned, and put to the torture, of which several died through the extremity of pain ^c.

d IN the mean time, a large reinforcement of *Germans* arrived in the port of *Stockholm*, which rendered them absolutely masters of the capital. It was then given out that the criminals, put to the question, had made very important discoveries. Under this pretext, they spirited off those who had resisted the torture, enclosed them, bound hands and feet in a house, to which they set fire. Nor did the fury of the *Germans* stop here. The princes of *Mecklenburgh* published a declaration at *Wismar* and *Rostock*, granting the freedom of all their ports to all who should cruise and commit piracies on the *Danes*, *Norwegians*, or *Swedes*. Instantly the *Baltic* was covered with pirates, who rendered themselves equally formidable to friends and foes, were the scourge of *Sweden*, and pests that could scarcely be exterminated at the conclusion of the war ^d.

e IN this state of anarchy and confusion did the affairs of *Sweden* remain until the year 1394, when the powers at war first began to talk of an accommodation. A conference was held at *Helsingburgh*, but without effect, on account of a skirmish between the *Danes* and *Germans*, in which a burgomaster of *Stralsund* was slain. Soon after, another congress was held at *Lalholm*, at which were present queen *Margaret*, and *John* of *Mecklenburgh*. At this interview they came to an agreement about the release of king *Albert*, his sons, and several of the nobility, on condition that *Albert* should in three years surrender all power and pretensions to the city of *Stockholm*, to *Margaret*; and that in case of any infraction of the treaty, he should return prisoner to her. As security for the performance, the *Hanse* towns engaged to pay the sum of 60,000 silver marks, on *Albert's* breach of faith. A suspension of arms was likewise settled, and a free commerce opened. *Stockholm* in the mean time remained in the power of the *Hanse* towns, and each side was to retain their possessions ^e in the isle of *Gotland*. *Margaret unites the three northern crowns. A. D. 1394.*

f ALBERT no sooner obtained his liberty, than he turned his thoughts to the recovery of his crown, chusing rather to forfeit the 60,000 marks than resign his pretensions to a throne. With this view he went over to *Prussia*, and formed an alliance with the knights who had retaken the isle of *Gotland* from the pirates. This island was put in his hands, and here he left his son *Eric* to keep his court, while he pursued his measures for renewing the war. *Albert is set at liberty. A. D. 1395.*

^b MEURS. lib. v. PUFFEND. p. 170. Denmark.

^c LOCCEN. lib. iv.

^d PONTAN. lib. ix. See our Hist. of

(B) They were conducted first to *Babus*, a fortress on the confines of *Norway* and *Gotland*; thence to *Lalholm*, and afterwards to *Calmar*, where *Albert* remained prisoner for seven years (2).

(2) LOCCEN. lib. iv.

MARGARET had now attained the summit of her ambition. She saw herself in possession of three kingdoms, and the most powerful potentate in *Europe*. Her wisdom and sound policy gained her the esteem and affection of her subjects, who were eager to fix the succession, as the queen had no issue, and could not be prevailed on to share her sovereignty with a husband (A). To gratify the ardent wishes of her people, in a manner that would not derogate from her own authority, *Margaret* introduced to court her grand nephew *Henry*, son of *Wratislaus VII.* and *Mary of Mecklenburgh*, daughter to *Henry of Mecklenburgh*, and *Ingeburgha*, sister of queen *Margaret*, and daughter of *Waldemar I.* This prince, then an infant, she proposed for her successor; and that the name of *Henry* might not sound harsh in the ears of the people, she changed it to *Eric*, a name which many of the sovereigns of the three kingdoms had borne. It was his youth that influenced *Margaret* to consent to his being proclaimed king, as she was to hold the reins of authority until he arrived at age. Some writers, however, affirm, that *Eric* was only appointed successor, while *Puffendorf* and *Loccenius* are equally positive, that he was immediately elected sovereign of the three kingdoms, and *Margaret* appointed regent^d.

Eric elected king, and Margaret continued in the regency.

Her policy.

MARGARET, sensible of the obligations she owed the *Swedish* nation, was resolved not to seem ungrateful. She resumed all the crown-lands which *Albert* had granted to foreigners; she degraded all the strangers on whom he bestowed titles and preferments; she razed the fortresses he had built as a curb to liberty; in a word, she laboured, in conjunction with the senate and diet, to remedy the misfortunes and grievances consequent on a despotic reign and bloody revolution. But while she was labouring thus for the interests of the *Swedish* nation, she did not forget her own. She persuaded the diet to allow her, for the support of her dignity, *West* and *East Gothland*, the provinces of *Wermeland*, *Westermanland*, and *Dalecarlia*, together with a power of disposing of the mines as she thought proper. She left no means untried to confirm the union of the three crowns, and render it as lasting as it was advantageous to each, while governed by an impartial and equal hand^e.

She assembles a diet at Calmar.

WHEN she imagined she had sufficiently gained the principal persons in the three kingdoms, she called a diet at *Calmar*, with intention to frame a law that should inseparably unite the crowns. On this occasion she expatiated with admirable eloquence on the necessity and utility of the union; using among other arguments this pretext, that the royal line being now extinct in the three kingdoms, a fairer occasion could not offer for consolidating them into one state, and removing all causes of contention and wars, which must ever subsist while they remained divided. Her reasoning was so plausible, that in all appearance her design would have succeeded to her wish, if the *Danes* had not shewn an eagerness to oppress the *Swedes* and *Norwegians*, relying much on *Margaret's* being a native of their country, and the partiality she had occasionally shewn towards them. Notwithstanding this obstruction, *Margaret* gained her point so far, that articles were signed by the states of the three kingdoms, promising by oath, by letters and charters, to remain perpetually under the dominion of the same sovereign; but the formal fundamental instrument she designed, was for this time deferred.

A. D. 1397.

ACCORDING to these articles, the right of electing a king was placed in a congress consisting of forty members out of each kingdom, viz. one archbishop, two bishops, one bailiff, one mareschal, the chief magistrate of every town, and two of the oldest peasants of each jurisdiction, in all making 120 electors (B).

Albert gives up all pretensions to the crown of Sweden.

Nor long after the congress at *Calmar*, *Eric*, the son of *Albert*, died in the isle of *Gothland*; a circumstance that determined his father to resign all thoughts of recovering his crown. He did not imagine it worth his while to encounter so many difficulties and dangers in pursuit of a dignity that must fall with his death. He therefore surrendered *Stockholm* to *Margaret*, all the pretensions he formed to the crown of *Sweden*, and passed the remainder of his days in *Mecklenburgh*^f.

The Swedes accuse Margaret of tyranny.

WHEN *Margaret* perceived herself fixed in the throne of *Sweden*, she began to shew her partiality for *Denmark*, making that kingdom her usual residence. She is charged at the same time with arrogating to herself more power, and acting in a manner too arbitrary for the laws. The *Swedes* alledge, that she loaded them with taxes, which she carried over to

^e VERTOT. *Revol. de Suede*, p. 33. ^d LOCCEN. lib. iv. PUFF. p. 171. ^e MEURS. lib. v. ^f PORTAN. lib. ix.

(A) This character is not very agreeable to the portrait drawn of this great princess by *Loccenius* and some *Danish* writers, who accuse her of incontinence, tyranny, and oppression, of laying a poll-tax on *Sweden*, giving large grants of lands to foreigners, and of other actions contrary to the laws of the constitution. It is said, that he nobility remonstrating to her on this head, and shew-

ing her the papers and charters of their privileges, she replied, that they might keep their charters and papers, but she knew how to use the lands and fortresses (1).

(B) It is remarkable, that the *Swedish* writers should differ from the *Danish*, even in this particular, which concerns no one nation more than another; yet we find that they do vary (2).

(1) *Loccen. lib. iv.*

(2) See our *History of Denmark*.

a *Denmark*, enriching her native country, by impoverishing that people who had voluntarily offered her a crown. They remonstrated, but received only fair promises in answer to all their complaints. It was obvious enough, from her conduct to the *Swedes*, why the *Danes* were so eager for the union of *Calmar*; and the advice which she is said to have imparted to the young king, could not fail of alienating the *Swedish* nation from her. “*Sweden*, said she, will furnish you with food, *Norway* with raiment, but you must look upon *Denmark* as the country that will stand by you in all extremities.”

ABOUT eight years after *Margaret*’s accession to the three crowns, she recovered the isle A. D. 1404. of *Gothland*, by a sudden descent; but *Wisby*, the capital, stood an obstinate siege, and Margaret re- covers the isle of *Gothland*. was relieved by the knights templars, who drove the *Swedes* out of the island (C). Upon this, *Margaret* resolved to compromise the dispute, perceiving the difficulty that would attend the reduction of that island. But the reader will find this whole transaction fully related in our history of *Denmark* ^h.

ACCORDING to *Loccenius* and *Puffendorf*, the young king *Eric* was declared of age in the year 1410, though *Meursius* and *Pontanus* both agree in placing this event in 1406, when he married the daughter of *Henry IV.* of *England*. The *Swedish* writers say, that *Eric* now took upon himself the administration of public affairs, leaving very little authority to the queen, as appears by his putting to death her minion and prime favourite, *Abraham Bro-* Margaret’s death. *derfon*; yet all the *Danish* writers agree, that, to the day of her death, *Margaret* retained her authority in full force, in proof of which they relate a thousand instances, as the reader will perceive by consulting the reign of this princess in our account of *Denmark*. We have already expatiated on the transactions of *Margaret*’s reign, so that it would be unnecessary to add more in this place, than that she began to sink in the esteem of the people before she paid the tribute to nature, which preserved her reputation with so much lustre to posterity. Had she lived longer it is probable another revolution would have been the consequence of her rigorous treatment of the *Swedes* and *Norwegians*, and that prejudice she always shewed in favour of the *Danes*.

S E C T. IV.

d *Containing the History of Sweden down to the great Revolution effected by Gustavus Erickson, in the Year 1520.*

THE same year that *Margaret* died, a war broke out between king *Eric* and *Henry* A. D. 1415. earl of *Holstein*, the guardian of earl *Gerhard*’s children, from whom the king was Eric of Pome- desirous of wresting the duchy of *Sleswick*; a scheme planned, and in part executed, by rania. queen *Margaret*. By the laws of *Denmark* his claim was perfectly just; yet was his obstinate pursuit of it attended with almost fatal consequences. At first he was strongly supported by the *Hanse* towns, the dukes of *Saxony* and *Mecklenburg*, who soon after changed e sides, and succoured his enemies with more vigour than ever they had done *Eric*. To main- Eric’s oppres- sion. tain numerous armies, and support a ruinous war, it was necessary to impose heavy taxes, which were levied in *Sweden* by *Danish* governors, without feeling or compassion for the miseries of the people. When the senate carried their complaints to the throne, they were either denied audience, or received with coldness. The gentry, who were forced to serve in the wars at their own expence, were wholly ruined, either by long services, or high ransoms paid for their liberty, when they were made prisoners; the peasants were in much the same situation, by means of grievous taxes, and the rapacity of the *Danish* governors. Even the clergy were not exempted from oppression and violence. A *Dane* was made arch- bishop of *Upsal*, in opposition to the whole chapter. This prelate, after committing va- f rious outrages during his possession of the see, was at length deposed, for defrauding the cathedral of *Upsal* of 20,000 ducats ⁱ.

AMONG all the acts of oppression and violence committed in this reign, on the *Swedes*, the most cruel and extraordinary were owing to the inhuman disposition of one *Erickson*, of *Westeraas*, the sworn enemy of the *Swedish* peasants. This fellow massacred them at plea- Insolence of the Danes in Swe- den. sure, tortured them through mere wantonness of barbarity, and puzzled his brain to find out variety of punishments and tortures for the harmless, industrious peasants, whose la-

^e LOCCEN. lib. iv. PUFFEND. p. 177. ^h Id. ibid. ⁱ LOCCEN. lib. iv.

(C) *Pontanus* and *Meursius* place this event in the year 1398. It is probable, therefore, that our author intends the money that was paid to the emperor *Winceslaus*, on the surrender of *Wisby* in 1404 (2).

[2] *Pontan. lib. ix. Meurs. lib. v.*

A. D. 1434.

Engelbert
beats the
Dalecarlians.

bour supported his pride and insolence. Some he smoaked to death, others he flea'd, broiled, and salted alive; nor did he shew more compassion for the tender sex, it being a common diversion with him to yoke them like oxen in the plough. When their complaints were carried to the king, all the redress they found was, blows and threats for aspersing the reputation of his officers. Such was the deplorable condition of *Sweden*, and more particularly of *Dalecarlia*, of which province *Jesson Asdal* was governor. His insolence had now grown to such a height, that the inhabitants publicly declared it was no longer supportable, and they would revenge themselves, if he continued his cruelties. At last the province revolted, under the conduct of *Engelbert Engelbrachtson*, a gentleman who had boldly laid the governor's conduct before the king, for which he was forbid the court. They besieged *Jesson* in *Westeraas*, and refused to lay down their arms before he should be removed ^b.

ON *Jesson's* departure, he threatened to revenge himself on the *Dalecarlians*, by prevailing on the king to send them a governor still more severe than himself: and *Engelbert* gave them to understand, that they never could expect but tyranny and oppression while they were under the command of foreigners. Thus alarmed, the peasants again had recourse to arms, chose *Engelbert* their general, and seized a variety of fortresses, which they burnt and razed to the ground. This success extended their views; *Engelbert* invited other provinces to follow the example of the *Dalecarlians*, and to banish foreigners out of the kingdom. His army daily encreased, and soon became formidable; at the same time that *Eric Pache*, another brave *Swede*, was stirring up the provinces of *Nericia* and *Westmerland* to vindicate their rights. *Uplandia*, and the nobility of several other provinces, embraced the same generous resolution: the *Danes* were every where massacred, and the king's fortresses destroyed.

So general a revolt obliged the senate to meet, to deliberate on the means of securing the government against a revolution. *Engelbert* boldly entered the senate, at the head of a thousand peasants, pathetically represented the deplorable condition of *Sweden*, the barbarity and insolence of the *Danish* governors; and concluded with a solemn oath, that the first who opposed the measures in agitation, for preserving the rights and liberties of the people, should be instantly put to death. His intrepidity and resolution obtained an act, whereby the senate renounced their allegiance to king *Eric* ^c.

Charles
Canutson
joins the re-
bels.

CHARLES CANUTSON, grand mareschal of *Sweden*, and governor of *Finland*, con- ^d formed immediately to the resolution of the senate. This nobleman, descended from the illustrious family of *Bonde*, which had given kings to *Sweden*, perceived with joy the approaching revolution, that promised freedom to his country; but he beheld with jealousy the whole glory attributed to a private gentleman, and dreaded lest the regard the peasants entertained for his person, would induce them to reward his valour with the crown he had so nobly vindicated. This consideration made him resolve to join the malcontents without delay, where, on his first appearance, he obtained that power and authority due to his birth and dignity, being made general and commander in chief of the peasant army (D).

The states re-
solve to de-
pose Eric.

CANUTSON profited by a quarrel that arose between king *Eric* and the *Danes*. His majesty seeing himself the sovereign of three powerful kingdoms, imagined that his power might set aside the laws and privileges of the people, assume a despotic authority, and treat his subjects as his slaves. Although in general he had favoured the *Danes*, yet had he committed many outrages against the laws of that country, extremely jealous of liberty. In a word, the three kingdoms, unanimous in nothing besides, came to a resolution to depose a tyrant whose cruelties rendered him unworthy of a crown. *Denmark* and *Norway* led the way, and declared *Christopher* of *Bavaria* king; but how far the *Swedes* carried their revenge, is not clearly determined. Some writers assert, that after a civil war which lasted for three years, *Eric* was reduced so low, as to grant whatever terms the people required; upon which a general diet was called, and certain restrictions laid on the royal prerogative ^f. Others again are of opinion, that the king was formally deposed, and the administration put into the hands of *Canutson*, who acted as regent, and was the great instrument of *Christopher's* accession. This last opinion we have followed in our account of *Denmark*, as supported by the best and earliest authorities. *Loccenius*, *Pontanus*, *Meursius*, and a cloud of other writers, expressly relate, that he retired to the isle of *Gothland*, from whence

^b PUFFEND. p. 180. DES ROCHES, tom. iv. p. 92. p. 201. VERTOT. Revol. Sucde, p. 47.

^c LOCCEN. lib. iv.

^d PUFFEND. Hist. tom. i.

(D) In our history of *Denmark*, we have minutely related all the particulars of this memorable revolution, which it would be unnecessary to repeat. We have mentioned the base assassination of *Engelbert*, the ambi-

tion of *Canutson*, which rendered him odious, the quarrel between him and *Pache*, the great power which he acquired, and the share he had in uniting the three kingdoms under *Christopher*, the succeeding king.

- a he committed piracies on the *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians*; in a word, that he lived the last twenty years of his life in exile (E).

AMIDST such a variety of discording opinions, it may be proper that we trace the steps by which *Christopher* ascended the throne. After *Eric* was deposed, the administration being put into the hands of *Canutson*, he summoned the governors of cities and castles to surrender their trusts to him, in order to commit them to the charge of the natives. This many of them refused without an express order from *Eric*, whose authority they still acknowledged; but they were soon intimidated into compliance by the power of the administrator. Thus he enjoyed all the rights of sovereignty, except the name. *Eric Pache* could not support with patience the good fortune of his rival. He excited revolt among the peasants, under pretence of revenging the death of *Engelbert*, a name highly revered among them; and soon took the field with a force which he thought sufficient to drive the marshal out of the kingdom. *Canutson* readily perceived that it would be in vain to have recourse to arms; the popularity of his enemy's cause drew the whole country on his side; he therefore had recourse to treachery. Desiring to compromise their differences by treaty, he found means to draw *Eric Pache* to an interview, where he ordered him to be seized, sent prisoner to *Stockholm*, and beheaded. He now aspired openly at the crown, and played every engine of intrigue and policy to obtain his purpose. He found an inclination in the people to recall *Eric*, and he bent all his force to frustrate a design so pernicious, and destructive of his hopes. However, all his art could not prevent the diet from sending deputies to *Eric*; but fortune was more favourable to the marshal than his conduct merited. *Eric* was either unwilling to comply with the conditions proposed, or unable to accept them on account of the revolutions in *Denmark*, which intirely broke the union of *Calmar*; upon which the instructions of the deputies were founded. Certain it is, that the *Swedes* had recourse to *Eric*, merely to frustrate the views, and disappoint the marshal's ambition; it is therefore probable, from the king's answer, that they had laid such restrictions on the prerogative as his pride could not stoop to accept; for he told the deputies, that if he returned, *He would be a king in fact, and not a king of straw*.

STILL, however, the *Swedes* were resolved to disappoint *Canutson*, whom they heartily detested, on account of his pride, and the treacherous means by which he destroyed their two great favourites, *Engelbert* and *Pache*. They therefore entered upon measures with *Denmark* for uniting the crowns of the three northern kingdoms, on the head of *Christopher* of *Bavaria*. *Christian Nelson* and several lords formed a confederacy against *Canutson*; they animated the *Dalecarlians* and *Wermelandians* to revolt; but the marshal soon had his revenge. By a piece of artifice, he seized *Nelson*, and obliged him to surrender all the forts in his possession, and to swear he would never attempt any thing directly or indirectly against him, nor seek to revenge the present affront.

THIS success drew upon the marshal another and more powerful enemy. *Nils Stenon*, or, as some writers call him, *Nicolas Stenson*, who had married the marshal's sister, without respect to affinity, resolved to punish his perfidy. He raised a revolt in *East Gothland*, and drove out all the governors appointed by *Canutson*; but the marshal soon appeared with an army in that quarter, besieged *Stenon* in *Steckbergh*, and obliged him to save himself by a precipitate flight to the king, in the isle of *Gothland*. Here he was invested by *Eric* with the dignity of marshal of *Sweden*, who commanded all his subjects to receive him as such. In this quality, he returned with two hundred horse to *East Gothland*, and created much trouble to *Canutson*, though too weak to make head against him in the field. Some time after, he was made prisoner, and beheaded by the marshal's order; though some alledge, that, to avoid this disgrace, he swallowed poison.

EVERY thing succeeded to *Canutson*'s wish, and his prosperity was daily raising him new enemies. Among others, *Broeder Suenson*, who had long served under *Engelbert* and *Eric Pache*, a bold, resolute, but rash man, assumed to himself the task of chastising the marshal. He went to him, and upbraided him with having ruined his country, abused his power, and committed every kind of violence and oppression. As his courage and patriotism were not supported with power, his reproaches had no other effect than hastening his own destruction. He was seized, by the marshal's order, and the same night executed, without form of trial, or shew of justice.

WHILE the marshal was exercising his power with all the severity of a tyrant, the nobility were using every expedient to bring back the king; but all their endeavours prov-

(E) *Puffendorf* relates, from some other authorities, that passing from *Calmar*, where he had signed the limitation-act, to *Sweden*, he was driven to the isle of *Gothland*, after losing almost all his fleet. It was supposed that the king was drowned; but the senate took an

oath of fidelity to him, and put the administration in *Canutson*'s hands, until *Eric*'s fate should be certainly known. His own absurd conduct to the deputies, sent to him, was the reason he was never recalled to the throne.

History of Charles Canutson's regency, and the means by which he ascended the throne of Sweden.

The policy of his Danish majesty.

The Swedes, assisted by the Danes, revolt.

Broeder Suenson's bold expedition.

ing abortive, they resolved to close in with the proposals made by *Denmark*, of electing duke *Christopher* of *Bavaria*, nephew to king *Eric*, a prince who had spent many years at the court of *Denmark*. A general diet of the three kingdoms being at length held, *Christopher* was solemnly elected, as we have already seen in the preceding history of *Denmark*. The marshal had opposed the resolution of the *Swedish* states, to consent to a general diet of the three kingdoms; but being over-ruled in this, he found it would be vain to dispute the election of a prince who was already raised to the thrones of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and espoused by all the nobility of *Sweden*: he contented himself, therefore, with requesting the diet to pay some regard to all the dangers, troubles, and vexations, as well as the expences he had been at, for the service of the kingdom; adding, that he had contracted debts which he could not pay without the assistance of the state; that this alone prevented his subscribing freely to *Christopher*'s election; and that as soon as that difficulty was removed, he would give his vote with as much cheerfulness as any member of the assembly. The senate, rejoiced to find him in this disposition, granted more than he required, and assigned him for life the province of *Finland*, and the isles of *Oeland* and *Bergbolm*, to descend to his heirs for ever ^h.

Christopher ascends the throne.

CHRISTOPHER ascended the triple throne upon the same terms as *Margaret* and *Eric*; he consented to all the limitations specified in the treaty of *Calmar*, and was to reside a certain number of months in each of his kingdoms. On his first arrival at *Stockholm*, all those who thought themselves aggrieved during the marshal's administration, flocked to him with complaints of his conduct; but *Canutson* employed the interest of his friends, and fair promises, so successfully, that he escaped for that time.

A. D. 1442.
Eric makes depredations on Sweden, and ruins the commerce of the kingdom.

ALL this while *Eric* was doing incredible mischief to the trade of *Sweden*, issuing out commissions to swarms of pirates, to cruise in the *Baltic*. His chief resentment was levelled against the *Swedes*; and he not only made prize of their shipping, but ravaged their coasts with all the fury of the most injured enemy. Complaints were perpetually carried to *Christopher*, but he turned them off with raillery, saying, that his uncle must live. In many particulars, he too closely copied the unfortunate king *Eric*. Wholly unmindful of the conduct which had involved that prince in ruin, he preferred foreigners to *Swedes* or

A. D. 1444.

Danes, bestowed upon them his confidence, and all posts of consequence or profit. On his marriage with *Dorothy*, daughter to *John*, margrave of *Brandenburgh*, he laid such taxes on his *Swedish* subjects as were unsupportable; and raised such clamours in the nation, that, to appease them, he was forced to dismiss foreigners from his service, promise to lower the taxes next year, and to redress all their grievances; promises that were forgot as soon as made. *Eric* was permitted to continue his piracies, which with a natural scarcity of corn that prevailed in *Sweden*, brought on a famine that reduced the nation to the lowest distress. To encrease the public misery, *Christopher* exerted some very unwarrantable acts of power. He knew that the nobility were divided into factions, and to secure to himself the interest of one side, he granted the fiefs and fortresses of the crown to those who petitioned for them, notwithstanding they were in the possession of others. *Loccenius* affirms, that this abuse of the prerogative became so frequent, that one fief has been in the hands of seven different masters, in the space of one year ⁱ. Another advantage resulted to the king from this practice, namely, the exorbitant fees paid into the exchequer at each investiture, which brought large sums of money into the royal coffers.

Christopher becomes a tyrant.

AT last *Christopher* thought it necessary to amuse the people with a pretended expedition against the isle of *Gothland*; but after vast preparations, which cost the nation immense sums of money, he changed his warlike designs to a friendly visit, made with no other view than to confirm his antipathy to the *Swedes*. Thus he endeavoured by every possible means to alienate the affections of the *Swedes* from his person, by shewing an open contempt for the nation, preferring the foreigners to his favours, endeavouring to subject the kingdom to *Denmark*, and, in a word, infringing every article of his agreement at his accession, of the treaty of *Calmar*, and of the most solemn engagements. Had he lived longer, it is probable his conduct would have effected another revolution; but death rid *Sweden* of a tyrant, and *Christopher* of the mortification of being degraded from that high station, to which the caprice of the people, and not his own virtues, had raised him. This event fell out on the 14th of *January* 1448, at *Helsingburgh*, where he was taken ill, on his way to hold a diet at *Jenekoping*.

Christopher's death.

A diet of the states held, for the election of a king.

THE senate, as soon as apprised of the king's death, appointed *Bengt Janson* of *Salestack*, and his brother *Nils Janson*, regents of the realm, until the first meeting of the diet at *Stockholm*; for as to the diet called at *Jenekoping*, it was convoked by the king on some extraordinary occasion. When the members were assembled, they formed themselves into two factions. One was for adhering to the treaty of *Calmar*, and taking no resolutions

^h DES ROCHES, ubi supra. LOCCEN. lib. iv. PUFFEND. p. 214.

ⁱ Lib. iv.

a touching the election, before the states of the three kingdoms were assembled at *Helmstad*. This was the opinion of the two regents, of the archbishop *John* of *Upsal*, and their party. On the contrary, the marshal *Canutson*, with an infinity of others, were for setting aside the union, and proceeding immediately to the election of a new prince: "The union," said they, is already become void, as, contrary to the express meaning of the treaty, it "proved highly prejudicial to two kingdoms, for the sake of profiting the third." It must be owned, that besides the heavy taxes levied in *Sweden*, and spent in *Denmark*, at *Christopher*'s death, all the shipping, artillery, arms, and moveables, belonging to the crown of *Sweden*, were farmed at *Copenhagen*; and though at his death his majesty had bequeathed great legacies to the *Swedish* hospitals, by way of atonement for the many oppressions, yet none were ever paid, the *Danes* detaining all his money and effects.

b THE marshal's faction added, that the *Danes* had already been guilty of an infraction of the union, by electing *Christopher* of *Bavaria* to their throne, before they had consulted their allies, or given the smallest intimation of their intention to the states of *Norway* and *Sweden*. Each party enforced their opinion with all the eloquence and arguments in their power; but at last the marshal's prevailed, and the diet proceeded to the nomination of three persons, one of whom should be chosen king. The three proposed were the two regents and the marshal *Charles Canutson*; but the latter had managed matters so well, that he was elected by a great majority.

c CHARLES CANUTSON was no sooner raised to the throne, than he set out for *Me-* Charles Canutson raised to the throne. A. D. 1448.
rasten, where he was proclaimed, and thence to *Upsal*, to pass through the ceremonies of coronation. Immediately after, he certified his accession to the states of *Denmark* and *Norway*, with a view of sounding how their inclinations stood with respect to him, and whether it might be possible to unite the three crowns. In this he was disappointed; nor was he even successful in his application, to have the *Swedish* fleets, artillery, and money, carried to *Denmark* by *Christopher*, restored. Incensed at their refusal, he sought to revenge himself both on *Denmark* and king *Eric*, by a vigorous descent on the isle of *Gotbland*. His general *Magnus Green* laid siege to *Wisby*, and took it before the winter. The citadel must likewise have surrendered, had not *Green* been decoyed into a suspension of arms by *Eric*, who, upon this occasion acted with the activity, intrepidity, and caution of a great monarch and a skilful general. During the truce, he applied to *Denmark* for assistance, chusing that the island should fall rather to that kingdom than to *Sweden*. He always acknowledged his obligations to the former, for leaving him in the quiet possession of this island, and even forgot that the *Danes* had first abjured his authority; whereas, he could never forgive the earnest desire the *Swedes* had always expressed to drive him out of *Gotbland*, the little remaining pittance of all his vast dominions.

d ERIC's proposals were well received in *Denmark*. The senate wrote to *Charles Canutson* to withdraw his forces (A); but his majesty not only refusing their request, but sending orders to *Green* to push the siege with redoubled vigour, they sent a squadron powerful enough to relieve the place, conducting *Eric* to his native country, where he ended his days, without once attempting the recovery of his crown (B).

e THE *Danes* were now in possession of the citadel, and the *Swedes* of the town of *Wisby*. Hostilities daily passed between them; but to gain time, his *Danish* majesty sent *Axelson* to negotiate a suspension of arms with the *Swedish* general; a point which he managed with so much address, that the *Danes* were not only supplied with provisions, but the city invested by *Christian* in person, before the *Swedes* had any intimation or even suspicion of his intentions. Being, however, disappointed in his design, he had a second time recourse to negotiation, and obtained a suspension of arms. After all, the *Swedes* were obliged to abandon the isle of *Gotbland*, which was immediately annexed to the crown of *Denmark* ^k.

f To ballance this loss, his *Swedish* majesty had overtures made him by the *Norwegians* to accept their crown, which former experience prevented their offering to *Christian* king of *Denmark*. Immediately he set out for that country, and was elected without opposition, except from a few of the nobility. He was crowned at *Drontheim*, and having chosen regents to govern the kingdom in his absence, passed without delay for *Sweden*.

CHARLES was no sooner arrived in his capital, than he assembled a diet at *Abroga*, where he nominated twelve commissioners to treat with the *Danish* commissaries at *Helm-* *Abroga*.

^k LOCCEN. lib. v.

(A) *Puffendorf* says, that *Christian* wrote to his *Swedish* majesty; but if we may rely on the authority of *Loccenius*, this appears premature; for the *Danes* had not then elected this prince (1).

(B) It is certain that *Christian* was elected king of *Denmark* before the siege of *Wisby* was raised; but the whole of this fact the reader will find in the preceding history of *Denmark*.

(1) *Loccen. l. v. p. 141.*

stad, about the island of *Gothland*, his claim to which he had not yet fully resigned. At this congress the *Danes* insisted not only upon *Gothland*, but that *Charles* should surrender *Norway* to his *Danish* majesty. They even carried matters further, and proposed a renewal of the union of *Calmar*, and even gained over *Magnus Green*, and some others of the *Swedish* commissioners; although the whole of their request did not transpire for some time. All that was done at this congress, was concluding a peace between the two kingdoms, and reserving the matter in dispute to be decided in a future congress.

Treachery of
the Danish
commissioners.

CHARLES had no direct evidence of the treachery of his agents, but entertained such strong suspicions of *Green*, on account of his former conduct in *Gothland*, that he despoiled him of all his employments. Nor did he fail of shewing a just resentment of the conduct of the archbishop, and some others, who, he knew, were not well disposed to promote his interest: but however spirited his conduct might appear, experience evinced it was unpolitic. The persons who fell under his censure were of high rank, and had a powerful interest, which they resolved to exert in obtaining revenge for the indignity.

A. D. 1454.

Hostilities be-
tween the
Swedes and
Danes.

SOME time after the peace of *Helmsstad* was renewed at an interview that passed between the two kings; but nothing was decided concerning *Norway* and *Gothland*: yet this ratification did not hinder the *Danes* of the island of *Gothland* from making a descent in the neighbourhood of *Stockholm*, and pillaging, burning, and laying waste the country. His *Swedish* majesty, regarding this infraction of the peace, as if it had been committed by order of *Christian*, retorted it, by a descent on *Schonen*. He first summoned the inhabitants to surrender, and on their refusal burnt and destroyed the country; particularly the cities of *He'sinburg*, *Landskroon*, and *Lunden*, according to the *Swedish* writers: though the *Danes* alledge, that the bravery of the archbishop foiled all the king's endeavours to get possession of this last city. Another point in which the writers of the two nations differ is, that the former assert, that *Charles* defeated and cut in pieces a large body of peasants assembled at *Closter Dalbey*; whereas the latter are equally positive, that he was repulsed by them.

THIS visit was returned by the *Danish* prince, who marched at the head of a powerful army to *West Gothland*, took *Ladese*, and obliged all the inhabitants of the adjacent country, as well nobility as peasants, to acknowledge him for their sovereign, and acquainting *Charles*, that they had renounced their allegiance to him. To oppose the progress of the *Danish* arms, *Charles* set out with a numerous army, bending his march by the forest of *Tywenden*; but he had not proceeded far, when he was informed, that *Axelsson*, joined by the traitor *Magnus Green*, lay with a fleet before *Stockholm*, and that they were joined by the archbishop and lords of *Uplandia*. His return was so expeditious and unexpected, that the *Danes* quitted *Sweden* with great precipitation; and, as some alledge, with very considerable loss.

IN the mean time *Christian* was preparing to invade *East Gothland*; but the troops he had left to defend the passes of the forest of *Tywenden* were cut to pieces by the *Swedes*, which opened the way for *Charles* to march to the relief of that country. He detached *Thorde Bonde* to surprise *Ladese*, a commission which that officer executed with great address, and afterwards recovered all *West Gothland*; obliging the governors, appointed by *Christian*, to surrender the fortresses in their hands at discretion.

NOTHING now remained to prevent *Charles* from being absolute master of all *Sweden*, but to reconcile himself to the enemies he had within the kingdom; to effect which, he called the archbishop and seven suspected lords before him, and signed an agreement with them. The archbishop, in particular, took a solemn oath, ever to remain inviolably attached to the service of the king; notwithstanding, the event shewed how little the prelate regarded the most secret obligations¹.

Peace con-
cluded.

THE year concluded with a congress at *Walistsena*, where they laboured in vain to establish peace between the two nations.

FOR three years afterwards, *Christian* refrained from disturbing *Sweden* by open force, though he kept the kingdom in perpetual alarm by the preparations he made, which obliged *Charles* to march his army, two or three times in a year towards the frontiers. Those marches were extremely oppressive to the peasants, and frequently occasioned their mutinying, which was the very object of *Christian*'s policy; whose designs penetrated farther than obliging *Sweden* to grant an advantageous peace. He was in hopes, that by keeping the *Swedes* in this irksome situation, every day expecting to be invaded, and forced to maintain numerous armies for their defence, he should compel them to wish for a renewal of the union of *Calmar*. What greatly promoted his designs, was the resolution *Charles* had taken to retrench the revenues of the clergy, and the murder of *Thorde Bonde*, the best general, and most faithful subject of his *Swedish* majesty.

¹ Loccen. lib. v.

a THE *Danes* growing now more daring, entered the streights of *Calmar* with a fleet, took A. D. 1456. the isle of *Oeland*, and besieged *Stockholm* for six weeks. Here *Puffendorf* seems to have fallen into a very extraordinary error, asserting, contrary to all other authorities, that the citadel of *Stockholm* capitulated on condition of the garrison's being allowed the honours of war; terms which the *Danes* broke through. But he must certainly mean *Berkholm*, as that of *Stockholm* could not well be taken before the city had surrendered; and indeed the *Danish* writers make no mention of the fact, as they probably would, had they the lightest foundation.

b IN the winter the archbishop demanded of king *Charles*, an equivalent for the losses he had sustained by the capture of certain ships he had equipped for his service. *Charles*, who thought he was not bound to make restitution, submitted the affair to the senate; who determined it in favour of the archbishop. Their sentence incensed the king, and forced him to express his resentment in terms that served only to multiply his enemies. However, he relied upon his own power, or the number of fortresses in his hands, and of troops ready to obey his nod. This enraged the natural vehemence of his temper, made him treat his enemies with haughtiness, when he might have won them over by gentleness, and was the chief cause of his ruin. *A dispute between the king and the archbishop of Upsal.* *Consequences of their quarrel.*

c THE senate did not long conceal their discontent, and the coal of sedition was artfully blown up by the clergy. When *Charles* went to *Calmar*, with design to reconquer the isle of *Oeland*, the archbishop seized that opportunity of executing a plot he had contrived against the king. He arrested all the officers of the king's household, and fixed up a manifesto in the cathedral of *Upsal*, renouncing the oath he had taken to *Charles*, for the following reasons: "that he had oppressed the liberties of the clergy and laity; that he "was a heretic; that he bestowed the highest places of trust and profit on wretched profligate minions; that he occasioned perpetual wars, despised all those who gave him "wholesome counsel, and plundered his subjects with insatiable avarice." Then entering the cathedral, he exchanged his mitre and crozier for a coat of mail and sword; declaring that he would not resume his ecclesiastical habit before the kingdom was in a better situation, and the grievances of the people redressed. Then he pillaged the palace, assembled a numerous army, and infected the whole nation with a contagion of discontent and d faction; all expressing themselves dissatisfied with the king's conduct. A. D. 1457. *The archbishop openly rebels.*

ON the first advice of the archbishop's revolt, the king returned to *Stockholm* at the head of fourteen hundred horse; then assembling his infantry, he set out with intention to surprise the prelate, but fell into the snare he had prepared for his enemies. The archbishop took his measures so artfully, that he entered *Siragnez*, where the king lay, while the royal army was wrapt in sleep and security, attacked and defeated them, after killing and taking great numbers prisoners. *Charles* himself received a wound, and escaped with great difficulty to *Stockholm*, where he set fire to the suburbs, to prevent being pursued. *The king surprised.*

NOR was the archbishop long behind, but marching with expedition, invested the capital on every side with so much vigour, that the king sent a deputation to offer his pardon, promising henceforward to govern the kingdom agreeable to the laws; proposals that were rejected by the haughty prelate, who resolved to push matters to the utmost extremity. In this situation, *Charles* perceiving that the city could not hold out long, that he had no relief to expect, and that he was become odious to the nobility, clergy, and peasants, put all his wealth on board a ship in the night, and set sail for *Dantzick*; thus abdicating the crown he had worn for the space of ten years (A).

f THE archbishop, who had the reputation of snatching liberty out of the hands of a tyrant, disposed of every thing in what manner he thought proper, after the king's flight. The city and citadel of *Stockholm* surrendered after a siege of six months. He then convened all the princes, and seized all the fortresses, except *Calmar*, which *Gustavus Canutson* bravely defended for a long time. As the warlike prelate had now assumed the title of protector, *Oluf Axelsson* came to him from *Gothland*, and was employed in the conquest of *Finland*. At the same time *Green*, and a number of nobility, who had retired to *Denmark* to avoid the effects of the king's resentment, returned, and were well received by the archbishop. All the powerful lords of the kingdom closed with his intention of renewing the union of *Calmar*, and calling *Christian* king of *Denmark* to the throne of *Sweden*. They sent *The archbishop's power.*

o LOCCEŒ. Tom. i. p. 233.

P LOCCEŒ. lib. v. PUFFEND. p. 228.

(A) *Puffendorf* says, that *Charles* abdicated the throne in the year 1455, contrary to the testimony of *Loccenius*, *Sueningius*, *Pontanus*, and all the *Swedish* and *Danish* historians (1). It is indeed astonishing to observe how defective the performance of this great man is, in every part of chronology.

(1) *Puffend.* p. 238.

King Christian invited into Sweden.

ambassadors to invite that prince to *Stockholm*; but let nothing of their design transpire, because they knew that the inhabitants of the coast and frontiers were extremely incensed at the frequent descents and irruptions of the *Danes* for several years past.

Christian mounts the throne and unites the three crowns.

CHRISTIAN embraced the invitation, which indeed had been given in consequence of the deep scheme he had long contrived for uniting the three crowns on his own head, and came to *Stockholm*, convoyed by a powerful squadron, and with the utmost magnificence of retinue and equipage. On his arrival, he dispersed a writing through the kingdom, declaring that *Charles Canutson* was levying powerful forces in *Germany* to subdue the *Swedes*, and take severe vengeance on all who had opposed his arbitrary measures; but that, as to himself, he had brought a strong armament, not to subdue, but to protect the kingdom. This declaration was made to banish any bad impressions the people might have received from the extraordinary military force with which they saw him attended. Previous to his election, a certain number of articles were drawn up, which he signed and sealed. He was then chosen in form, and crowned with great ceremony at *Upsal* (B).

CHRISTIAN began his reign with great moderation, and the people supported his government with cheerfulness. One declaration of his, indeed, gave offence, as it greatly affected the property of numbers of the nobility. It intimated, that the king would resume all the crown-lands that had been mortgaged, without redeeming them; by which great sums of money would be lost to the people, and the crown-revenue augmented by a direct breach of the public faith.

Dispute about Slewick. A. D. 1459.

ADOLPHUS duke of *Slewick* dying without issue, king *Christian* claimed the duchy as nearest heir at law, being son to the duke's sister. *Otton*, earl of *Scharwemburgh*, and the duke's brother, pleaded the right of consanguinity; but the lawyers of those days determined the dispute in favour of the degree of affinity, which they likewise perceived was supported with power. It was, however, stipulated, that 40,000 ducats should be paid to the earl of *Otton*, 40,000 to his brother, by the king, as an equivalent for his right of succeeding to his brother. To raise this money *Christian* was obliged to tax *Sweden* for the first time; besides which, he drew large sums from the monasteries at *Stockholm*, which had been left them by the late king at his departure. This tax led the way to others, and the practice became at length so familiar and habitual, that though at first the king made apologies for the necessity of the measure, and gave the strongest assurances that he would henceforward avoid it; yet now heavy impositions were laid without ceremony, and levied without mercy, or regard to the ability of the people.

Christian imposes heavy taxes.

DISCOURSED with his arbitrary conduct, the *Swedes* began to complain of the king's breach of promise. Their clamours grew louder upon intelligence, that king *Charles* was levying forces in *Russia* for the recovery of his crown, and many had determined to go over to him as soon as he arrived. The report was false, for no such armament was ever set on foot; however, it furnished *Christian* with an opportunity of seizing upon certain persons who had incurred his displeasure, under pretence that they carried on a secret correspondence with his enemies. It is true, the archbishop had suborned certain persons to accuse them; they were put to the torture, under the excruciating pain of which some of them died, while others languished out the rest of their days in horrible dungeons.

A METHOD of proceeding so extraordinary increased the public hatred, and the king was now regarded, not only as an arbitrary prince, but a bloody tyrant. What greatly confirmed the people in their animosity was the dying declaration of one of the accused, who, expiring on the rack, acquitted all the prisoners of the crimes laid to their charge, throwing the whole upon the malice of the archbishop, and cruel disposition of the king.

The peasants boldly remonstrate.

BUT what gave the finishing stroke to the misunderstanding between *Christian* and his people, were the extraordinary taxes he imposed, to support the expences of a progress he intended making to *Finland*. The archbishop had directions to levy this tax in the king's absence; but when he demanded payment, the peasants began to mutiny, and resolutely answered, that they were under no obligation to pay additional taxes, as the king solemnly promised never to increase their present burthen. They added, that it was impossible for them to pay the ordinary rates; and that, unless the assessments were made more equal and light, they would hazard their lives in defence of their privileges.

† DES ROCHES, tom. iv.

† PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 224.

(B) We are told that the archbishop, stung with remorse for having taken up arms against his lawful sovereign; to ease his conscience, asked absolution of pope *Calixtus*, which was granted to him and his accomplices (†). It is probable, indeed, that the prelate's

remorse arose from the disappointment of his great expectations; his ambition either aspiring at the crown, or his avarice requiring higher rewards than were granted by the new king.

(1) Puffendorf, p. 240.

a On the king's return, he found it necessary to disapprove of the prelate's conduct, and highly blamed him for exciting sedition among the peasants, who had never before refused contributing towards the charges of the government. *Charles Canutson* had adherents in the kingdom, who artfully blew up the fire of contention between the king and the archbishop, and which rose to such a height, that the latter was forced to give security, for his not removing out of *Stockholm* without leave from the king. The *Danes* took part against the archbishop. They represented him as a traitor to both princes, and numberless libels and pamphlets were dispersed and pasted up.

The prelate's confinement, for such it might be called, excited a tumult among the peasants, who assembled and seized the isle of *St. Esprit*, for the inhabitants of the city were apprised of their rising. These the king defeated, making three hundred prisoners, whom he put to the torture. After this, *Christian* surprised *Steka*, a fortress belonging to the archbishop. Upon this the bishop of *Lincoping* wrote to his majesty, demanding the archbishop's release, and security from the king, that he would henceforward govern the kingdom in a manner more agreeable to the laws. Piqued at this insult *Christian*, without regarding the bishop's menaces, sent the archbishop prisoner to *Copenhagen*. *The archbishop is confined.*

KATIL, bishop of *Lincoping*, upon advice of this precipitate measure, resolved to keep no bounds. He sent the king notice, that, in conjunction with the states of *Sweden*, he renounced his allegiance, for a variety of reasons, all of them plausible, and most of them true. But in order to support his allegations, he assembled a numerous army in *East Gothland* and *Norway*, at the head of which he marched straight to *Stockholm*. He knew that the inhabitants round the capital were highly incensed against the king, on account of his exorbitant impositions, and the cruelty he lately exercised on the peasants. *The bishop of Lincoping revolts.*

On the first report of the bishop's march, *Christian* ordered several small vessels, well manned, to go up the *Mælar*, and block up the passes: but scarce was this armament arrived at *Quickstadt*, when it was vigorously attacked by *Katil*, defeated, and great numbers of prisoners made. Flushed with success, *Katil* proceeded straight to the capital, invested it, and repulsed strong parties of the enemy that had sallied out. His approaches were pushed with such vigour, that the king perceiving he could not resist the prelate's impetuosity, withdrew to *Denmark*, with this cutting reflection, that the loss of *Sweden* was wholly to be imputed to his own arbitrary conduct. Immediately on the king's retreat, *Katil* assumed the authority of protector of the kingdom, beginning his administration with a necessary act of popularity, which endeared him to the people. He lowered the taxes, and redressed all those grievances against which the peasants had loudly clamoured, and with great reason. *A. D. 1463. Katil besieges the king in Stockholm. Christian retires to Denmark.*

CHRISTIAN had no sooner set foot in *Denmark*, than he began levying numerous forces for the recovery of *Sweden*. He was attended by most of the senators and nobility of that nation, who either accompanied him in his flight, or went over to him, on the bishop's declaring himself protector. When he had assembled a powerful army, he began his march, with full expectation of reducing the prelate, who commanded only a rabble of peasants, without the countenance of a single senator, except *Eric Nelson*. But he soon perceived what ability and courage could effect with an undisciplined mob against the most numerous forces. He found the roads broken down and blockaded with huge trees, and peasants dispersed among the woods to gall his troops with their arrows. Still however, he pushed on, and was at length attacked, with such fury, by the bishop in person, that unable to withstand his efforts, he fled precipitately, with the relics of his army, to *Stockholm*, leaving behind a great number of dead, wounded, and prisoners. *A. D. 1464. He returns with a powerful army, and is defeated.*

ALL this while the city and citadel of *Stockholm* were blocked up. *Katil* now pursued the king, and again invested the capital, pushing the siege with such spirit, that *Christian* was a second time forced to abandon it. During the siege, the peasants of *Dalia* and *Upland* wrote to the senate, that they would no longer acknowledge *Christian* for their king, because he was neither lawfully elected, the people not having been consulted, nor had he governed agreeable to the laws of the realm. They declared their resolution to recal the late king *Charles*, as in all ages *Sweden* had been in the form of a monarchy, and not that of a kind of republic, under the direction of a protector. Accordingly ambassadors were sent from bishop *Katil* and the peasants, inviting *Charles* to the kingdom; a request so agreeable to the king's inclinations, that he complied with their wishes, without scruple or hesitation. Putting himself at the head of some forces he levied in *Poland* and the city of *Dantzic*, he set out for *Sweden*, and on his arrival had the city of *Stockholm* put into his hands. He was acknowledged king with loud acclamations and general testimonies of joy; and he solemnly promised henceforward to govern in such a manner as would merit the strongest returns of affection. *Charles Canutson recalled.*

He commenced his administration with some acts of generosity, in setting at liberty the grand marshal of *Denmark*, and other noble prisoners, that proved displeasing to bishop *Katil*, who thought of exchanging them for the archbishop, still prisoner in *Copenhagen*, or of having them ransomed at a great price. Disappointed in these expectations, he kept no measures, but pursued the ships in which the prisoners were embarked, and brought them back to *Sweden*. At length, however, he consented to their release, on condition that the archbishop obtained his liberty, and that peace should be concluded between the two kingdoms. At the same time, he entered into a secret engagement with king *Christian*, to restore him to the throne of *Sweden*, provided he would again take the archbishop and himself into favour, and allow *Charles Canutson* a province for his maintenance (A).

ALL these conditions were readily granted by king *Christian*, who immediately set the archbishop at liberty, treated him splendidly, and constituted him governor of *Sweden*, with orders to all the governors of fortresses and castles to acknowledge him in that quality. He likewise charged him with power to grant a general amnesty; and lastly, he sent him with a numerous retinue to that kingdom, fully assured it could not afford room for him and king *Charles* together*.

A. D. 1465.

King Charles
besieged in
Stockholm.

He sallies out
and is defeat-
ed.

He renounces
the crown.

Eric Axelsson
chosen admini-
strator.

BISHOP *KATIL* hearing of the archbishop's arrival, set out to meet him, and contrive measures for the expulsion of that prince he so lately placed on the throne, with the most solemn protestations of eternal fidelity. Their emissaries were dispatched to every part of the kingdom, to draw the people to their side. The public taxes were lowered, and every thing done that could engage their affections. They professed themselves equally enemies to *Christian* and to *Charles*, and friends only to liberty and the constitution; they appointed four governors in *Sweden*, assigned *Finland* for the maintenance of king *Charles*, took all his officers prisoners, assembled troops, and laid siege to *Stockholm*. *Charles* not chusing to hazard a siege, sallied out with all his forces, and gave battle to the prelates: Much depended on the issue of the engagement, and both sides fought with that fury, which might be expected from men in despair. The field was strewed with dead bodies, and the ear stunned with the shrieks and moans of those, who, disabled by their wounds, from moving to a place of safety, were trampled on equally by friends and enemies. In a word, after one of the most bloody actions that ever was fought, victory declared for the archbishop, though *Charles* made good his retreat without being pursued. Soon after, however, the *Dalccarlans*, who were marching to his assistance, were repulsed by the enemy, which entirely turned the scale, obliged the unfortunate monarch to put himself in the power of the haughty prelates, and by a formal declaration renounce all pretensions to the crown of *Sweden*, to which he swore never more to aspire, and even not to accept of it were it proffered (B).

THE archbishop, now master of the whole kingdom, was in the zenith of his power, unopposed by all, except *Nils Sture*, the intimate friend of *Charles*, who gave the prelate abundance of trouble, and artfully escaped all the traps laid for him. He was indeed forced to retire to *Finland*, under the protection of *Eric Axelsson*, governor of *Wiburgh*; but they both ventured to appear at the next diet, and boldly impeached the prelate's conduct. Their accusation producing nothing but opprobrious language from the haughty archbishop *Sture*, retired to *Gestrícia*, where he put to death several of the magistrates appointed by the prelate. Here were laid the sparks of that civil war which broke out soon after with vehemence. Certain it is, that the archbishop thought of nothing less than recalling *Christian* or his opponents, than restoring *Charles*. The names of these princes were used only as a cloak to their own designs. The spirit of anarchy took possession of every breast; and while each demanded for himself the supreme authority, the constitution went to wreck, and all government and good order was wholly neglected.

To quiet the outcry raised against him, the archbishop took a solemn oath in presence of the people, that all the reports spread to injure his reputation, and ruin him in the opinion of the people, were false and groundless; and that he had taken upon him the

* Vid. supra.

† Anot. citat. ibid.

(A) The *Danish* historians take no notice of this secret treaty; and *Meursius*, in particular, alleges, that *Christian*, on his return to *Denmark*, set the archbishop at liberty, merely from a principle of justice, finding that he had been misrepresented to him, and grossly calumniated (1).

(B) Instead of the whole province of *Finland*, only the forties of *Raseburgh*, with its appendages, were

assigned for his maintenance. Difficulties arose about the surrender of *Raseburgh*, which obliged the king to live for a whole season at *Abo*, without any revenue to support his household. Hence he was forced to contract debts, that involved him in great difficulties; and so mean was the archbishop, that he refused to lend him five hundred crowns (2).

(1) *Meurs. Vit. Christian*, p. 27.

(2) *Loceen. lib. v.*

a office of regent with no other view than the public good, and to pave the way to the election of a sovereign. He also declared, that he seized on the castle and palace of the late bishop of *Lincoping*, only to put it into the hands of that person whom the states should think fit to raise to the dignity either of king or administrator. After this public declaration, he called a diet to meet at *Walstenar*, where, after much altercation, *Eric Axelsson* was chosen administrator, and the archbishop was forced to surrender to him, the capital, and all the fortresses of the kingdom, though *Axelsson* was strongly in the interest of king *Charles*, his brother-in-law, and the intimate friend of *Nils Sture*, both sworn enemies to the prelate^a.

b *NILS STURE* advanced, in the mean time, to *Westeråas*, at the head of a considerable body of forces, declaring every where, that he would restore king *Charles*. He was opposed by *Eric Nelson*, who marched to give him battle, which was prevented by the interposition of the administrator. By the treaty concluded on this occasion, *Westeråas* was surrendered to *Nils Sture*, to the great dissatisfaction of the archbishop. It only A civil war breaks out. skinned over the sore, without affecting a radical cure. The mutual resentment of both parties was rather influenced by this suppression, which enabled it to burst forth with redoubled violence, on the first opportunity that offered. Two powerful factions were formed; the one headed by the archbishop, *Eric Nelson*, *Trotte Carlson*, *Xvar Green*, *Eric Carlson*, *John Scwolke*, and *Nils Fadergon*, supported by an infinity of gentry and magistrates of towns, who were altogether unacquainted with the views and designs of their The kingdom divided into two factions. superiors^b.

c THE leaders of the other factions were, *Eric Axelsson*, administrator of Sweden, *Xvar Axelsson*, his brother, governor of the isle of *Gothland*, *Nils Sture*, *Steen Sture*, *Birger Trolle*, *Gustavus Carlson*, *Knat Pesse*, and the city of *Stockholm*, whose professions were, that they would defend the kingdom against the usurpation of all foreigners, and either maintain the administrator in his authority, or restore king *Charles*. This might be called the country-party, and was espoused as such by a majority of the peasants and common people. It is unconceivable to what a pitch of fury their resentment grew; nothing but massacres were heard of in every quarter of the kingdom. The peasants and mechanics fell upon each other just as they happened to espouse one or the other side, and gave no d quarter; in a word, those cruel wars, which for the space of a century distracted *Italy*, and made the names *Guelf* and *Ghibelline* famous in history, were not conducted with more rancour or violence of party-spirit, than the present divisions in Sweden^c.

SEVERAL advantages were gained by the administrator's party; notwithstanding which The archbishop dies, and his party is defeated. the archbishop collected so powerful an army, that he laid siege to *Stockholm*, and would probably have taken it, had not *Xvar Axelsson* defeated *Eric Nelson*, in *Nerica*, and then A. D. 1467: marched to his brother's relief; while *Steen Sture*, after worsting *Eric Carlson*, was in full march for the same purpose. But neither these disappointments, nor the archbishop's death, could break the spirit of the faction, which seemed to grow with its losses. Assembling all their troops, they now determined upon coming to a decisive battle with the e administrator, who upon his side did not decline it. After a violent conflict victory declared for the latter, and the enemy were cut in pieces, except some that were made prisoners, and a few who escaped. At last the people, wearied and exhausted with troubles, expences, and cruel wars, which seemed to have no object in view, but the destruction of the kingdom, demanded the restoration of king *Charles*. In fact, that prince was recalled King Charles recalled to the throne. and forced from his retreat in *Finland*, by the administrator, who put *Stockholm*, and the fortresses of the kingdom, in his hands; but *Eric Nelson*, and *Eric Carlson*, still refused to acknowledge him, saying, that they could not think of replacing the crown on the head of a prince who had solemnly renounced it, and sworn that he never would accept it. This declaration they supported with force of arms and treachery; for taking advantage f of a peace concluded for five days with *Charles*, just as the armies were ready to engage, *Eric Carlson* fell upon him before the time was expired, and defeated him^d.

ACCORDING to *Puffendorf*, king *Christian*, all this while, kept aloof, suspecting that both parties had their own particular interests more at heart, than the restoration of either prince. He was besides employed in defending *Iceland* from the *English*, and in certain disputes about *Sleswick* with the earl of *Oldenburgh*; but these are facts which we do not find mentioned by any other historian. On the contrary, *Pontanus*, *Meursius*, and all the *Danish* writers expressly affirm, that his *Danish* majesty vigorously assisted the archbishop's faction, made incursions into *Halland* in the year 1468, where he took *Schwisburgh* and other fortresses, and two years after obtained a signal victory over *Xvar Axelsson*, in the plains of *Harling*. So decisive was this action, that the administrator's party engaged to

^a PUFFEND. p. 238.^b Id. *ibid*.^c PUFFEND. p. 241.^d P. 260.

bring the states to consent to *Christian's* restoration, and sent ambassadors to *Lubeck* to adjust the terms. *Christian*, much disposed to peace, signed a treaty with them, relying upon the sincerity of their promises; but finding himself made the dupe of their artifice, and that the ambassadors they promised never came to *Lubeck*, he again had recourse to arms^a.

Carlson defeated.

A. D. 1470.

AFTER the advantage *Carlson* obtained over the king, he was marching to lay siege to *Stockholm*, when *Nils* and *Steen Sture* gave him battle, and defeated him with such loss, that believing he could not be safe in *Sweden*, he retired to *Denmark*, where he proposed several schemes to *Christian*, all of which he affirmed were practicable. To comply with his importunity, that prince entered *West Gothland*, and was laying siege to *Darstun*, in the depth of winter, where the two *Stures* fell upon him, defeated, and obliged him to retire to *Denmark*, with great precipitation^b.

Death of king Charles.

Declarations of both parties.

Christian invades Sweden.

THE same year king *Charles* died at *Stockholm*, on the 17th of *May*, and perceiving his dissolution approaching, surrendered the city of *Stockholm* to *Steen Sture*, his nephew, who had always assisted him with the utmost fidelity. The nobility immediately sent letters to the members of their body residing in *Denmark*, acquainting them of the king's death, and urging them to return, in order to elect a new king, or by any means establish the tranquillity of the kingdom. To this *Eric Carlson* answered, that he would acknowledge no master but *Christian*, already duly and lawfully elected. While *Carlson* was bringing forces to support the treaty of *Calmar*, and the union of the three kingdoms, the *Dalecarlians* were publishing declarations, that they would never submit to any other master than *Steen Sture*, for whom they would hazard their lives and fortunes. *Eric* and *Tvar Axelsson* closed in with the *Dalecarlians*, and wrote letters to the magistrates and burghers, as well as the garrison in the citadel of *Stockholm*, exhorting them to stand firmly to their engagements with *Steen Sture*. In a word, they behaved themselves so vigorously, that *Steen Sture* was actually chosen administrator in a kind of diet assembled at *Jeneceping*. This election proved highly agreeable to the *Swedish* peasants, but served to convince *Christian*, that if ever he should wear the crown of *Sweden*, he must gain it by force of arms and dint of conquest. Immediately he equipped a fleet of sixty-five sail, steered directly for *Stockholm*, and dropped anchor before the city; but reflecting on the difficulties that would attend a regular siege, he had recourse to negotiation, which continued for six days without effect. *Christian* perceiving that the *Swedes* wanted only to gain time to lay in provisions, landed his troops, and threatened that he would sack and pillage the city, whip the administrator with rods, violate the women before the faces of their husbands and fathers, and castrate the men; with other expressions equally indecent in themselves, unbecoming the character of a king, and unsuitable to the disposition of *Christian* (A). But as his menaces produced no effect, he marched to *Upsal*, was proclaimed king by the neighbouring peasants, complained bitterly of the senate and the city of *Stockholm*, who he said had nothing in view but the gratification of their own ambition, to tyrannize it over their fellow subjects. By fair promises, and importing salt, which he sold at a low price, he gained the affections of crowds of peasants, and made impression on many of the gentry, who were prevailed on to swear allegiance to him^c.

A. D. 1471.

Is defeated by Sture.

AFTER this excursion, he returned to lay siege to *Stockholm*, while *Steen Sture* was assembling a numerous army to relieve it. As soon as *Sture* had joined a body of troops raised by his brother, he marched within two miles of *Stockholm*, and thence wrote to the king, that if he sought to avoid the unnecessary effusion of blood, he would immediately raise the siege and withdraw to *Denmark*. *Christian's* reply was such as produced an engagement, in which, after receiving a wound in the mouth, his *Danish* majesty was defeated, several hundred of his soldiers drowned in attempting to save themselves on board the fleet, about 1500 left dead in the field of battle, and 900 taken prisoners, among whom was *Nicholas Rennau*, grand marshal of *Denmark*. Upon this repulse, the king set sail for *Denmark*, and found, that besides his late disgrace, he had left several fortresses in *West Gothland*, which were garrisoned in his name. In a word, *Steen Sture* was now so firmly established, that no actual attempt was made for several years to disturb his administration, although the kingdom was kept in perpetual apprehension of an invasion from *Denmark*^d.

FROM this time, to the death of *Christian*, which happened on the 21st of *May* 1481, nothing material occurs in the *Swedish* history. *Steen Sture* had so gained the affections

^a Loccen. lib. v. p. 159.

^b Id. Ibid.

^c Puffend. p. 265. Meurs. vit. Joh. p. 29.

(A) Nothing can be more different than the characters drawn of the same princes, by the *Swedish* and *Danish* historians, each speaking according to his prejudices, and the one celebrating as virtuous temperate, and mild kings, those whom the others have stigmatized as cruel and bloody tyrants.

a of the people, that if we may credit the *Swedish* historians, he might frequently have obtained the crown (B)^a. Several congresses were held, and ambassadors from the three kingdoms ordered to treat about a re-union of the crowns, all which terminated in nothing. This year indeed a congress was held at *Helmstadt*, by the consent of the three kingdoms. All men were in great expectations, that the renewal of the treaty of *Calmar* would be the result of this conference. *Steen Sture* had so readily consented to the congress, that he deceived all parties. They imagined that public spirit had gained the ascendant over ambition, and that he resolved to sacrifice his own grandeur to the good of the state. But his pretended illness on the road, as he was going to attend the appointment, blasted all their hopes. They now perceived he would never consent to see the kingdom in other hands; accordingly the *Danes* and *Norwegians* proceeded to elect prince *John*, the eldest son of their late king *Christian*. Immediately after this, a treaty of union was concluded between the three kingdoms, at *Calmar*; but still the *Swedes* refused to elect king *John*, unless he signed and swore to certain restrictions, which he thought derogatory to his dignity. So politically, however, did *Steen Sture* conduct affairs, that he avoided an open rupture with *Denmark*, and yet governed *Sweden* with all the authority of a sovereign prince, notwithstanding he was surrounded by enemies.

John eldest son of king of Denmark and Norway.

History of the administration of Steen Sture.

YVAR AXELSON, in particular, was his avowed enemy, on account of the administrator's frequent attempts to retrench his power, and wrest the province of *Finland* out of his hands. Another cause of contention was the isle of *Gothland*, which the administrator feared he would surrender to the *Danes*, and king *John* was no less apprehensive might fall into the hands of the administrator. *Yvar Axelsson* reigned with uncontrouled authority, and committed piracies in the *Baltic*, which disgraced the *Swedish* nation, as most people imagined they were countenanced by the government. In vain did the senate and administrator exhort him to desist from such practices, which reflected dishonour on the whole nation. At last, the administrator, accompanied by certain senators, desired a conference with him, which *Axelsson* declined. They then besieged him in the citadel of *Borkholm*; but he made his escape in the night to the isle of *Gothland*, and, in resentment of the violence offered by the administrator, surrendered the island to king *John*.

Yvar Axelsson's conduct.

d As no period of history is more confused, or more variously related, than the administration of *Steen Sture*, it would be equally unentertaining and useless to relate such a medley of transactions as occur, under different forms, in the different writers. Sufficient it is, that after repeated congresses, interviews between king *John* and the administrator, promises from the latter, and great expectations on the side of the former, the politic *Sture* found means to continue the government in his own hands for the space of ten years longer, during which there happened several wars with the *Danes*. In these he was assisted by the *Hanse* towns, while king *John* engaged the *Russians* to annoy *Sweden*, on the side of *Finland*, where they were defeated by *Canute Possé*. Next year they returned, and over-ran *Carelia*, with all the fury of enraged barbarians, putting all the inhabitants to the sword, and laying the whole country in ashes.

The Russians invade Carelia.

e To revenge these injuries, the administrator sent *Suante Nelson* and *Eric Trolle*, with an army against the enemy, proposing to follow them with more numerous forces; but being some time detained at *Stockholm*, to quiet certain factions formed against him, they drove the *Russians* out of *Finland* before his arrival. That his expedition might not be altogether lost, he determined to make an irruption into *Russia*; but *Suante Nelson* refused to accompany him, which so incensed *Sture*, that he stigmatized him for a coward. On their return to *Stockholm*, to attend the diet, *Nelson* complained loudly of the gross affront put upon him by the administrator, and justified his own conduct by such reasons as obliged the diet to declare him innocent. From this time *Nelson* vowed revenge, and exerted all his abilities to have the administrator removed, and engaging in his interest the archbishop of *Upsal* and all the clergy, who had for some time past expressed an inclination to see the three crowns united. This produced a conference between the administrator and senate, in which they upbraided him with having occasioned numberless losses and disgraces to the realm; with having governed the kingdom in a despotic manner, without consulting or advising with the senate; and lastly, they highly blamed him for not having bestowed *Finland*, as a crown-fief, on some person whose valour and power would enable him, and his interest induce him to protect it against the *Russians*.

Suante Nelson revolts.

Sture accused by the senate.

A. D. 1497.

f In answer to this accusation, *Sture* endeavoured to prove, that his administration had been eminently serviceable to the kingdom; and to demonstrate, that the government of

He justifies himself.

^a Loccen. lib. v. p. 164.

¹ Id. ibid.

^{*} Locc. lib. v.

(B) The *Danish* writers represent *Sture* as a crafty ambitious, cruel, and insolent man, who never was beloved by his own nation.

kings, and particularly the union of *Calmar*, had almost brought ruin on the nation. He represented, that king *John* had unjustly seized on the island of *Gotland*, and treated the rest of the kingdom of *Sweden* with great disrespect. He accused the senate of ingratitude, for endeavouring to deprive him of the administration of the state, which he had rescued from tyranny, and defended under so many dangers and difficulties. In a word, he gave them to understand, that his commission depended not on the will of the senate, but of the whole people assembled in a general diet.

They come to
an open rup-
ture.

When the senate perceived that *Sture* was resolved to maintain his post, they deposed him with one voice, and took from him the administration. This obliged him to shut himself up in the citadel, where next day he was joined by six hundred horse out of *Finland*. With this body he traversed the kingdom, to engage the people on his side, and levy forces, bitterly accusing the rashness or treachery of the senate, who would introduce a foreign power into the kingdom, to ruin, oppress, and enslave the *Swedish* nation. Finally the two parties came to an open rupture; and *Sture* refused all terms of accommodation, or admitting any propositions whatever, until the senate should first acknowledge him as administrator, and take an oath of fidelity to him in that capacity.

King John in-
vades Sweden.

Sture defeated.

To remedy at once all these disorders, the senate sent to demand the protection of *John*, king of *Denmark*, at that time committing horrid ravages in the neighbourhood of *Calmar* and the isle of *Oeland*. *John* immediately sent a body of troops to oppose the administrator, who had arrested the bishop of *Lincoping*, and was besieging the archbishop in *Upsal*. In the mean time he took *Calmar* and *Borkholm*, where he was proclaimed king, by *Nils Bosjon* and *Asmund Trolle*, in the name of the senate and nobility. Then steering his course to *Stockholm*, he debarked his forces, and laid siege to the city. *Sture's* fortune began now to wear a different aspect. He had got together a considerable army, but sustained a variety of repulses, and at length a total defeat, near *Rotebroo*. Notwithstanding the check received on this occasion, the faithful and brave *Dalecarlians* encouraged him once more to try his fortune in the field. Attacking the king's army at *Nordelmalm*, a very bloody battle was fought, and *Sture* was again defeated. Despairing then of being able to make head against *John*, the administrator signed a treaty, whereby he acknowledged him king of *Sweden*, agreeable to the union of *Calmar*; had *Finland*, the *Two Bothnias*, the city of *Nicoping*, and some other lands and cities assigned for his maintenance; was fully discharged from being called to account for his past conduct, and taken into the king's favour. His majesty engaged *Sture* to exert his influence with the *Dalecarlians*, to acknowledge him king; at first they refused, but were brought to consent, on condition that the late administrator should have the government of *Westeraas*, *Bergslagen*, and the province of *Dalia*.

John proclaim-
ed king of
Sweden.

STOCKHOLM was now surrendered to king *John*, and he was immediately crowned king of *Sweden*. The civil war would seem to be extinguished, and all the discordant members of the state again reunited to the body. Some writers alledge, that when the ceremony of the coronation was finished, *John* asked his privy council, if any of the forms were wanting? To which one of them answered, "Nothing but a gibbet, to hang up certain *Swedes*;" a hint that was afterwards pursued to his cost by *Christian*, but rejected, with indignation, by *John*, who expressed the satisfaction he would have in seeing evil counsellors suspended to the gibbet they advised erecting. In a word, he so gained upon the senate, and ingratiated himself with all the nobility, that they not only appointed his son *Christian* his successor, but gave his majesty the disposal of all offices, in whatever manner he thought proper.

AFTER settling the state of the kingdom, *John* set out for *Denmark*; and the archbishop of *Upsal*, and several of the nobility, who hated *Steen Sture*, embraced this opportunity of ruining him. They accused him of crimes committed during his administration; but the general pardon he obtained, under his majesty's hand and seal, obliged them to go another method to work. The archbishop engaged the pope on his side, and imagining he might commit the most horrid and flagrant crimes under the sanction of *Christ's* vicar, endeavoured, by several stratagems, to assassinate *Sture*. To such a pitch did he carry his resentment for some injury done him by the administrator, that the *Danes* themselves were astonished at the animosity and rancour of fellow-subjects, and the king endeavoured to heal their divisions by an accommodation.

A. D. 1498.
His queen pro-
claimed, and
crowned.

THIS year *John* returned to *Stockholm*, where he had his queen *Christina* crowned, and *Oerebro*, with the provinces of *Nericia*, *Wermeland*, and *Dalia*, assigned to support the expences of her household. For the first years of this prince's reign, *Sweden* enjoyed perfect tranquility, and the administration was conducted with great prudence and moderation. *John* was in his disposition easy, forgiving, brave, and open; but misled by his favourites, he suffered himself to be steered to those shoals on which his predecessors had foundered. He complained of the scantiness of the revenue to support his dignity; he forced from *Steen*

¹ PUFFEND. p. 280.

^m Ibid p. 284.

a *Sture* some of these provinces granted to him by the treaty between them; he deprived several other persons of fiefs, which he had granted to them the year before; and these he either kept in his own hands, or disposed of to *German* and *Danish* minions. Those who were instrumental in elevating him to the throne, were rewarded greatly beneath their expectations. They even had less credit with him, than with the administrator they removed. Still, however, they murmured in secret, and durst not put up their complaints to the throne, or make them public to the people, lest they should be taxed with fickleness and inconstancy. However, when intelligence was received of the king's unfortunate expedition against the *Dithmarsians*, they began to talk more openly, and discover those seeds of discontent, which hitherto lay concealed. Each exclaimed against the king's ingratitude, b and aspired at effecting a change in the government, and said aloud, that if one little province could shake off obedience to *John*, and foil all his endeavours to subdue it, what must all *Sweden* be able to effect, when united, and unanimous in one design ^h?

A. D. 1499.
He becomes
odious to the
Swedes.

STURE was at the bottom of these murmurings. He artfully fomented the people's discontent, with a view to the recovery of his former dignity, the loss of which he had been seen to lament with tears. It is even said, that he plucked his beard, gnashed his teeth, and shewed extreme despair, at *John's* coronation; but it is probable, that the provinces wrested from him was the first occasion of his dissatisfaction. ^{Commotions fomented by Sture.}

THESE commotions required the king's immediate presence. On his arrival, he entered into measures with the senate for crushing them in the birth; but all their endeavours were c to no purpose. Matters were now gone too far. *Steen Sture*, *Suante Sture*, with several other nobility, came to *Stockholm*, attended by 700 gentlemen, their vassals and adherents, and presented a remonstrance containing all their grievances. For six days this remonstrance was under consideration. Negotiations were set on foot, but nothing was determined. Both sides, however, counterfeited; the king pretended to be satisfied with the fair promises made by the malcontents, and they would seem to put confidence in the assurances given by his majesty; while, at the same time, each heartily hated, despised; and distrusted the other.

WHEN *Sture* had formed a party which he believed sufficient, he assembled all his friends at *Wadstena*, and solemnly renounced his allegiance to king *John*, openly declaring himself his enemy; nor were there wanting plausible reasons to justify this conduct. *John* had not fulfilled the treaty of *Calmar*; he had not terminated the differences about *Gothland*; he made grants of the fiefs of the kingdom to foreigners; he carried into *Denmark* all the wealth of *Sweden*; with an hundred other violations, which composed the substance of the remonstrance. ^{A bill of grievances presented to the king.}

JOHN no sooner read their complaints, than he perceived, from the spirit of the writing, that he could remain no longer in security in *Sweden*: leaving the queen in the citadel of *Stockholm*, with a strong garrison, he set out for *Denmark*, hoping, by the assistance of the archbishop, to appease these murmurings, without proceeding to extremities. The king's departure was a signal to the malcontents to begin their operations. They laid siege to *Oerebro*, and soon reduced it. Next *Sture* invested *Stockholm* with all his forces; and had not advanced far in his operations, before the magistrates demanded a truce, in order to come to an accommodation. This was granted; and in the mean time the garrison set fire to the suburbs; which so incensed the burghers, that they opened the gates to *Sture*, who then began his approaches against the citadel. ^{John sets out for Denmark.}

JOHN now perceived, that the strength of his enemies exceeded his expectations. He likewise saw the bishops drop off from his party, and join the enemy; he thought it therefore advisable to write to *Steen Sture*, offering to appear before a diet, to justify his conduct, and refute all the calumnies thrown out against him. But *Sture*, looking upon the proposals as an artifice to gain time, rejected them, and was immediately after declared f administrator i.

THE siege of the citadel of *Stockholm* continued for the whole winter, though the severity of the weather rendered the approaches of the besiegers slow and difficult. On the approach of spring, the administrator gave a general assault, which the queen sustained with extraordinary intrepidity; but perceiving preparations making for storming a second time, her garrison being reduced to a handful, and provisions falling short, she capitulated, on condition of being permitted to pass to *Denmark*. All the rest of the garrison was made prisoners of war; and *Sture*, in direct violation of the articles of capitulation, ordered her majesty to be arrested, and confined in the monastery of *Wadstena*, till the following year. *John* appeared with a strong fleet before *Stockholm* three days after the citadel was surrendered, and was forced to return without attempting to land. It was alledged indeed, ^{A. D. 1503. The queen besieged in Stockholm, but is forced to capitulate.}

^h LOCZEN. lib. v.

ⁱ VERTOT. Revol. p. 71:

that, enamoured of the superior charms of a mistress, he first neglected relieving *Stockholm*, and then obtaining the queen's liberty.

Death of Steen Sture.

A. D. 1504.

THE administrator pushed his success. The castle of *Elsburgh* was taken, and reduced to ashes, the peasants cruelly massacring *Eric Erickson*, who commanded the garrison. On the other hand, the *Danish* army, led by prince *Christian*, made an irruption into *East-Gothland*, burnt *Oeresteen*, and committed terrible ravages; *Sweden* suffering equally under the hands of her friends and her enemies.

STEEN STURE was now master of all the fortresses of the kingdom, except *Calmar* and *Borkholm*, which the king found means to relieve. A treaty was set on foot by the regency of *Lubec* and cardinal *Raimond*, by which her majesty was released. The administrator paid her the compliment of seeing her safe to the frontiers, and on his return was taken ill at *Jenekoping*, where he died; a circumstance that greatly affected his party, and rendered a meeting of the diet necessary.

Debates in the diet about a successor.

GREAT debates arose in the diet, whether *John* should be recalled, or the government put into the hands of *Suante Nelson Sture*, who had performed very signal services to the kingdom, and was, besides, descended of an ancient royal family. The latter opinion prevailed, and *Suante Sture* was elected protector by a great majority of voices. The city of *Stockholm*, and all the other fortresses of the realm, were put into his hands. The war now recommenced between *Sweden* and *Denmark*; and the new administrator began his operations by attempting to relieve *Calmar* and *Borkholm*. The former was besieged by the bishop of *Lincoping*, and taken by assault; after which, a suspension of hostilities for three months was agreed upon: at the expiration of which, it was proposed a congress should meet at *Calmar*, to terminate all differences amicably.

War renewed with Denmark. A truce concluded.

ON the day appointed for this conference, *John* appeared with a powerful fleet before the city, with such appearances of hostility, as prevented the *Swedish* commissioners from attending. One would imagine, from the indignation the king expressed at their conduct, that his own was perfectly fair and honest. He upbraided them with perfidy, and a breach of the most solemn engagements. He attributed their absence to their guilt; and fear of resting their cause on an impartial trial. In consequence, he condemned them to lose their estates, to be degraded from their honours and dignities, with several other punishments, which the *Swedish* senate despised, because he had not the power to inflict them.

John confiscates the estates of certain Swedish lords.

JOHN, however, proceeded to put his sentence in execution in part. He seized upon all the effects of the *Swedish* lords in *Denmark*, and got the emperor to ratify his verdict, and banish the *Swedes* out of *Germany*. He likewise gave a general licence to his subjects, to cruize and commit all sorts of depredations and piracies upon the *Swedish* coasts and commerce. The isle of *Gothland* proved of the utmost detriment to *Sweden* on this occasion. It was the most convenient rendezvous for the pirates, who covered the *Baltic* with their ships, and distressed *Sweden* more than the king could by the most formidable invasion. To complete the misery of this unhappy kingdom, the administrator incurred the displeasure of pope *Julius II.* who threatened to excommunicate him, and lay the whole kingdom under an interdiction; a sentence which, in those days, was dreaded as the most terrible of all punishments: yet so high was the spirit of party arrived, that even the pope's menaces were disregarded, and the administrator entered upon the most vigorous enterprises against *Denmark*. *Schonen* and *Bleking* were invaded, and dreadful ravages committed; hostilities that were revenged by the *Danes*, who suddenly entering *Finland*, burnt *Abv.* In the same manner they treated *Castleboven*, in the province of *Oeland*, and *Ladese* in *West-Gothland*.

Suante Sture the administrator, incurs the pope's censure.

Terrible depredations committed by the Swedes and

A treaty concluded.

THUS both countries were laid desolate, and the inhabitants ruined, without either party's deducing the smallest advantage from such barbarities. It was this that forced them both to consent to a negotiation, which, however, ended without effecting the accommodation proposed. *John* would listen to no terms, unless the *Swedes* accepted of himself or his son *Christian* for king; or at least pay a certain yearly sum of money, in acknowledgment of his sovereignty. Many of the administrator's friends relished this last proposal, as the damage done to their shipping amounted to double the sum demanded; but the majority rejected it, as a concession that would reflect disgrace on a free nation. Yet after all, deputies were sent to *Malmoe*, and a bargain struck up with *John*, whereby he promised to refrain from all hostilities, on *Sweden's* paying him 13,000 silver marks annually, until such time as the kingdom was surrendered to him or his son.

A. D. 1509. The senate refuses to ratify it.

THIS treaty, however, produced nothing; the deputies exceeded their commission, and the senate refused to ratify what they had signed. It is certain, that they were particularly instructed to offer no money, unless *John* consented to restore the islands of *Gothland* and *Oeland*, and the city of *Calmar*, which the king expressly refused. On this account the war

* LOCEN, lib. v. PUFFEND. ibid.

† LOCEN, lib. iii.

‡ Id. ibid.

§ Id. ibid.

a was renewed; and the *Swedes* entered upon it with more vigour, as the administrator had formed an alliance with the regency of *Lubec*, who engaged to support him with all their power. He likewise concluded a peace for sixty years, with the czar *George Belin*, whereby the *Russians* were tied up from entering into any engagements with *Denmark*, to the prejudice of *Sweden*, during that period.^o

b THE *Lubeckers* commenced hostilities against *Denmark*, by pillaging *Borkholm*, *Langland*, *Falstre*, *Laland*, *Werm*, and the coasts of *Bleking* and *Halland*. Their fleet was numerous, and they spread terror and desolation wherever they appeared. The *Swedes*, likewise, retook *Calmar* and *Borkholm*; the king being kept so employed by the *Lubec* fleet, as rendered it impossible for him to relieve those cities, however important they were. To get rid of so formidable an enemy, *John* granted the regency such favourable conditions, that they concluded a separate peace, leaving *Sweden* to fight her own battles. Upon this the *Danes* invaded *West Gothland*, and advancing to *Skara*, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and laid the country in ashes: but the approach of the *Swedish* army prevented their penetrating farther; nay, obliged them to retreat with precipitation, and to leave *Schonen* and *Halland* exposed to their ravages.

c IN the mean time *Suante Sture* resigned his last breath, after a short illness, at *Westeraas*. A. D. 1512. He had governed the kingdom, with great prudence, for the space of eight years; amidst perpetual wars; and his death, far from putting an end to the public confusion, seemed rather to increase the divisions in the senate, introducing a fresh subject of contention, the election of a prince or governor. All the young nobility were for putting the administration into the hands of the son of *Steen Sture*; who was greatly beloved by the people, not only out of respect to his father's memory; but on account of his own good qualities, and the services he had done the state. On the contrary, the archbishop, the bishops, and all the old senators and nobility, cast their eyes on *Eric Trolle*, a man whose age, experience, and wisdom, seemed to justify their choice: but the states of *Sweden*, exhausted and languishing under the long and bloody wars carried on against *Denmark*, resolved to restore peace upon any terms; for which purpose, they deputed bishop *Mathew* of *Regnez* to *Malmoe*, to accommodate matters with king *John*. The separate peace concluded by the *Lubeckers* with *Denmark*, as well as the specious promises of that monarch, greatly forwarded this resolution.^p Death of Suante Sture.
Debate about a successor.

d ON the following year a diet was held at *Stockholm*, in consequence of the determination of the states; and the *Swedes* were constrained to accept of one of these three conditions: 1st, Either to acknowledge king *John* or his son *Christian* for their sovereign; 2dly, To pay a sum of money annually to that prince; or, lastly, Should they refuse to accede to either of the preceding conditions, to submit to the decision of the *Hanse* towns, who took upon them to mediate a peace, and declared, that they would commence hostilities against whatever party should decline their award. A. D. 1514.

e IN the mean while, *Eric Trolle* and the young *Sture* both appeared at *Upsal*, as candidates for the office of administrator. A majority of votes were evidently in favour of the latter, and he was accordingly elected; whereas the pretensions of the former were rejected, because he was of *Danish* extraction, and descended from a family that had always shewn a partiality for that people. The affair was again taken into consideration at *Stockholm*; and it is probable the dispute would have occasioned a civil war, had not some senators of influence interposed, and effected a compromise. In the end, however, *Sture* carried his point, and was declared administrator in the usual manner, and acknowledged in that capacity by all ranks of the people.^q Two candidates for the administration.

f THE death of *John* king of *Denmark* furnished his son *Christian* with an opportunity of renewing his pretensions to the crown of *Sweden*. Deputies were sent by the administrator to *Copenhagen*. They demanded to know *Christian*'s claim, and were answered by his insisting upon their subscribing conjointly with the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, to his election; but they excused themselves by asserting, that they had no instructions on that head; that *Sweden* had been forced to subscribe to the election in 1499; and lastly, that *Christian* had committed such barbarities both in *Sweden* and *Norway*, when he commanded his father's army, as would even deter the states of *Sweden* from electing him. After much altercation, they obtained a cessation of hostilities for the space of four years, which time *Christian* employed in drawing over the clergy to his interest. With this view queen *Christina*, his mother, was applied to; and she, by her address, prevailed on *Leo X.* to pour down all the thunder of the vatican on the administrator's head. *Steen Sture* and his faction were formally excommunicated in a council of the *Lateran*. The pope's taking part with *Christian* soon drew the clergy to his side, and revived the clamours of the old senators, in favour of *Trolle*.^r Death of king John.
A. D. 1514.
Young Sture chosen administrator, but excommunicated by the pope.

^o PUFFEND. p. 291.

^p Ibid. p. 298.

^q LOCCEN. lib. v.

^r Anot. citat. ibid.

A. D. 1515.
Gustavus
Trolle raised
to the see of
Upsal.

ABOUT this time the archbishop died, with his last breath recommending *Gustavus Trolle*, then a student at *Rome*, to *Sture*. It is supposed that *Sture's* assent to the promotion of *Gustavus Trolle*, was one of the conditions of reconciliation with the old senators. A deputation was immediately sent to *Rome*, to acquaint *Gustavus* with the news of his promotion to the archbishopric. Passing through *Denmark*, *Christian* put a large sum of money in their hands, as a present to the young prelate, thereby to engage his interest. He knew well that *Gustavus* could not be much disposed to favour the administrator, chosen to that dignity in opposition to his father. In this artful manner did his *Danish* majesty solicit the interest of the clergy, while he was at the same time either strengthening himself by foreign alliances, or carrying on intrigues at different courts, in order to raise up enemies on all hands against *Sweden*. Besides marrying *Elizabeth*, daughter to the king of *Castile*, and sister to the emperor *Charles V.* he was in strict alliance with the kings of *France* and *Scotland*, the elector of *Saxony*, the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and the *Hanse* towns; a support so powerful, that he flattered himself *Sweden* would make but a slight resistance.

A. D. 1516.

THE new archbishop went straight to *Upsal*, without touching at *Stockholm*, or paying his compliments to the administrator. No sooner had he taken possession of his diocese, than he expressed his gratitude to king *Christian*, by thundering out anathemas against *Sture*, and all who opposed his father's election; and notwithstanding the administrator wrote to him in the mildest terms, that if he had cause of complaint against any one, he need only apply to the courts of justice, where he might be assured of all possible satisfaction; he still continued to shew his resentment by every method in his power. In hopes of reclaiming and bringing the hot-headed prelate to a due sense of his own interest, *Sture* made him a visit at *Upsal*; but was received in the rudest manner, and even upbraided with crimes he had never committed. Even the pope's persuasions could not bend the obstinate spirit of this haughty prelate, intoxicated with his elevation. He went on heaping one affront upon another, and laying the foundation of a civil war, that was near reducing his country to extreme misery.

His intrigues.

He openly re-
volts.

JUST as *Sture* was preparing to march against the *Russians*, who made an irruption into *Finland*, *Gustavus Trolle* was inviting *Christian* into *Sweden*, promising to surrender to him all the fortresses of any consideration in the kingdom; and having actually engaged the governors of *Nicoping*, *Stockholm*, and other cities, to betray their trust. But the vigour of the administrator's measures frustrated this treacherous design. He arrested all the suspected governors, and particularly *Eric Trolle*, the archbishop's father, and *Peter Thorson*, governor of *Stockholm*.

A. D. 1517.

ON his side the prelate fortified himself in *Steeka*, nor could the intreaties of the other bishops prevail on him to compromise matters with the administrator. Upon this, *Sture* called a diet at *Abroga*, where it was determined to intreat his holiness, to depose the archbishop as a turbulent person, who would inevitably involve his country in a civil war. It was further resolved to lay siege to him in his fortress, and at the same time to declare war against *Christian*, who it was plain embraced every opportunity of disturbing the peace of *Sweden*. The siege was accordingly commenced, and *Christian* made preparations to relieve the prelate. First, by means of the archbishop of *Lunden*, he excommunicated the administrator and senate, endeavouring likewise to prevail on his holiness to confirm the punishment. Next he endeavoured, by every possible means, to gain the states of *Sweden*, and induce the *Lubeckers* to break the treaty of commerce with that kingdom. At length he sent a fleet of 125 sail, with 4000 land-forces on board, to raise the siege. The troops were landed, they marched to *Steeka*, and, if we may credit the *Swedish* writers*, were defeated by *Sture*, and driven with great loss to their ships (A). The archbishop, disappointed of relief, demanded a parley, and offered to surrender the fortress, provided he was continued in his dignity, and sent safe to *Upsal*. But the administrator replied, that such terms were now too late, after the shedding so much blood; however, that he would refer him to the judgment of the states, and grant him a passport to attend the diet. In consequence, the prelate attended the diet at *Stockholm*, was by them degraded and deprived of all his dignities, his fortress razed, and himself treated in every respect with the severity an enemy to his country, a seditious, turbulent, and ambitious ecclesiastic, merited (B). Indeed so incensed were the people, that it was with difficulty the administrator could prevent his

He is deposed
and confined in
a monastery.

* PUFFEND. 302. † LOCCEN. lib. v. p. 183. PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 305.

(A) *Meursius* and the *Danish* writers give a very particular relation of this expedition, directly contrary to the foregoing. They affirm, that the *Danish* fleet, consisting of 120 sail, commanded by the admirals *Norby*, *Gissel*, and *Morian*, landed the forces near *Steeka*. That the *Danes* eagerly sought to come to an engagement, which the *Swedes* as industriously avoided; but that

proposing to attack the *Swedish* camp, *Sture* raised the siege, and the *Danes* returned with the archbishop home.

(B) It would not be possible to reconcile this with the relation of the *Danish* writers, who alledge, that the siege was raised, and the prelate conducted to *Denmark*, where he staid for the space of two years.

a falling a sacrifice to their rage. All historians agree, that after sentence he was shut up in the monastery of *Westenas*; and, perhaps, the only difficulty in reconciling the *Swedish* and *Danish* historians, will be to determine whether the prelate was present when sentence was pronounced. As to his confinement in *Westenas*, it might possibly be voluntary, to hide his disgrace from the world, and avoid the many mortifications that must necessarily attend such a change of condition. That such a sentence was passed and executed, is certain from the concurring testimony of all historians; that the pope demanded his release, nay, his restoration, and the rebuilding of *Stecka*, under pain of excommunication: menaces which operated but little in favour of a man despised by the whole nation (C).

Differences between the relations of the Swedish and Danish historians.

b EARLY next year, *Christian* equipped a formidable fleet, and embarked a great number of land-forces with intention to subdue all *Sweden*. The troops were landed at *Stockholm*, and the city invested on the south-side. Hearing that *Sture* was marching to raise the siege, the king struck his tents, advanced, and gave him battle, was defeated and driven with great slaughter to take shelter on board the fleet. *Sture* pursued with so much vigour, that thousands perished by the sword, multitudes were drowned, and a great number of nobility and private men taken prisoners; in a word, it was one of the compleatest victories which the *Swedes* had ever before obtained over the *Danes*, at that time the best soldiers of the North^u.

A. D. 1518. Christian invades Sweden, and is defeated.

c *CHRISTIAN* paid down the ransom for the prisoners, and was steering his course to *Denmark*, when, stopped by adverse winds, he made several descents on the *Swedish* coasts, ravaging the country with the fury of a disappointed incensed barbarian. These hostilities cost him dear. He was forced to retire, and was so distressed for provisions, that half his forces perished with hunger, and the whole was in the most imminent danger, by the sudden approach of a most rigorous winter. His unfortunate circumstances then suggested a stratagem to *Christian*, that had almost been attended with fatal consequences to the administrator. He sent a message to *Sture*, acquainting him, that he was resolved upon a perpetual peace with *Sweden*, as providence itself seemed to oppose all his designs against that kingdom, and requesting an interview with him, in order to adjust preliminaries. His design was to assassinate, or at least make prisoner, the administrator, who never once trusted the sincerity of his professions; but after accommodating him with all kinds of provisions, was setting out to make him a visit. This the senate prevented, having some suspicion of the plot, and soon after demonstrative proofs of *Christian's* perfidy^x.

His perfidy.

MISSING the blow he aimed, *Christian* offered to go in person to *Stockholm*, to confer with the administrator, provided six hostages were sent in his room; the conditions were accepted, and six of the first nobility; among whom was *Gustavus Erickson*, afterwards king of *Sweden*, were put on board the *Danish* fleet. The wind happening to shift at that instant, and prove favourable, *Christian* ordered the fleet to put under sail, and steered strait to *Denmark*, where he arrived safe with the hostages (D).

He sails to Denmark with the Swedish hostages. A. D. 1519.

e ON his return, *Christian* made great preparations for war, under pretence of executing a commission against the *Swedes*, lately granted him by the pope, but indeed to revenge the disgraces of the former year. First he appeared with a fleet before the isle of *Oeland*, and took *Borkholm*; but was defeated in an attempt he made on *Calmar*.

f THE little success attending this expedition, determined *Christian* to equip a more powerful armament. Having a very numerous army, he made an irruption into *West-Gotbland*; while his fleet was harrassing the coasts. *Sture* marched to give him battle, fell into an ambush laid for him by the king, and received a wound of which he died at *Stregnez*. *Sweden* was now left without a head, and the senate fell into violent disputes about a successor, while *Christian* was marching, without opposition, to the capital. After the late repulse, and the loss of their general, the army disbanded itself. *Christian* took advantage of this state of affairs, advanced by large strides to the very heart of the kingdom, burning and destroying all before him. On his arrival at *Stregnez*, he granted a suspension of hostilities, to give the people time to deliberate on their situation, and reflect how easily they might get rid of their troubles, and all the horrors of war, only by electing him king. In this critical situation, an assembly was held at *Upsal*, where *Gustavus* resuming the archiepiscopal function, from which he had been degraded, pathetically represented the deplorable circumstances of *Sweden*; adding, that his *Danish* majesty was ready to give them all manner of security for the preservation of their privileges, to forget all that was past, to conciliate

A. D. 1520. He invades Sweden a second time.

The administrator killed.

Gustavus Trolle proclaims Christian.

^u LOCCEN. lib. v.

^x Idem. ibid.

(C) We have enlarged the more on this circumstance, possibly of no great importance, that the reader may see the evidence on both sides, and form his opinion from what appears to him the strongest.

(D) Here again is a fact, concerning which the *Danish* and *Swedish* writers differ. The former alledge,

that *Gustavus* was not carried into *Denmark* before the year 1521, being made prisoner after the defeat of *Sture*. Policy, say they, required that so enterprizing a genius should not be left at liberty to plan schemes against the life and government of the king.

himself even to his most inveterate enemies; provided they now laid down their arms, and to act in every respect as if he had been elected without opposition, and thereby free choice of the people. Then he proclaimed *Christian*, in the name of the states, king of *Sweden*, *Denmark* and *Norway*, and wrote to all the provinces, enjoining them to receive and acknowledge him as their king and sovereign; threatening, at the same time, the most rigorous punishment, if they refused submission ^r.

CHRISTIAN confirmed all that had been promised by the prelate, signed the articles with his own hand, and sealed them with his seal, conjointly with all the senators of *Denmark*; gave fair words to the people in general, but caressed the peasants in a particular manner, and made them donations of salt.

Stockholm
surrendered to
Christian.

ALL this while *Christina*, the administrator's widow, was besieged in *Stockholm*, where she made a brave defence, and found means to engage several provinces in her interest. *Christian* now pushed the siege with redoubled vigour; but the city being well provided, he found the resistance would be obstinate, and had recourse to his usual cajoling, which succeeded. The city capitulated, on condition that all the articles signed at *Upsal* should be strictly adhered to; that *Stockholm*, in particular, should be continued in all its rights and privileges; that the dowager *Christina* and her children should be put in possession of all the effects of her late husband; and that *Christian* should again swear he would govern *Sweden*, not with the severe hand of a conqueror, but the mild beneficent disposition of a prince, raised to the throne by the universal voice of the people ^z.

The king
crowned.

WHEN the articles were mutually signed, his majesty entered the city, accompanied by 2000 horse, and as many foot, amidst the loud acclamations of the people, who are ever pleased with novelty. Thence he published circular letters, inviting, in the gentlest terms, the states of *Sweden*, to be present at his coronation, fixed for the fourth of *November*. On this meeting of the states, he obliged them to sign an instrument, acknowledging him the legitimate sovereign, and lawful heir to the crown; after which he was crowned with the usual ceremonies by *Gustavus Trolle*.

It was remarkable, that, on the day of his coronation, he bestowed the order of knight-hood on some *German* gentlemen, but neglected paying the same compliment to the *Swedes*. To some complaints made to him on this head, he replied, that it would be madness to reward men who had so lately laid down their arms, before he had proofs of the sincerity of their professions. ^d

His diabolical
project to ex-
tirpate the
Swedish nobi-
lity.

DURING the grand entertainments he gave for three days after his coronation, it was that he formed the diabolical resolution of extirpating, at one stroke, all the *Swedish* nobility, in revenge of the troubles they had excited, and to prevent the people from ever being able to revolt, by depriving them of proper persons to conduct their measures. Even his *Danish* confidants and minions were struck with horror at the proposal, from which they endeavoured to divert him, but to no purpose. To open this tragical scene, archbishop *Trolle*, at the king's desire began lamenting the demolition of *Steeka*, and the losses sustained by the see of *Upsal*, which amounted to near a million of money. To this he added a bitter accusation of the widow and the son-in-law of the late administrator, comprehending in this accusation about fifteen of the nobility of the same faction, all the senate, and the burghers of *Stockholm*, and concluding his crafty oration and double-laid accusation, with a pathetic request, that justice might be granted, and the criminals punished ^a.

The execution
of the Swedish
nobility and
senators.

CHRISTINA was immediately ordered to give an account of her husband's conduct, which she justified by producing the senate's order for the demolition of *Steeka*, and the archbishop's degradation. Upon this, all who had signed the order were arrested, except the bishop of *Lincoping*, who, with a true ecclesiastical cunning, had the precaution to put under the impression of his seal, a protest that he was forced to enter into the measure. Several of her noblemen, who had no share in this transaction, were arrested under various pretences, and all together imprisoned in the citadel. Then a tribunal was erected to pass sentence, and the archbishop himself nearly fell into the snare he prepared for his fellow-subjects, by omitting to condemn to immediate death the criminals; an omission that greatly incensed the king. In a word, to give an air of plausibility to this iniquitous trial, the prisoners were proceeded against as hereticks, condemned to death, and forbid confession. Gibbets were immediately erected for their execution, and above threescore senators and noblemen of the first rank in *Sweden* hanged up as felons and traitors, for having bravely defended their liberties, and opposed the election of a bloody tyrant (A). Be-

^r Id. *ibid*.

^z PUFFEND. 312.

^a *Ibid*. p. 315. et seq.

(A) A few particular circumstances of this horrid transaction, the reader will find in our history of *Denmark*. It shocks human nature to relate, much more to repeat

such barbarities; and the benevolent reader, we are certain, will excuse our not expatiating on scenes that disgrace humanity.

a fore death, they could only call out to their countrymen to revenge their blood^b; a request that would seem to have taken deep root in the heart of every *Swede*, who now equally opposed the cruelty and perfidy of the bloody-minded *Christian*, whose name will ever stain the annals of *Denmark*.

SOME *Swedish* writers affirm, that, not content with the barbarous revenge taken on the living, *Christian* ordered the dead body of the administrator to be dug up, and divesting himself of humanity, flew like a wild beast upon the corpse, which he tore and mangled with his teeth and nails. To complete the measure of his barbarity, he ordered the widow of the administrator to be brought before him, and asked her whether she chose to be burnt, flayed, or buried alive. His savage intentions were, however, diverted by the strong interest made in behalf of that unfortunate lady, who was granted her life, on condition that she consented to spend the remainder of her days in close imprisonment; a miserable alternative, which the principle of self-preservation obliged her to embrace. The brutish monarch, in the next place, vented his rage upon the mother of *Christina*, a lady whose character was as amiable as her person was elegant. Her he threatened to tie up in a sack, and throw in the sea, and would certainly have executed his menaces, if to save her life, she had not surrendered up all her estate and effects to the king. Even after this concession, he shut her, with the widows of other lords, who had suffered in the late massacre, in close and perpetual imprisonment. It would be endless to enumerate all the cruelties committed by *Christian*, his treachery, avarice, and brutality, in some measure acknowledged by the *Danish* writers, and solemnly affirmed and minutely described by all *Swedish* historians. At length he departed for *Denmark*, marking his way with blood, and drawing upon him the curses and imprecations of the whole nation. He was even a tyrant as he passed along the roads, ordering gibbets to be erected, and the peasants hanged for every trifling offence. At *Jenekoping*, he had two boys, the one seven, the other not exceeding nine years of age, whipped to death; an instance of a bloody disposition that can scarcely be paralleled.

The cruelty of the Danish monarch.

WE may remember that *Gustavus Erickson* was among the number of the hostages whom the king perfidiously carried off about two years before. Promises and threats were used to detach him from the administrator; but nothing was able to reconcile him to *Christian*. His obstinacy almost cost him his life. The king dreading his valour and constancy, gave secret orders that he should be strangled in prison; but the *Danish* officer, to whom the commission was delivered, detesting so perfidious an action, boldly remonstrated with the king about the consequences of it, and prevailed on him to withdraw his purpose, and satisfy himself with closely confining the hostages in the castle of *Copenhagen*. Here some of them perished, in consequence of the rigorous treatment received; but the hardy constitution and resolute spirit of *Gustavus* withstood all the king's cruelty. However, *Eric Banner*, a *Danish* nobleman, struck with compassion of his sufferings, requested the king that he would put *Gustavus* into his custody, to try whether he could not prevail on him to embrace his majesty's party, and open his eyes to his own true interest. *Christian* consented, but on condition that he should conduct him to the fortrefs of *Calo* in *Futland*, of which he was governor, and pay six thousand crowns for his ransom, in case he should happen to make his escape. *Banner* generously embraced the condition, and carried with him his prisoner, striving by the utmost tenderness and care, to obliterate from his memory the hard usage he underwent at *Copenhagen*. The noble qualities of *Gustavus* gained so strongly upon *Banner*, and all his family, that he was not long at *Calo* before he had liberty to walk about and hunt for his diversion. New recreations and amusements were every day proposed, and all the country flocked round to entertain the stranger. But all their caresses were not able to make him forget that he was a prisoner; nor could any civilities he received compensate his chagrin, at being deprived of a share in the glory of the war. His earnest desire to be of service to the administrator, his passion to defend his country against the attacks of *Christian*, and his resentment at the perfidy of the *Danish* monarch, had prevented his relishing the sweets of the retirement, and the enjoyment of the most sublime friendship. Still, however, he bore with his confinement, and supported his situation, until the misfortunes in which he saw his country involved, the death of the administrator, the ruin of his party, the horrid massacre of the senate, and the tyranny of *Christian*, all convinced him that every expedient for the recovery of his liberty was to be tried; as that might be the means of rescuing his country from the very jaws of destruction. He could not hope to prevail on *Banner* to give up the interest of his king, whatever marks of friendship and distinguishing regard he had bestowed on him; but he flattered himself, that provided he could raise the sum at which *Christian* fixed his ransom, he might

Account of Gustavus Erickson, and of the great revolution he effected.

^b Loccen. lib. v.

^c Ibid. lib. v. PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 319.

make his escape without injuring his generous protector, or violating the sacred rights of friendship, gratitude, and hospitality. In any event he judged, that obligations to the public, and duty to one's country, ought to supersede all the ties of private affection ^a.

With these sentiments, *Gustavus* one day mounted his horse, under pretence of hunting, as usual, in the forest. When he got at a proper distance, he changed his dress to the habit of a peasant, and quitting his horse, he travelled for two days on foot, through bye-paths, and over mountains almost impassable, arriving on the third at *Flenburgh*. Here no one was admitted without a passport, and *Gustavus* dreaded presenting himself to the governor, or the officer upon guard, for fear of being discovered. Happily for him it chanced to be on that season of the year, when the merchants of *Lower Saxony* drive a considerable trade in cattle, which they purchase in *Jutland*. *Gustavus* hired himself to one of these merchants, and under favour of his disguise escaped out of the *Danish* territories; and arrived at *Lubec*. ^b

BANNER was no sooner acquainted with his escape, than he set out after him with the utmost diligence; found him at *Lubec*, and reproached him with great warmth, as ungrateful and treacherous; but he was soon appeased by the arguments urged by *Gustavus*, and especially by the promise he made of indemnifying him in the loss of his ransom. Upon this *Banner* returned, giving out, that he could not find his prisoner. *Christian* was enraged at his escape, apprehending that he might traverse all his designs in *Sweden*, and gave orders to *Otho*, his general, to make the strictest search, and leave no means untried to arrest him. *Gustavus*, nevertheless, persevered in his designs, without being affrighted at the danger that surrounded him. He applied to the regency for a ship to convoy him to *Sweden*, where he hoped he should be able to form a party against the *Danes*. He likewise endeavoured to draw the regency of *Lubec* into his measures, representing to them the interest they had in opposing the aggrandizement of his *Danish* majesty, who, by the conquest of *Sweden*, was become master of all the commerce of the *Baltic*. He laid it down as an eternal maxim, that the union of the Northern crowns must be prejudicial to the trade of the *Hanse* towns, and particularly of that of *Lubec*. He reminded the regency of the constant enmity the *Danish* sovereigns had shewn to their republic; and on the contrary, of the inviolable regard expressed by the kings of *Sweden*, towards the city of *Lubec*, which owed its liberty to the princes of this country, and in particular to king *Eric*, who, in the year 1248, rescued it from the tyranny of *Waldemar II.* king of *Denmark*. In a word, he reasoned with so much zeal and ability, that *Nicholas Gemins*, first consul, was entirely gained; but the regency could never be prevailed upon to declare for a party without friends, arms, money, or credit. However, before his departure, the consul gave him assurances, that if he could raise a force sufficient to make head against the enemy in the field, he might depend on the services of the republic, and that the regency would immediately declare for him. *Gustavus* desired to be landed at *Stockholm*; but the captain of the ship either having secret orders to the contrary, or business elsewhere, steered a different course, and put him on shore near *Calmar*, a city hitherto garrisoned by the troops of *Christina*, widow of the regent. In truth, the governor held his place for his own purposes, and only waited to make the best terms he could with the *Danes*. When *Gustavus* arrived, he made himself known to him and the principal officers of the garrison, who were mostly *Germans*, and his fellow-soldiers in the late administrator's army. He flattered himself that his birth, his merit, and connections, would immediately procure him the command. He told them, that, at the hazard of his life, he had thrown himself into their city, to have the glory of sharing with them the fatigues and hardships that might attend resisting the tyrant, and standing in defence of liberty, and all that is dear to brave men; but the mercenary band, seeing him without troops, without attendants, regarded him as a desperate person, devoted to destruction, refused to embrace his proposals, and even threatened to kill or betray him, if he did not instantly quit the city. ^c

DISAPPOINTED in his expectations, *Gustavus* took himself away with great expedition; and his arrival being now publicly known, he was again forced to have recourse to his peasant's disguise, to conceal him from the *Danish* emissaries, dispersed over the country to search for him. In a waggon loaded with hay, he passed through every quarter of the *Danish* army, and at last repaired to an old family castle in *Sundermania*. From hence he wrote to his friends, notifying his return to *Sweden*, and beseeching them to assemble all their force, in order to force a passage through the enemy's army into *Stockholm*, at that time besieged; but they likewise refused to embark in so hazardous and desperate an attempt. They were no longer those bold intrepid *Swedes* jealous of their liberty, and the sworn foes of tyranny and oppression. All plied under the yoke of power, and every one was assiduous to remove from himself every suspicion of dislike to the government, content- ^d

^a Idem. ibid. Etiam VERTOT. Revol. p. 185. tom. i.

a ing themselves with personal security, and shewing the utmost indifference for the safety of the state.

PERCEIVING that mean selfishness had supplanted public spirit among his friends, *Gustavus* applied himself to the peasants. He hoped, that a race of men fierce and independent by nature, and who had nothing to fear from *Christian*, would embrace with ardour the opportunity of expelling the tyrant and rescuing their country. He traversed the villages in the night, harangued the principal persons, and at last exposed himself publicly at their feasts, but all to no purpose. Satiated with wars, in which most of them had lost fathers, sons, or relations, the peasants brutally answered, that they enjoyed salt and herrings under the government of the king of *Denmark*; and that any attempts to bring about a revolution would be attended with certain ruin, without the prospect of bettering their condition; for peasants they were, and peasants they should remain who-
 b ever was king. At length, after several vain attempts to throw himself into *Stockholm*, after that city was surrendered to the king, after the horrid massacre of the senate, and after running a thousand dangers and undergoing hardships and fatigues hardly to be supported by human nature, he formed the resolution of trying the courage and affection of the *Dalecarlians*. While he was in the deepest obscurity, and plunged in almost unsurmountable adversity, he never relinquished his designs or abandoned hope. The news of the massacre had, however, very near sunk him in despondency, as thereby he lost all his friends, relations, and connections; and indeed almost every prospect of safety to himself or
 c his country. It was this that inspired the thought of going to *Dalecarlia*, where he might live with more security in the high mountains and thick woods of that country, if he failed in the attempt of exciting the inhabitants to revolt.

ATTENDED by a peasant, to whom he was known, he travelled in disguise through *Sundermania*, *Nericia*, and *Westermania*, and arrived, after a laborious and painful journey, attended with continual dread and apprehension of being discovered, safe in the mountains of *Dalecarlia*. Scarce had he finished his journey, when he found himself deserted by his companion and guide, who carried off with him all the money he provided for his subsistence. Thus forlorn, destitute, half-starved, he entered among the miners, and wrought like a slave, under ground, without relinquishing his hopes of one day ascending the throne
 d of *Sweden*. His whole prospect for the present was, to live concealed and gain a maintenance, until fortune should effect something in his favour: nor was it long before this happened. A woman in the mines perceived under the habit of a peasant, that the collar of his shirt was embroidered. This circumstance excited curiosity; and the graces of his person and conversation, which had something in them to attract the notice of the meanest of the vulgar, afforded room for suspicion, that he was some person of quality in disguise, forced by the tyranny of the government to seek shelter in these remote parts. The story came to the ears of a neighbouring gentleman, who immediately went to the mines, to offer his protection to the unfortunate stranger; but how astonished was he on recognizing the features of *Gustavus*, whose acquaintance he had been at the university of *Upsal*!
 e Touched with compassion at the deplorable situation of so distinguished a nobleman, he could scarce refrain from tears, but however had presence of mind enough not to reveal the discovery. At night he sent to *Gustavus*, made him an offer of his house, and gave him the strongest assurances of his friendship and protection. He told him, he would meet with better accommodations, and as much security as in the mines; and that, should he chance to be discovered, he would, with all his friends and vassals, take arms in his defence.

GUSTAVUS embraced with joy the obliging offers of the hospitable *Dalecarlian*, and passed several days with his friends, as if he had no other intention than to avoid the pursuit of his enemies; but he applied himself all the while in learning the strength of the
 f province, and enquiring into the sentiments of the inhabitants with respect to the new government. It was with the utmost satisfaction he heard from his generous host, that the *Dalecarlians* bore with impatience the *Danish* yoke; that they murmured loudly at certain impositions established by *Christian*; trivial indeed in themselves, and inconsiderable, but irksome and intolerable because they were new; that they abhorred the cruelty, and detested the inhumanity of the king of *Denmark*; and that he doubted not but the slightest trespass on their liberties would excite a revolt in the province. The *Dalecarlian* then boasted of the strength of the province, with all that partiality and self-satisfaction generally shewn in enumerating the excellencies of one's own country. He told *Gustavus*, that the
 g province could raise above twenty thousand men; that every man was a soldier, and bred from his infancy to arms, and that with this force, and the natural situation of their country, they might bid defiance to all the power of *Denmark*.

The frequent repetition of this conversation encouraged *Gustavus* to disclose his designs to his landlord, to whom he represented the unhappy condition of the nation, plunged in

the deepest adversity, from which neither the faith due to treaties, nor the submission and implicit obedience of the people, could rescue it, while the bloody and perfidious *Christian* remained in possession of the throne. He told him, that the infernal massacre in *Stockholm* was but a prelude to other more enormous cruelties, which his troops daily committed in the provinces; and that it was more glorious and secure to oppose and meet danger, than to wait tamely to be butchered in their houses. All his rhetoric, however, produced no other effect than to display, in stronger colours, to the *Dalecarlian*, the danger that attended the vast projects of *Gustavus*. "Where, says he, are your troops to support your designs? What army have you to oppose to your formidable and numerous enemies, who seem hitherto to respect our privileges; but will, like a torrent, over run the province, on the first appearance of an insurrection?" It would seem that fear had made him forget that he was just before boasting of the strength of the province. He now found new arguments to destroy all his former reasoning, and to persuade *Gustavus* to alter his resolutions. He expatiated with vehemence on his political schemes, less out of attachment to his person, than to testify and demonstrate, that it was neither the want of courage nor zeal that prevented his embracing his party. Seeing, however, that *Gustavus* still persisted in his first design, of declaring openly against the *Danes*; he only advised him to defer the measure to a more seasonable occasion, when possibly the whole province might express an inclination to revolt. He said, the peasants paid but little regard to the interest of the gentry, upon whom they always looked as severe and rigid masters; that hitherto they had only shewn some tokens of useless compassion at the massacre of *Stockholm*, which it required some personal injuries to excite to resentment; this it was probable would soon happen, as the *Danish* troops would, in all likelihood, extend their ravages to *Dalecarlia*, after they had ruined and exhausted all the other provinces; in which case he might depend on an universal revolt. He beseeched *Gustavus* therefore to remain quietly in his house until matters were more ripe for execution, and not destroy by his rashness, the glory of being the avenger and deliverer of his country; as his birth and merit would certainly procure him the command, whenever such an event should happen.

GUSTAVUS plainly saw that in this advice there was more fear than real prudence; but the weakness of his host rather excited his compassion than his indignation. He neither believed him a friend to the *Danes*, nor capable of betraying him; yet he thought remaining longer at his house would turn out to no real advantage, and only serve to disturb the life of a quiet, pacific man. After enjoining him to the most profound secrecy, and returning thanks for the friendship and hospitality he had shewn, *Gustavus* took his leave in the night, the better to conceal his route, and after travelling several days on foot, across mountains and woods, without so much as a guide, he at length arrived happily at the house of a gentleman named *Peterson*, whom he had formerly known in the service. *Peterson* received him with marks of perfect respect and esteem, always so grateful to the unfortunate. He even seemed more affected than *Gustavus* himself with his misfortunes: he exclaimed against the tyranny of the *Danes*, and at the very first overture made by *Gustavus*, of taking up arms, and raising his vassals, he embraced the design with all the appearance of ardour. Our hero was overjoyed at meeting with a Swede generous and bold enough to attach himself to his fortune. He omitted no caresses, promises, or views of interest, to confirm *Peterson* in his resolution; and he received in return the most solemn assurances of inviolable fidelity. This perfidious wretch named the lords and peasants whom he pretended to have engaged in his party, and a few days after went secretly to a *Danish* officer, to whom he communicated the retreat and designs of *Gustavus*, with a view of recommending himself to *Christian*, and in expectation of being rewarded in a manner proportioned to the importance of his service. The *Danish* officer flew with all possible expedition to *Peterson's* house, which he surrounded with soldiers, flattering himself it would be impossible for *Gustavus* to escape; but all his precautions were useless. That nobleman was happily saved the night before, and owed his preservation to *Peterson's* wife, who touched with compassion, and perhaps still more tender sentiments, discovered to him her husband's perfidy, put him under the care of a faithful domestic, and had him conducted to the house of a clergyman, her friend. He was received by the clergyman with all the respect due to his own birth and merit, and the recommendations of the lady who had sent him. This gentleman was filled with zeal for his country and the church. His piety was sincere and unaffected; he aspired not at preferment, and attached himself to no party; but he assured *Gustavus* of his honour and secrecy. Lest the domestic, who had conducted him to his house, might copy after the treachery of his master, he removed *Gustavus* to the church, and concealed him in a small closet, of which he kept the key. Thither he went every day to visit him, and in their conversations took such a liking to *Gustavus*, that he entered warmly into his designs, and promised that nothing in his power should be wanting to gain a party in his village, and wherever else his influence extended. But he dissuaded him from imparting his projects, or putting confidence

a confidence in the nobility of the province. He represented to him, that the gentry of *Dalecarlia*, satisfied with the security and independence they enjoyed in their mountains, gave themselves but little concern about changes at court, and the general good of the nation; that it was with difficulty they were ever prevailed on to arm their vassals, as in the number and industry of these their wealth consisted; that the sure method was, to apply directly to the peasants, by whom he would be more powerfully assisted if they took arms voluntarily, than if they were compelled by their masters. The sensible priest added, that, to succeed in this scheme, it was necessary artfully to propagate a report, that the *Danes* were about to enter the province, in order to establish new taxes by force of arms; a consideration that would operate more strongly upon the minds of the multitude than any other. With this business he charged himself, promising to *Gustavus*, that the report would in a few days be general, by means of his relations and acquaintance, in the district. Lastly, he advised *Gustavus* to repair to *Mora*, where the annual feast of all the neighbouring villages was in a few days to be held. This, he said, was a conjuncture extremely favourable to his designs, as the peasants were never more bold, nor easily stirred up to revolt, than at these assemblies, where they judged of their own strength by the numbers present. He assured him at the same time, that he would engage the principal persons of the diocese in his interest, and told him, he might deem himself secure when once the peasants at the feast took arms.

AGREEABLE to the advice of this honest and sage counsellor, *Gustavus* set out for *Mora*, and on his arrival found the peasants informed of his designs, and impatient to see a nobleman, illustrious by his birth, his valour, and his sufferings. Before he shewed himself in public, he assumed a dress becoming his rank, the better to engage the attention of the people, always regardful of these exterior marks of grandeur. At last he appeared in the assembly, with an air of intrepidity and resolution, tempered with that melancholy which became his situation, after the death of his father and of so many senators. All were touched with compassion before he uttered a syllable; but when he came to expatiate on the tyranny of *Christian*, the horrid massacre at *Stockholm*, the persecutions in the provinces, the miseries of the kingdom in general, in terms the most lively and pathetic, he so inflamed the assembly, that they broke out into exclamations bordering upon fury, c menaces against *Christian* and the *Danes*, and vows that they would revenge the death of their countrymen with the last drop of their blood. Immediately they resolved to throw off the allegiance they had promised to *Christian*, and to sacrifice, without distinction, all the *Danes* in the province, as an atonement for the death of so many *Swedes*.

THERE were, however, certain persons who opposed this revolt, under pretence of consulting the other villages, before they took any final resolution. Whether these were actuated by prudential motives, whether they dreaded the power of *Christian*, or were in fact in his interest, is not material; their proposal was rejected with indignation by the whole assembly. The most forward in the revolt became the greatest favourites, and all flew immediately to arms, requesting *Gustavus*, with whose address, stature and strength, e they were charmed, to take upon him the command.

BUT nothing contributed so much to inspire their confidence in this young nobleman, as the observation of certain old men, that the wind had constantly blown from the north while *Gustavus* was haranguing the assembly, which, among the *Dalecarlians*, is deemed an infallible omen. Thus, without further deliberation, and fully persuaded that any delay would be only opposing the will of heaven, so visibly declared in favour of *Gustavus*, they instantly formed a body of four hundred men, out of which number they chose the handsomest and best-born, as a body-guard to their general.

GUSTAVUS, desirous of profiting by their ardour, led them directly against the governor of the province. It was his interest to anticipate his measures, and put it out of his power to oppose the insurrection of the villages. With this view he divided his troops into a number of small corps, the better to conceal his march and intentions; and, under favour of the night and woods, arrived with his *Dalecarlians*, by different routes, at the foot of the governor's castle. The darkness, and surprise of so unexpected an attack, favoured his enterprise. The castle was taken by assault, and the garrison sacrificed to the just fury of the *Dalecarlians*.

HOWEVER inconsiderable this enterprise might appear, it served to animate the peasants, and exalt their high opinion of their commander. In a few days, almost the whole province declared for *Gustavus*. The peasants in crowds flocked to his standard, some out of resentment to the *Danes*, some in expectation of plunder; others from the love of novelty, g and many from that natural inconstancy in the disposition of the *Dalecarlians*, which excites them to revolts and daring attempts. Several of the gentry now appeared in his camp, and he was supplied with money by others, who were still afraid of espousing him publicly.

CHRISTIAN was soon acquainted with the designs of *Gustavus*, but he was not alarmed. He saw himself sovereign of three powerful kingdoms, any hedged round by multitudes of kinsmen, dependents, and allies; but he particularly relied on the security consequent on his having possession of all the fortresses in *Sweden*. In this confidence, he sent but a slender detachment, under the command of *Soren Norby*, to assist his adherents in *Dalecarlia*. *Gustavus* took advantage of his security. He advanced, with five thousand men, to *Westeraas*, and defeated *Meleen*, who commanded a body of *Danes*. Afterwards he sent persons, on whose ability and integrity he could depend, to the provinces of *Nericia*, *Sundermania*, *Uplandia*, and *West-Gothland*, in each of which he gained a great number of friends. The archbishop of *Upsal*, however, strenuously opposed his designs, and raised numerous forces for king *Christian*, notwithstanding the advantageous proposals made to him by *Gustavus*. He was even very near surprising the *Swedes* before *Upsal*; and was, in his turn, surprised, attacked, and defeated, with great loss, by that hero; after which *Gustavus* marched, with his *Dalecarlians*, to lay siege to *Stockholm*. His army, however, was too weak for so great an attempt, and he was forced to relinquish it with loss.

EVERY day increased the number of our hero's forces; a reinforcement joined him from *Lubec*, and the peasants flocked to him from every quarter of the kingdom. *Christian* now began seriously to reflect on the consequences of this revolt; and he was so incensed with the progress made by *Gustavus*, that he removed from *Stockholm* the mother and sisters of that nobleman, enclosing them in a dismal prison at *Copenhagen*, and putting them to death by the most cruel tortures, without regard to the prayers and entreaties of his queen, who interceded for them. Soon after he imprisoned at *Lieuward* several other *Swedish* ladies, imposing upon them the horrid task of making sacks, in which they were to be thrown over a precipice into the sea: so mean and savage was the resentment of this bloody tyrant, which he vented on the helpless and innocent.

GUSTAVUS was moved by these instances of barbarity, but it was with indignation. Without desisting from his schemes, in order to appease the tyrant, he pursued them with redoubled vigour, the sooner to revenge the wrongs done to his country. He assembled the states of *Sweden* at *Wadstena*, and was unanimously chosen administrator, in which quality the diet took an oath of fidelity to him; giving him, besides all possible assurances, that with their lives and fortunes they would assist his generous intentions to deliver his country from the bloody usurpation of *Christian*. In the mean time, the *Danish* governor of *Stockholm* endeavoured to throw in a convoy of supplies into the citadel of *Wadstena*, at that time besieged by *Gustavus*; but it was intercepted, and the *Danish* troops cut in pieces. To pursue the advantage, *Gustavus* detached certain regiments to *Finland*, with instructions to extirpate the *Danes* in that province, marching himself, at the head of his army, to lay siege to *Stockholm*. His approach struck such terror in the archbishop of *Upsal*, *Slahog* and *Beldenacker*, the *Danish* governors, that they immediately fled to *Denmark*, where they were coldly received; *Christian* imagining that their flight must be highly prejudicial to his affairs in *Sweden*. At the same time a commissioner from the pope arrived in *Denmark*, to examine into the death of the bishops massacred at *Stockholm*; and *Christian* throwing the whole blame on the two bishops, *Slahog* and *Beldenacker*, they were both put to death, in the king's justification.

A. D. 1522.

NOT satiated with the blood he had spilt, *Christian* sent express orders to all his governors and officers in *Sweden* and *Finland*, to lay violent hands on all the *Swedish* gentry, whether friends or enemies; an order that cost many brave subjects their lives. The *Swedes* made reprisals, and massacred the *Danes* wherever they found them. Forts and castles were taken, the garrisons put to the sword, and the walls razed to the ground, to cut off every retreat from those ministers of the king's oppression and tyranny.

WHILE these matters were transacting, *Norby* raised the sieges of *Calmar*, *Abo*, and *Stockholm*, with great loss on the side of the besiegers. To revenge himself, and animate the troops, *Gustavus* laid fresh siege to the latter city; and the better to succeed in his designs, he petitioned the regency of *Lubec* for succours, and a squadron of ships to block up the harbour. His request was granted; but on such conditions as were thought extremely unreasonable by *Gustavus*, though the urgency of his affairs obliged him to close with them. The regency demanded, that the administrator should oblige himself, in the name of the states, to pay 60,000 marks of silver to indemnify the expence of the armament; that until the kingdom should be in a condition to pay that sum, the *Lubec* merchants, trading to *Sweden*, should be exempted from all duties on imports or exports; that all other nations should be prohibited from trading with *Sweden*, and all such traffic be deemed illicit; that *Gustavus* should neither conclude a peace, or even agree to a truce with *Denmark*, without

^a VÆRTOT Revol. de Suede, tom. i. p. 2. LÖCCEN. lib. vi. PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 326, et seq.

a the concurrence of the regency; and that, should the republick be attacked by *Christian*, he should oblige himself to enter *Denmark* at the head of 20,000 men. However pernicious to *Sweden*, and unjust, these terms might appear, necessity forced *Gustavus* to compliance. The treaty was concluded, and the *Lubec* fleet set sail, in consequence, for *Sundercoping*, and debarked the land-forces. *Gustavus* immediately sent *Bernard Milan*, their own countryman, to take upon him the command; but the auxiliaries positively refused to obey him, and pressingly demanded to see *Gustavus*, whose fame had drawn them thither, to fight under his banners. It was necessary to satisfy them, by granting their request. Accordingly the administrator set out for *Sundercoping*, and was received with loud acclamations by the strangers, who were charmed with his figure, his address, affability, and eloquence. Without reluctance they took the oath required, and attached themselves with as much ardor to his fortune, as if they had been his subjects.

b *FLEMING*, who commanded a squadron of light frigates equipped by *Gustavus*, performed a very signal service on his first arrival before *Stockholm*, in destroying and taking a strong convoy, which the *Danish* admiral endeavoured to throw into the city. *Norby* was chagrined at the loss, and laboured to repair it. He prepared another strong convoy of ammunition and provision, which he determined to throw into the town in spite of all obstruction. The mouth of the harbour was blocked up by *Fleming* and the *Lubec* squadron. On the approach of the *Danish* fleet, a furious cannonading began; which continued until the fleets were separated by the night. *Norby*, upon this, retired to a little c island on the coast, hoping to renew the engagement next day; but he was blocked up by a hard frost that prevented his moving. *Gustavus*, upon this, formed the bold resolution of burning his fleet. With this view, he marched over the ice at the head of the *Lubeckers*, preferring them in an attack of so extraordinary a nature to the raw, undisciplined peasants that composed his own army, and advanced, under cover of the night, within a short distance of the enemy, before he was observed. *Norby* no sooner perceived him, than he began a terrible discharge from his cannon and musquetry; notwithstanding which the *Lubeckers* boldly continued their march, with lighted torches in their hands. Some of the more intrepid endeavoured to climb up the sides of the vessels, but they were d hurled down upon the ice by the *Danish* soldiers, who fought to great advantage from their ships. In this manner they struggled on both sides, the one for victory, and the other for life. Night wrapped them in profound darkness, except the terrible light that flashed from the incessant fire of the musquetry, and the burning torches held by the *Lubeckers*. In spite of the brave resistance made by the *Danes*, several of their ships were set on fire; and abandoned with equal precipitation by the conquered and conquerors. The horrors of darkness, the cries of the wounded, and those who were perishing in the fire, the fall of masts, and wreck of ships, all inspired the most daring with secret terror. The *Danes* found it as difficult to save themselves from their burning ships, as from their enemies. Many of their ships were already destroyed, and they would have found it impossible to have saved any, had the officers who commanded under *Gustavus* pursued their e blow, and shewn an inclination wholly to destroy the vanquished. Such, at least, is the account of the *Swedish* writers; though the *Danes* affirm, that *Norby's* valour and perseverance alone saved the fleet. Whether it was, that the *Lubec* general was secretly gained over by the *Danish* admiral, or that he had instructions so to balance matters between both parties, as that neither should prevail, is not manifest; certain, however, it is, that, disregarding the prayers and entreaties of *Gustavus*, he ordered a retreat to be founded, just at the time he had the enemy in his power. As the season was not far advanced, the heat of next day's sun dissolved the ice, prevented any farther attempts on the side of *Gustavus*, and permitted the *Danish* admiral to set sail.

f *GUSTAVUS* was enraged at the perfidy of the *Lubecker*, which snatched victory out of his hands, and prolonged the siege of *Stockholm*, on which depended the success of all his designs. He perceived that little confidence was to be placed in such allies: he penetrated their designs, but he dissembled, and suppressed his resentment, because he stood in need of the republick's fleet to block up *Stockholm* by sea. Instead of shewing any marks of dissatisfaction, he put the *Lubec* troops into good winter-quarters, and with the *Swedes*, accustomed to the severity of the climate, he kept the city closely blockaded.

g In the mean time, *Norby* was making preparations effectually to relieve *Stockholm*, now reduced to great extremity; when the news arrived, that all *Denmark* was in arms against *Christian*. That prince, always violent and despotic, trampled upon the laws, and disregarded the privileges of the people. He disposed of his subjects effects as his own; even their lives depended on his will. He put to death, without form of trial, several lords of the first rank, whose affection he suspected; but all this was trifling, to certain indignities imprudently put on the clergy, ever jealous and vindictive. His tyranny and oppression, the cruelty and inhumanity of his disposition, were pardonable; but offences

against the church could not be overlooked. The people are ever influenced by their spiritual directors; the clergy poured out fulminations from the pulpit against *Christian*, which was a signal for the whole nation to take arms. First, the torch of civil discord was lighted in *Jutland*, and the flames soon spread over the rest of the kingdom. The revolt became general among all ranks and degrees of men, and nothing could appease them but deposing the tyrant. *Christian*, unable to stem the torrent, retired to *Germany*, flattering himself, that, through the influence of the emperor, his brother-in-law, the whole empire would take arms to restore him. *Norby*, apprised of his abdication, relinquished the design of relieving *Stockholm*. He retired with his whole fleet to the island of *Gotbland*, and left but a slender garrison in *Calmar*.

GUSTAVUS, like a true politician, turned the confusion in *Denmark* to his own advantage. He pushed the siege of *Stockholm*, made himself master of *Calmar*, putting the garrison to the sword, reduced the island of *Oeland* and province of *Bléking*, conquered great part of *Norway*, and, in a word, subdued all *Sweden*, except the capital, which still refused to submit, and obstinately defied famine, disease, and all the fatigues and hardships of a long and vigorous siege. At length, pressed on every side by the army and fleet of *Gustavus*, enfeebled by the length of the siege, and apprehensive of the murmurs of the burghers, who began to express some inclination to the government of the administrator, they yielded to a capitulation, after acquiring immortal honour by their glorious defence. The garrison demanded no other terms than the payment of the arrears due to them from *Christian*; and *Gustavus*, to whom the surrender of the city was so important, refused, contrary to his ordinary maxim, a proposition so advantageous. He knew the garrison was reduced to a very small number, destitute of every necessary, enfeebled with hunger, sickness, and fatigue. Under the appearance of severity, he acted the true politician, by prolonging the siege. He feared, that when *Stockholm* was surrendered, and profound peace established throughout the kingdom, the people might forget to whom they owed these blessings, and, instead of expressing their gratitude, fall into parties and civil divisions, about the election of a sovereign. While the capital stood out, there might remain some degree of uncertainty and uneasiness, which would render him necessary. These were the motives of this shrewd prince for refusing terms to a brave garrison, which his own heart dictated; and for assembling a general diet at *Strégnez*, whither the nobility and people flocked on all hands, to see *Gustavus*, regarded by all *Sweden* as a hero and their tutelary angel. The first proceeding of the diet was to fill up the vacancy in the senate, by new creations, in the room of the unhappy senators massacred at *Stockholm*. *Gustavus* had the address to have only such persons elected, as were perfectly agreeable to him, and devoted to his interest. Next, the speaker of the assembly represented to the states the necessity of speedily electing a sovereign. He drew the portrait of *Gustavus* in characterising a true and patriot king, whose vigilance, valour, activity, and prudence, should be able to withstand all the attempts of *Denmark* again to subjugate and enslave the nation, under pretence of renewing the union of *Calmar*. He concluded with observing, that the states would shew themselves equally ungrateful and blind to their interest, if, after the astonishing proofs of heroism exhibited by the administrator, and the obligations conferred on his country, they hesitated about electing him sovereign of that people whom he had rescued from servitude. The speaker's harangue was received with universal applause, and the people, urged on by their zeal, anticipated the votes of the senators and deputies of the provinces, by loudly proclaiming *Gustavus* king of *Sweden*. It was impossible to collect the votes, and pass through the usual forms; the diet was tumultuous in their acclamations; a sort of enthusiasm actuated every breast; peasants and burghers mingled promiscuously with the states, pushed in to behold their prince, filled the air with their praises, and the words *Saviour* and *Deliver* echoed from every quarter.

*Gustavus
elected king of
Sweden.*

S E C T. V.

Containing the reign of Gustavus Ericson, to his death in 1566.

GUSTAVUS was charmed with the zeal of the *Swedes*; he acknowledged, that their affection exceeded his merit, and was more agreeable to him than the effects of their gratitude. He made some feint attempts, out of modesty, to refuse the crown; but he was over-ruled by the prayers and entreaties of the whole assembly. In a word, he ascended the throne, to which he paved the way by his valour and perseverance; he was solemnly acknowledged king of all *Sweden* and the *Two Gotblands*, by the united voices of

* *LOCSEN. lib. vi. Hist. de Dan. tom. iv.*

a the senate, deputies, and people; who immediately took an oath of fidelity. The diet were pressing for his coronation at the same time; but this he wisely declined, under pretence of the necessity of immediately returning to the siege of *Stockholm*; but in reality because he did not think himself sufficiently secure upon the throne, to omit those oaths usually exacted by the clergy, in confirmation of their rights and privileges.

b THE return of *Gustavus* to the camp was no sooner known in *Stockholm*, than the governor sent deputies to him, offering to submit at discretion, and leaving his majesty absolute master of the terms of surrender. *Gustavus* received them graciously, and demanded, that all the money, papers, and moveables, belonging to *Christian*, to his vice-roy, archbishop *Trolle*, and admiral *Norby*, should be delivered to him. He permitted the garrison in consideration of their brave defence, to march out with their arms, baggage, and the honours of war, but on condition that they did not carry arms against *Sweden* for the space of six months. He engaged to transport them to *Lubec*, and promised the burghers that he would, with pleasure, inviolably preserve the privileges of the city. The terms were accepted, the garrison marched out, and *Gustavus*, accompanied by the senators, nobility, gentry, and officers, magnificently dressed, made his public entry. The consuls and magistrates met him at the gate, and on their knees presented the keys of the city to his majesty. The people crowded among the soldiers to behold their prince; the sky was rent with their acclamations; all were charmed with the sweetness and majesty of his air; and nothing could be heard but their shouts and cries. *Gustavus* next went to the great church, to return thanks to God for his signal mercies in blessing his arms with such extraordinary success; after which he gave a grand entertainment to the senate, nobility, and general officers.

GUSTAVUS had no sooner gained possession of his capital, than he began to exert the functions of a king. Orders were issued to all the provinces to acknowledge his authority; governors were appointed, and garrisons draughted for the fortresses, with strict injunctions to all officers, civil and military, immediately to proceed to their several departments. Every hour in the day was employed in the business of the nation. He received persons of quality with respect, and men of merit with that peculiar graciousness, that distinguished the patron and the friend. The people, oppressed with the severity of the last reign, began now to breathe; commerce revived, and *Sweden*, delivered from the cruel tyranny of her ancient enemies, enjoyed all the sweets of peace and liberty, under a generous, brave, and patriot monarch. Even the court was new-modelled; more taste and refinement, the consequence of felicity and wealth, were introduced, either with intention to soften the barbarous manners of the people, or to draw the nobility from their forts and castles in the country, where they reigned independent, and attach them to the court by pleasures and preferments.

c THIS harmony and unanimity was but of short duration. To clear off the large arrears due to the army, and several other incumbrances extremely burthensome to the people, *Gustavus* found it necessary to raise contributions on the clergy, and bring to the mint quantities of rich plate, serving no other purposes than those of luxury and ostentation. Here was wealth inestimable quite lost to the public, and which might faithfully be called the treasures of iniquity; as, instead of maintaining the poor, and promoting piety and religion, it was used to gratify ambition, pride, and avarice. *Gustavus* justly imagined, that piety, charity and learning, constituted the true wealth of the teachers of christianity, and the preachers of that doctrine which, above all others, recommended these virtues, and the laying up of treasures in heaven. But true policy perhaps dictated different sentiments in the beginning of his reign, and the unsettled state of government. His conduct alienated the minds of the ecclesiastics; and *Brusk*, bishop of *Lincoping*, in particular, broke out into open rebellion, instigated his brethren to follow his example, and accused the king of avarice and heresy, before the pope's nuncio. *Gustavus* was too wise to despise the clamours of the church. He fortified himself against the effects, and at the same time firmly pursued his designs. An army was sent to *Bleking*, and that province reduced; while his fleet assisted the new king of *Denmark* in reducing the isle of *Bornholm*.

d ABOUT this time it was that the reformed doctrine was first introduced into *Sweden*, by certain *German* merchants, who imported *Luther's* writings; by the *German* soldiers in the king's pay; and by some young gentlemen educated at *Wittenburgh*. The most celebrated disciple of *Luther* from the North, was *Olaus Petri*, born in the province of *Nericia*. This gentleman, after studying several years under the celebrated reformer, returned to *Sweden*, where he first privately made several proselytes, and afterwards preached his doctrines publickly, and disputed in the schools. The clergy, perceiving it struck at their temporal power, violently opposed it; and *Gustavus* expressed an inclination to be instructed in the subject of their controversy. The independency and freedom of this hero's

hero's sentiments formed not the least shining part of his character. His mind was too elevated to bear the shackles of superstition, or to regard as dangerous innovations whatever appeared consonant to reason. He easily penetrated into the views of the clergy, and perceived that their zeal for religion was inspired by their regard to their temporal interests. The situation in which he stood with the emperor, who was secretly intriguing to reinstate the late king in the throne, and with the pope, who had taken part with the bishop of *Lincoping*, more readily inclined him to give ear to the scholars and preachers of the reformed religion. The ceremony of his coronation, so essential to an elective monarchy, was not yet performed. This could only be done by the clergy; and it was highly probable they would strenuously oppose it: but the reformed doctrine suggested a method for securing his government, and placing him above the reach of the church, or rather of reducing it within his power. He declined, however, divulging his sentiments, until the pope's nuncio, by express orders from the apostolic see, began persecuting the reformists, and in particular *Olaus Petri*, who boldly defended his opinions, and appealed to the king. His partiality to this person, detested by the clergy, involved him more than ever with the church; and matters at length came to such extremities, that either *Gustavus* must resign his crown, or the clergy some part of their power, and particularly that usurped right of persecuting whoever differed in sentiment from them. It must be acknowledged, that the nuncio, whether secretly gained over by *Gustavus*, or from his own natural good sense, behaved with moderation rarely found in those representatives of Christ's vicar. The bishop of *Lincoping* urged him to carry matters to extremities, to condemn *Olaus* and his adherents as hereticks, and even to thunder out anathemas against the sovereign; but this he declined, to the great disappointment of that violent and haughty prelate ^b.

A. D. 1523.
Disputes with
Denmark about
the island
of Gothland,
and other ter-
ritories.

WHILE the kingdom was thus divided with religious disputes, *Gustavus* neglected nothing that could contribute to the temporal felicity and security of his subjects. Admiral *Norby* held the island of *Gothland* in *Christian's* name, but in reality for his own benefit. It had long been the subject of animosity between the kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Denmark*; and *Gustavus* believed this a seasonable opportunity for annexing it to the crown. He was likewise strongly solicited by the regency of *Lubec* to engage in this enterprise; and the more to encourage him, the republic agreed to defer the payment of the subsidy due to them for some years longer. Accordingly *Bernard Melleen* was sent with a fleet and body of forces to attempt the reduction of the island. In a short time he rendered himself master of the whole country, and then laid close siege to the city and citadel of *Wisby*, which *Norby* defended with great valour. In the end, perceiving that he could not withstand the power of *Sweden*, he surrendered his charge to *Frederic* king of *Denmark*, on condition that his majesty would permit him to hold the island as a fief of the crown of *Denmark*, and assist him against the *Swedes* ^c.

FREDERIC had for some time cultivated the friendship of *Gustavus*. In appearance he was united to him in the strictest bonds of alliance, with a view of obtaining his assistance, to subdue the adherents of the late king *Christian*: yet could he not resist the temptation of annexing the island of *Gothland* to the crown of *Denmark*. However, as he was unwilling to break with *Gustavus*, he disposed matters in such a manner, that it was agreed, through the mediation of the city of *Lubec*, to hold a congress at *Malmoe*, for the final decision of all disputes between the crowns. But nothing more was determined at this congress, than that matters should rest in their present situation; namely, the *Swedes* in possession of the open country and city of *Wisby*, and the *Danes* of the citadel.

FREDERIC was besides using every expedient to gain the affections of the *Swedes*, in hopes of one day obtaining the crown; for he was crowned, by archbishop *Trolle* king of the three northern kingdoms. *Gustavus* penetrated his designs, and closely watched his motions. At the preceding congress, he procured an act, signed by the *Danish* commissioners, relinquishing any right of dominion *Denmark* might claim over *Sweden*; a concession highly displeasing to *Frederic*, though he concealed his resentment. At the same time he proved, that the isle of *Gothland* had always been annexed to the crown of *Sweden*, before king *Waldemar* took it by surprise; that the kings of *Denmark* have ever since violently kept possession, notwithstanding the solemn promise made at their coronation, that they would restore it. *Gustavus* also affirmed, that not only *Gothland*, but *Bleking*, *Schonen*, *Lyster*, *Huen*, and the province of *Halland*, belonged to *Sweden*; and that the *Norwegians* had mortgaged the province of *Wyck* to the *Swedes*, for the sum of ten thousand ducats. After all, the whole determined at *Malmoe*, was to leave the dispute about the province to the decision of the *Hanse* towns ^d.

^b VERTOT. tom. ii. p. 35. et seq. LOCCEN. lib. vi.

^d Auct. supra citat.

^c Hist. de Dan. tom. iv. PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 150.

- a DURING the king's absence, a great number of *German* anabaptists arrived in *Stockholm*, whose fanaticism carried them to extremities, and occasioned loud murmurs against the government. They not only preached publicly a strange wild kind of doctrine; but pulled down the images, pictures, and other ornaments in the churches, destroying them with such fury as terrified the papists from opposing them, and obliged the *Lutherans* to dissemble their sentiments, in expectation that this storm would terminate to their advantage. The populace, most of whom were rigid papists, and superstitious in proportion to their ignorance, attributed those troubles to the protestants, without distinguishing betwixt the mad enthusiasm of fanatics, and the reasonable alterations proposed by the followers of *Luther*. The seeds of disaffection began to spring up in the capital,
- b and emissaries were sent to *Dalecarlia*, to light up the torch of discord, by the catholics, who attributed all to the king. *Gustavus* no sooner returned, than he ordered the leaders of the fanatics to be seized; and he reproached the *Lutherans* bitterly, for not opposing, in time, those visionaries. He took effectual measures for settling matters in *Dalecarlia*; permitted *Olaus Petri* to preach in the cathedral church against the doctrine of indulgences, and the pernicious consequences, both to religion and the state, of the celibacy of the clergy. He strongly insisted upon levying the proposed contributions on the clergy; urging, that as the church owed all its wealth to the crown, it appeared reasonable, that part of it should be returned on pressing occasions. He permitted *Olaus Petri* to publish his literal translation of the sacred writings, giving orders to the archbishop of *Upsal*
- c to prepare another version suited to the catholic opinion; which, he said, was the more necessary, as a variety of different sentiments were asserted concerning the very same texts, the truth of which could only be known, by a careful comparison of both translations with the original. He likewise said, that as many of the clergy were ignorant of the *Latin* tongue, it was probable they might often misconstrue very important texts, which might open a field for new disputes. In a word, he said, if they would conduct their flocks into good pasture, they must lead them with their eyes open, and not blindfold them, so that pits and precipices could not be avoided. At first the bishops violently opposed this order, but were in the end forced to submit. The books of the *New Testament* were divided among the bishops, each of whom was to translate a certain portion assigned him. *Brusk*,
- d bishop of *Lincoping*, alone, of all the clergy, stood out with firmness. He published letters, exhorting the people to continue fixed in the religion of their ancestors; and complained loudly of the archbishop's permitting the sacred writings to be translated, saying, that our Lord Jesus Christ had left his doctrine to be interpreted only by his servants and ministers, in order to prevent disputes among the ignorant. He also exhorted the people to celebrate the jubilee ordained by pope *Clement* the seventh. In a word, he blew the coal of contention with all his might, and laboured, with the utmost diligence, to kindle a civil war in the nation.

The king orders the scriptures to be translated into the Swedish language.

- GUSTAVUS*, however, went on with the pious work of the reformation. He drew the incendiary priests out of *Dalecarlia*, and laid down certain rules for some of the *Lutheran* preachers, who seemed to deviate from the doctrine of their master, in preaching up faith alone, without respect to good works. At the same time he protracted their declaiming so unnecessarily and violently against the pope and bishops. But to stop the mouths of the catholics, he appointed a disputation between the two most learned doctors of either religion; at which were present the king and the archbishop. *Olaus Petri* remained master of the field, because he would admit of no proofs but those deduced from the sacred writings, whereas *Peter Gallus* founded his arguments on the decisions of councils, and the authority of the pope. *Olaus* justly affirmed, that it was absurd to urge proofs which he could not admit, when they had the sacred writings before them, on which
- f both founded their doctrines, and each equally allowed to be the criterion and test of truth. Moreover, his version of the *New Testament* was received with applause, while that of his adversaries was rejected as false and spurious.

- WHAT chiefly assisted the rapid progress of the protestant religion in *Sweden*, was the conversion of the archbishop, who, in visiting the several dioceses, laboured to establish the doctrines of *Luther* among the people. It is true, that his promotion was subsequent to his conversion; yet the dignity of his high station added very considerable weight to his arguments; and what would probably have been disregarded when delivered by a private clergyman, was revered and applauded from the mouth of the archbishop. Some writers, however, alledge, and among them the judicious *Puffendorf*, that the archbishop still continued a zealot in the *Roman* catholic faith, and used every probable means to destroy the reformed religion, and persecute its preachers. He goes so far as to affirm, that the prelate endeavoured to prevail on his majesty, to demand the princess of *Poland* in marriage,
- g

c LOCEN. lib. vi.

with a view to attach him the more strongly to the see of *Rome*; but that *Gustavus* penetrating his designs, made light of his counsel (A). Hearing that the bishops had entered into a combination to persecute the reformists, the king told them, that their conduct would be more praise-worthy and useful to the state, if they applied their thoughts to the discharge of the public debts, and easing the people of those enormous taxes imposed by his predecessor. At length he determined using more effectual measures. With a strong body of troops he went to *Upsal*, and publicly declared his resolution of diminishing the oppressive number of idle monks and priests in the kingdom; who, under pretence of religion, lived and fattened on the spoils and labour of his industrious subjects. Their revenues, he said, he would convert to the necessary and essential purposes of the state; but perceiving that his discourse was not relished by the people, he turned it to raillery, putting a crown on the archbishop's head, and making him king of the festival, in order that he might lodge himself and attendants in free-quarters upon him. He ordered a second disputation between *Peter Gallus* and *Olaus Petri*, which, like the preceding, terminated to the advantage of the latter: after which he published an edict, declaring himself head of the church, which was avowedly denying the pope's supremacy. The clergy remonstrated, but the king pursued his designs without regarding their resentment. The archbishop, in particular, became so violent, that his majesty found it necessary to have him arrested, but did not follow the advice of many of his courtiers, who were for putting him to death. On the contrary, he released, and sent him out of the way, under pretence of employing him as his ambassador in *Poland*; a commission which the archbishop never executed. Instead of proceeding to the court of *Poland*, he retired to *Dantzic*, and from thence recommended the care of the church to the bishop of *Lincoping*^f.

THIS prelate's gaining an accession of power, served only to render him more violent, and widen the breach between the king and the church. A scarcity of corn happened at this time, and the bishop endeavoured to persuade the people, that it arose from the increase of heresy, and the encouragement given to the false doctrines of *Luther*. To relieve the necessities of the people, *Gustavus* ordered great quantities of corn to be imported from *Livonia*, which he believed would prove more effectual than suppressing the growth of protestantism. He likewise gave directions for publishing the principal points in dispute between the papists and reformists, and again proposed a third public disputation. *Brusk*, bishop of *Lincoping*, would by no means consent to this, pretending, that as neither himself, nor the other bishops, entertained any scruples about the truth of their religion, it would be unnecessary, and even impious, to engage in controversies, and obscure truth with subtlety and refinement; that it was ridiculous to dispute the truth of a mode of worship, which had flourished for so many ages, and been confirmed by the martyrdom of such a number of saints.

Intrigues of
the clergy.

A. D. 1527.

An impostor
claims the
crown.

To divert the king from engaging in religious matters, they artfully prevailed on the son of a peasant, named *Hans*, to personate *Nils Sture*, son to the late administrator. *Hans* repaired, as had been concerted, to *Dalecarlia*, a province in which the name of *Sture* was held in veneration. His arrival drew crowds of followers; and so considerable a party was formed in his favour, that the young impostor's ambition was fired, and his hopes elevated with the thoughts of dethroning *Gustavus*, and succeeding to his crown. He was powerfully succoured by the archbishop of *Drontheim* in *Norway*, and at last the *Dalecarlians* broke out into open rebellion, determining to support the pretended *Sture* against all opposition, and even against the hero for whom they had so lately spilt their blood. *Gustavus* first opposed their folly by demonstrating, that the true *Nils Sture* had been for some years dead; and the senate wrote in the strongest manner, confirming what the king advanced, and cautioning the people from embracing the cause of an impostor, and being deluded by the machinations of certain persons, whose interest it was to involve the kingdom afresh in a civil war. Their remonstrances seemed to make an impression; the rebels were for some time quiet: but the impostor had, by this time, formed a very considerable interest in *Norway*, where he passed by the name of the gentleman *Dalia*, or *Dali*. *Frederic*, king of *Denmark*, likewise secretly supported him, or at least connived at this plot to ruin *Gustavus*, which he perceived would furnish him with an opportunity of reducing the province of *Wyck*, and possibly the whole kingdom of *Sweden*. He turned a deaf ear to all the *Swedish* monarch's remonstrances; but, at the same time, made professions of inviolable esteem and friendship. At last, however, he seemed to throw off all

^f LOCEN. lib. vi. VERT. tom. ii. p. 54. et seq.

(A) We cannot take it upon us to reconcile assertions so contradictory, in a point so obvious and plain as this before us. One writer asserts, that the archbishop was a zealous reformist; another, that he was a

rigid catholic. Probable it is, that different persons are meant, as there happened a vacancy in the see of *Upsal* about this time.

a disguise, by permitting the impostor to marry a *Danish* lady of the first quality, and the queen his mother to present him with a gold chain on the day of his nuptials.

HANS, upon these marks of royal favour, began his march with three hundred men, to reduce *Sweden*, and dethrone *Gustavus*. The very thoughts of acquiring a crown would seem to have disturbed his imagination; for he spoke with as much security as if the whole kingdom of *Sweden* had declared for him. His chief resentment was levelled against the city of *Stockholm*, which he threatened severely to chastise for the encouragement given by the inhabitants to heresy. Little regard, however, was paid to his impotent threatenings by the burghers, whose dislike to the *Romish* superstition increased daily, and carried them so far, as to overturn a monstrous statue of *St. George*, that stood in the great church. They likewise ordered, that the *Lutheran* religion should be freely preached in all the churches, and divine service performed in the *Swedish* language. Of all the magistrates, only three had the courage to oppose these innovations; and their endeavours to stem the torrent were vain.

CIRCUMSTANCES were indeed very seasonable for effecting a reformation, and *Gustavus* availed himself of the opportunity. His holiness was besieged in the castle of *St. Angelo* by the emperor *Charles V.* He was too hard pressed, to pay all the attention to foreign affairs which they required. *Gustavus*, believing this a favourable opportunity to reduce the power of the church, and accomplish his designs, convoked an assembly of the states at *Westeraas*. Here he published a declaration, professing himself a disciple of that doctrine taught by Christ and his apostles, which violent ecclesiastics branded with the odious names of innovation and heresy. He acknowledged his dislike of several practices of the church of *Rome*; particularly, the granting indulgences; and that pernicious custom among the priests of enriching themselves, by practising on the ignorance and superstition of the vulgar. He ordered, that no one should be denied the sacrament of the Lord's supper on account of debts he might have contracted; but that all matters of this nature be referred to the civil courts. That bishops should not inherit the effects of such ecclesiastics as might die intestate, to the great prejudice of the relations of the deceased. That they should surrender the crown-lands they had long usurped, in order to free the king from the necessity of loading the people with exorbitant taxes. In a word, he proved the legality of the steps he had taken to reduce the clergy, by the example of his imperial majesty *Charles V.* who, incensed at the pride and ambition of the apostolic see, was at that time besieging Christ's vicar ^e.

Gustavus declares openly in favour of the protestant religion.

THIS declaration greatly altered the sentiments of the people with respect to the king's conduct. The mild and insinuating manner in which he treated the turbulent and credulous *Dalecarlians*, the tender regard he expressed for the ease and happiness of his people, as well as the manifest intention of the late ordinances, removed all the suspicions raised by the clergy, checked the growing inclination in favour of the pretended *Sture*, and fully convinced all sensible and moderate persons of the equity, the justice, and the good sense of his majesty's administration. To engage in his interest some lay-senators, who had hitherto sided with the clergy, he made a regulation that gratified their pride, at the same time that it humbled the arrogance of the ecclesiastics. This was, that they should take place, upon all public occasions, of the bishops, who had, till now, assumed that right, and from long custom claimed it as indisputably their due, to rank next to the sovereign. They were now reduced to the necessity of being second in precedence, the nobility were to hold the third, ecclesiastics of the lower order were to hold the fourth, and the fifth and sixth were assigned for the burghers and peasants.

To oppose this, and other encroachments on their liberties, the clergy met in *St. Giles's* church, and there took a solemn oath, never to countenance or suffer those indignities put on their sacred order; never to consent to the alienation of the church-lands, or any other of the late alterations made by the king, or contained in his declaration at *Westeraas*. This assembly was held with such privacy, that it never came to the king's knowledge till five years after, when the paper was found, signed by all those who had entered into the engagement. He went on, therefore, in the design of retrenching their power, representing to those who espoused the church, how much the crown-revenues suffered by the weak indulgence and superstitious liberality of his predecessors to the clergy. He said, that most of the bishops had revenues superior to those of the sovereign; that they were risen to a height of power dangerous to the commonwealth; that they possessed castles and fortified places, which set them above dependence on the crown, enabled them to excite troubles in the kingdom, and was the means of their enslaving *Sweden* to *Denmark*; that pomp and luxury had taken place of piety, learning, and morality among them, to the great prejudice of souls, and misfortune of those who, born ignorant them-

Resolution of the clergy.

seives, relied upon the clergy for edification. He alledged, that the nobility complained ^a of their being impoverished, and prayed that the superfluous wealth of the church might be applied to their relief, without which they must fall to the lowest abyss of misery. He concluded with observing, that, by a law passed in the reign of *Charles Canutson*, the clergy were bound to restore such lands and effects when claimed, as could be proved were bequeathed to them in prejudice to the lawful heirs, and their descendants. On these conditions he could ease the people of all their burthensome taxes, restore the nobility to their ancient lustre, and establish that equipoise of wealth and felicity, which could alone afford general content and satisfaction.

THE great points which the clergy could not digest, were the sequestration of their lands, and the prohibition from granting indulgences; and receiving absolution-money. Bishop *Brusk* replied in their name, that restitution of grants by pious souls, could not be made without danger of incurring the Almighty's displeasure; nor indeed could any steps at all be taken, before the apostolic see was consulted.

HITHERTO the states declined giving their opinion, and had rather shewn a partiality to the clergy; while the king was supported only by the city of *Stockholm*, some of the nobility, and a great part of the army and common people. At last his majesty asked them, whether they would positively consent to his demands, without which, he said, he would abdicate the crown, upon being reimbursed in the estate and money he had spent in the service of his country. On receiving this, he said, he would leave *Sweden*, and never again set foot in an ungrateful infatuated kingdom, doomed to perpetual slavery, either ^c from the despotism of its kings, or the tyranny of spiritual directors. Upon this declaration he retired to his palace, where he shut himself up for four days, with the principal officers of his army. The grand mareschal *Thure Johanson*, who was married to the king's sister, was the strongest stickler for the clergy. He plainly declared, that for himself he should never be prevailed on to embrace the *Lutheran* doctrine, and that he foresaw innumerable misfortunes to the king from his rashness. He was, however, over-ruled by the states, who, after taking the matter into serious consideration, determined to conform to his majesty's will. Immediately the bishops were desired to surrender their castles; and some of them complied without hesitation. But *Brusk* desired that he might keep his castle of *Mannakebada* during life; which being refused, it was seized by the king's officers, and the ^d prelate forced to give security for his fidelity, and to sign, with the other bishops, the resolution of the states. The chief articles of this resolution were, that the scriptures should be taught in the schools; that the church should be filled with ministers, learned in their conversation, and pious in their lives; that no church-preferments should be granted without the king's permission; that when a layman fought with an ecclesiastic, the former should not be excommunicated any more than the latter, but the offender punished according to law; that the effects of a priest dying intestate should descend to his nearest relations, and not to the church; that persons who used matrimonial liberties with women to whom they were betrothed, should be exempted from all church-censure on their marrying the party; that all disputes between laymen and priests should be determined ^e before the secular courts; that mendicants should not be permitted to collect alms above twice in the year; that they should not absent from their convent above two weeks at a time; that they should not meddle with civil affairs, excite seditions among the common people, but employ themselves in their spiritual functions, and preaching the pure word of God, in the vernacular tongue.

As soon as the assembly was prorogued, his majesty examined all the grants and letters of donation to the several fees, churches, and monasteries, re-annexing to the crown all grants made since the year 1454. He then seized upon a variety of other valuable effects, appropriating to himself the rich moveables in religious houses. Thence arose prodigious sums, that greatly encreased the royal revenues, filled the treasury of *Gustavus*, ^f and enabled him to transmit vast riches to his successors. Many of the chief lords of the kingdom, angry that they did not share in the spoils of the church, remonstrated to the king; but he paid little regard to their complaints, and disappointed all their intrigues.

GUSTAVUS had now established the highest reputation, as a politician and soldier, at home and abroad. *Frederic*, king of *Denmark*, had long meditated an attempt to unite the three crowns; but struck with the power, the wisdom, and the bravery of *Gustavus*, he found it necessary to live in terms of amity with him. All the prudence of the king could not, however, quiet the minds of the turbulent *Dalecarlians*. Instigated by the ^g bishops, they again took arms to support the pretended *Nils Sture*. To demonstrate to them the imposture, *Gustavus* sent them a letter, written by the mother of the true *Nils Sture*, but it produced no effect. Upon this he ordered a powerful army to march against

^c PUFFEND. Hist. de Swede, tom i. VERT. ubi supra.

^f LOCCEN. lib. vi.

them,

a them, on the approach of which they begged a truce, and promised to remain faithful subjects, on condition that his majesty would not force them to embrace *Lutheranism*; that neither himself nor his officers should wear furred and slashed or finished habits; that he would burn all who eat flesh on *Friday*; and that he would grant a safe retreat to the impostor, whom they called *Nils Sture*. Of these four articles, his majesty acceded only to the first and last. The impostor fled first to *Norway*, afterwards to *Rostock*, and at last joined with the partizans and adherents of the late king *Christian*; though the *Danish* writers alledge, that he was beheaded at *Rostock*, by order of *Gustavus*, who threatened to detain the shipping if the magistrates refused. It may be worth observing, that about this time several of the discontented lords and the bishops joined in a request to *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, descended by the mother from *Waldemar*, king of *Sweden*, to accept of the crown, which he wisely refused, knowing how impossible it would be to unite kingdoms so distant, and not chusing to give up the certainty of his present crown for the uncertain hopes of acquiring one perhaps more brilliant.

As soon as the clergy were sufficiently humbled, his majesty resolved to proceed to the ceremony of his coronation, hitherto deferred from a variety of contingencies. It was thought that this would put a stop to the great number of the leaders, and restore the tranquility of the kingdom. *Gustavus* was accordingly crowned at *Upsal* on the 12th of *February*, immediately after which he sent an army against the *Dalecarlians*, who had again appeared in arms. When the king's army entered the province, notice was given to the rebels, that they must either surrender the ringleaders of the sedition, or stand the consequences of a battle, and see their country destroyed by fire and sword. They chose the former, laid down their arms, promised submission, and surrendered their chiefs, who were immediately put to death. It was after this that his majesty convoked an assembly of the clergy at *Oerebro*, where he first publicly renounced several of the tenets of the church of *Rome*, substituting in their place those of the *Lutheran* religion. Here he likewise ordained, that a professor of theology should be established in every diocese, who should expound the scriptures agreeable to the protestant doctrine. When the professor at *Stura* first entered upon the duties of his office, by explaining the evangelists, he with difficulty escaped being murdered, at the instigation of the bishop and chief nobility of *West* *Gotthland*, who had all entered into a league to extirpate the protestants and dethrone *Gustavus*, founding their hopes on the general discontent of the clergy, and their influence over the minds of the people. Such were the difficulties with which the great *Gustavus* struggled, in establishing that freedom of thought permitted by the reformed religion, and breaking the fetters and bondage enforced by the church of *Rome*. They openly accused the king of introducing heresy in the kingdom, of despoiling the monasteries and churches of their ancient privileges, and robbing them of their effects; adding, that he permitted monks to marry, suffered mass to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, diminished the number of sacraments, and soiled their dignity and lustre; in a word, that he abolished the ordination of priests, auricular confession, extreme unction, and the invocation of saints. They concluded, that it was absolutely necessary to dethrone him and extirpate heresy, for the preservation of the true religion.

Among the discontented, the chief was *Thure Johanson*, who wrote to his sons in *Up-land*, to raise the people in arms against *Gustavus*. The sons, however, as senators of the kingdom, preferred their duty to their king and country, to obeying the dictates of a rash bigotted parent, delivered the letters to *Gustavus*, promised him the utmost fidelity, and intreated that their father's crime should not be imputed to them. *George*, the third brother, provost of the cathedral of *Upsal*, however, followed a different course, engaged in his father's sentiments, and raised considerable disturbances in the territory of *Roslagen*. *Thure Johanson* himself did the same in *Dalecarlia* and *Smaland*, where the people massacred the king's officers, seized his sister in her return from *Germany*, renounced all obedience to *Gustavus*, obliged the *Ostrogoths* to do the same, threatening to destroy their country if they refused, and resolved to elect *Magnus Breynstison*, a person of great consideration, and remarkable for his eloquence, their sovereign. *Denmark* espoused the disaffected, and placed great confidence in the popularity of *Johanson*, who declared his interest was so powerful, that with three thousand men he could reduce the whole kingdom. By his assistance, the *Danes* thought to re-annex the *Swedish* crown to their own, or at least to recover the province of *Wyck*. But *Gustavus* concerted matters so well, that the *Ostrogoths* laid down their arms, and promised inviolable fidelity, provided they were secured in their ancient religion; and the disaffected lords finding themselves deserted by the people, on whom they depended, were forced to take refuge in *Denmark*. *Gustavus* complained of the countenance shewn them, as a breach of the treaty subsisting between

^a Loccen. ibid. VERTOT. ubi supra.

Gustavus re-
turns a sharp
answer to the
Danish am-
bassador.

the two kingdoms; but instead of any concessions, *Frederick*, pushed on by the great promises of the fugitive *Swedes*, demanded restitution of the province of *Wyck*, and payment of a sum of money which he alledged was due to him from *Gustavus*, because the *Swedish* commissioners did not appear at *Lubec* at the time stipulated by the treaty of *Malmoe*. To this haughty demand, *Gustavus* replied with firmness, accusing *Frederick* of mean intrigues, and declaring to him that peace or war with a prince whose word could not be depended on, was to him a matter of indifference. Surprised and mortified with this answer, the *Danish* ambassador returned; and *Gustavus*, after dispersing the troops raised by *George* provost of *Upsal*, and taking himself prisoner, applied seriously to dissipate the discontents excited by the clergy. He pardoned the inhabitants of *Smaland* and *Visigoth*, and he restored to his favour the chapters of *Skara* and *Lincoping*. These, charmed with his moderation, wrote bitterly to their bishops, summoning them to appear in *Sweden* to justify their conduct. In a word, matters were in a fair way of being happily adjusted on all hands, when a fresh accident had almost again embroiled the nation.

Further dis-
turbances
raised by the
clergy, and
one raised by
the superstition
of the people.

THE subsidy promised by *Gustavus* to the regency of *Lubec* was still due; for the payments of which, the states agreed to give his majesty all the useless bells of the churches and monasteries. The people were shocked at the sacrilege, and the *Dalecarlians* in particular expressed their love for religion, by chusing to rise in rebellion against their king, renounce the most solemn engagements, and involve their country in a civil war, rather than part with those superfluities of religion and appendages of weak superstition. *Gustavus*, in his usual manner, had first recourse to lenity and argument; but finding these ineffectual, and that the *Dalecarlians* had the presumption to summon twelve persons from each province to meet at *Abroga*, to deliberate on the present state of the kingdom, he hastened to break their measures, and crush rebellion in the seed. After assembling the states at *Upsal*, he marched with a powerful army to the frontiers of the provinces, explained his reasons for applying the bells to the purposes of the state; and when he found them untractable, gave a feigned order to his troops, to fire on the members of the illegal assembly, with which they were so intimidated, that they fell at his feet and implored his mercy. Upon their solemnly promising eternal fidelity, he once more pardoned the *Dalecarlians*, at the intercession of the senate; but was no sooner departed, than, unmindful of their obligations, they had again recourse to arms, engaging not to lay them down until his majesty should promise not to approach their frontiers with above a certain prescribed number of attendants.

His majesty was diverted from punishing the perfidious *Dalecarlians* by a treaty of marriage, in which he was engaged with *Katharine*, daughter of *Magnus*, duke of *Saxe-Lunenburg*. This lady he espoused before the public tranquility was restored, installing *Laurence Petri*, a protestant, in the archbishopric of *Upsal*, that the ceremony might be performed with the more dignity by a prelate of the reformed church, and giving him at the same time a guard of 500 men, to render him more respectable to the canons and chapter. By this means the canons were not only humbled in a short time, and obliged to surrender all their plate and lands, but turned out of their places, and supplanted by young students of the protestant religion.

Christian
makes prepara-
tions to recover
his crowns.

CHRISTIAN, in the mean time, was making preparations to recover his throne. He had formed a powerful interest in *Norway*, and was at the bottom of almost all the tumults excited in *Sweden*. By the intrigues of *Gustavus Trolle*, he became so formidable, as to require his majesty's serious attention, having put to sea with thirty ships and ten thousand land-forces, with intention to invade *Sweden*. His fleet was, however, overtaken in a violent storm, in which ten ships perished, *Christian* being forced with the rest to the coast of *Norway*. From thence *Trolle* wrote to the *Dalecarlians*, beseeching them to take arms against *Gustavus*, as a person determined to root out the true religion, and destroy public liberty. He besides intrigued with the inhabitants of *Nylose*, about surrendering their city to *Christian*, whose troops had already gained possession of the citadel of *Olufsburch*, in the province of *Wyck*.

THESE attempts were alarming, as there could be no security for the affections of a people who had so often rebelled, and who were now recalling a tyrant dethroned by the unanimous voices of the whole kingdom. *Gustavus*, therefore, resolved upon vigorous measures. He sent the grand mareschal *Sigeson* and *Soren Kyl*, with a considerable body of troops to *Lodese*, to cover that frontier. These generals attacked and defeated *Christian's* army near *Babus*, which so incensed that prince, that he bitterly reproached *Thure Johanson*, with misrepresenting the state of affairs in *Sweden*; and three days after that nobleman's body and head were found separated in the streets, by order, as was supposed, of the bloody *Christian*. After this cruel action he gained a considerable advantage over the *Swedish* army,

5 VERTOT. ubi supra.

a by means of a stratagem, which proves that he possessed the abilities of a warrior and soldier. *Sigefun*, however, stopped his progress, and blocked up the passes to *Halland* and *Schonen*, which obliged him to return to *Norway*, where he capitulated with the *Danish* generals, surrendered himself to them, and was treated by *Frederic* as a prisoner, without regard to the articles of the treaty ^f. He is made prisoner.

GUSTAVUS seeing himself thus happily delivered from an enemy that had always raised apprehensions in his mind, cost much trouble, and occasioned various insurrections in the kingdom, took the *Dalecarlians* once more to task, seized the chief mutineers, put some to death, and shut up the rest in dungeons in *Stockholm*; after which we hear no more for some time of their seditious humour.

b IT was about this time that disputes arose between the *Flemings* and *Hanse* towns, about A. D. 1532. the commerce of the *Baltic*. The former rose in wealth and power, in proportion as the latter declined, and from the same reasons. The *Hanse* towns were in a manner the carriers of *Europe*, supplying all the southern and western states, with not only the commodities of the North, but those of the East likewise. The discoveries made in navigation not long after, the compass, the passage by the *Cape of Good Hope*, and the vast improvements in the art of sailing, in geography and astronomy, first led the *Portuguese*, the *Dutch*, the *English*, and other nations, to share the trade with the *Hanse* towns and free states of *Italy*. The *Dutch*, in particular, pushed the advantage with that spirit of perseverance peculiar to this people. They carried on an immense trade, not only to the East and West, and even at this time endeavoured to share the trade of the *Baltic* with the *Lubeckers*, which the latter regarded as an encroachment on their rights. Hence arose new matter of trouble to *Gustavus*. The *Lubeckers* demanded the sole privilege of this commerce, and insisted upon the *Swedes* excluding the *Flemings* in particular. This *Gustavus* refused, as unreasonable in itself, and prejudicial to his subjects. The *Lubeckers* were incensed and disappointed; they demanded the remainder of the money due to the republic, and *Gustavus* desired they would prove their claim. Matters rose to such a height, that the haughty *Lubeckers* publicly declared, that as they were the instruments of his election, so they would now punish his ingratitude by dethroning him. Accordingly they made preparations; united themselves with the disaffected *Swedes*, and entered into every cabal and intrigue formed against the king. They corrupted certain burghers of *Stockholm*, conspired with them against the life of this great prince, and in the design of rendering this capital a free state, united in interest, and upon the same footing as the *Hanse* towns. The scheme was to place a train of powder under the king's throne in the great church, to blow him up, together with the principal personages of his court, and to put the city under the government of the regency of *Lubec*, until a proper scheme of administration was devised. Happily the plot was discovered, the conspirators seized, and punished with the severity their crime merited. Lastly, the republic invited *Suante Sture*, of the family of the late administrator, then at the court of *Saxe-Lawenburg*, to conduct the enterprise against *Gustavus*, imagining that his presence would bring a great number of persons to espouse their cause. On his refusal, they addressed themselves to *John* earl of *Holstein*, who harboured some discontents against *Gustavus*; and he, fired with ambition and revenge, listened to the proposals of the regency. Quarrel between the Hanse towns and the Dutch.

FREDERIC, king of *Denmark*, was now dead, and his successor thinking an alliance A. D. 1534. with *Sweden* necessary to insure peace to the first years of his government, sent ambassadors to *Gustavus*, by whom he was informed of the combination against him. A treaty of alliance was accordingly concluded between the two courts, after which *Gustavus* ordered all the *Lubec* merchantmen in his ports to be seized. The *Danes* perceiving that a war between *Sweden* and the *Hanse* towns would necessarily involve them likewise in disputes, offered their mediation, which the *Swedish* monarch accepted. As to the republic, so assured was she of the great monarchy sketched out for herself in the North, that she sold *Denmark* to *Henry VIII.* of *England*, that prince actually advancing 20,000 crowns, and stipulating to pay the remainder as soon as the conquest was completed and delivery made. The projects of the republic being so vast and extensive, no wonder the mediation of *Denmark*, deemed already a conquered country, should be rejected. To prosecute the plan, it was necessary *Christian* should be set at liberty, as that prince had still a great number of adherents both in *Sweden* and *Denmark*. For this purpose *Christopher*, earl of *Oldenburgh*, who was entirely ignorant of the private designs of the regency, was chosen to set his kinsman free by force of arms. Their operations were to begin with *Denmark*, not doubting but *Sweden* must necessarily follow the fate of that kingdom. At first the *Lubeckers* met with considerable success; but the *Danes* electing *Christian III.* who was married to the sister of the queen of *Sweden*, that prince demanded assistance of his brother-in-law, and was powerfully succoured. Thus *Sweden*, instead of being principal in the war, became only an auxiliary;

^f Loccen. lib. vi.

and *Denmark*, that seemed to be entirely out of the quarrel, and was acting the part of mediator, now became principal.

As we have already fully related the particulars of this war, we shall here touch upon such circumstances only, as immediately concern the kingdom of *Sweden*. *Gustavus* sent a reinforcement by sea and land to *Christian*. The former was unfortunate; several of the transports fell into the hands of the enemy; and admiral *Fleming*, in particular, with five hundred sailors, was made prisoner and carried to *Dantzick*. The land-forces met with better success. They marched through *Halland*, took the cities *Helmstadt* and *Labolm*, besieged *Waerberg*, passed through *Schonen*, and joined the inhabitants to make head against earl *Christopher*. They engaged that prince, took *Mark Meyer*, burgomaster of *Lubec*, prisoner, confined him in *Waerberg*, where by stratagem he made himself master of the citadel ^s.

A conspiracy
formed against
the king's life.

In the mean time, *Gustavus* received advice from several of the *German* princes, of a conspiracy formed against him by the burghers of *Stockholm*. Incensed at this second attempt, he ordered the conspirators to be seized and put to death. It is said that *Olaus Petri* had learnt the particulars of the plot, from a person who came to confess himself; that he communicated it to *Loez Anderson*, chancellor of the court, but that neither of them discovering it to the king, both were condemned to death as accomplices, but redeemed their lives with a great sum of money. This story, inconsistent in itself, was probably propagated by the *Romish* clergy, in order to prejudice the reputation of these two favourites; we say inconsistent, because both the chancellor and *Olaus* were protestants, and neither could receive information by auricular confession ^b.

THE war still went on, and the *Lubec* fleet was defeated by the combined squadrons of *Sweden* and *Denmark*.

AFTER this success, *Christian III.* contrary to the advice of his council, made a voyage to *Stockholm*, with intention to discover to *Gustavus* the intrigues of *Charles V.* who, under pretence of seating *Frederic*, count palatine, on the northern thrones, had no other view than to gain the superiority of the northern and *Baltic* seas. He was likewise desirous of expressing his gratitude to *Gustavus* for the powerful succours he afforded, and of inducing him to continue his good offices. His reception was such as might have been expected from a great and magnanimous prince, too generous to seize all the advantages which the occasion offered, or to distinguish himself a deep politician, by approving himself a bad man. The *Danish* writers, indeed, drop obscure hints, which seem to reflect on his character, or deprive him of the virtue of hospitality at least; but had they known any thing to his prejudice, they would have certainly expressed themselves more distinctly.

Jealousies be-
tween Den-
mark and
Sweden.

A. D. 1536.

It was some time after that *Gustavus* had reason to be displeased with his *Danish* majesty, when he struck up a peace with the city of *Lubec*, without acquainting the king with his intentions, or so much as once mentioning his name in the treaty. This it was that obliged him to recal his forces and fleet from *Denmark*, that set *Christian* upon making apologies, and convinced *Gustavus* that his designs were no less than effecting the conquest of *Sweden*. To prevent his being surrounded by enemies, his *Swedish* majesty concluded peace for sixty years with the *Russians*. At the same time he married *Margaret*, daughter of *Abraham Erickson*, governor of *West-Gothland*, whose interest was very powerful, with intention to establish the external tranquility of his kingdom. His former queen had been dead some time before, and he preferred this to foreign alliances with good reason, as afterwards appeared from the services done to duke *John*.

A. D. 1540.

HITHERTO the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* preferred the exterior of friendship, but there were secret jealousies and suspicions, which broke out into open war at the death of *Gustavus*. *Denmark* could never forget its former superiority, nor lay aside all thoughts of re-annexing *Sweden* to that crown; but the character of *Gustavus* intimidated the *Danish* monarchs from attempting it openly. They satisfied themselves, therefore, with intrigues and cabals to disturb his peace, and alienate the minds of his subjects. An instance of this now occurred in *Smaland*, where the inhabitants were excited to revolt by the intrigues of *Christian*. Their rebellion, however, did not remain long unpunished. *Gustavus*, with his usual rapidity, marched against them, obliged them by the terror of his name to lay down their arms, and then granted an amnesty.

Gustavus
forms an al-
liance with
Francis I.

As the emperor *Charles V.* had openly espoused the cause of count *Palatin*, son-in-law of *Christian II.* then prisoner in *Denmark*, *Gustavus* endeavoured to fortify himself against all attempts, by foreign alliances. After casting his eyes all around, he perceived none more favourable to his designs than the friendship of *France*, says *Puffendorf*; though we confess we cannot see what expectations he could have from this alliance. Thither *Gustavus* sent his secretary to pave the way for a treaty, by proposing certain commercial regulations for

^s Hist. de Dan. tom v.

^b Loccen. lib. vi.

- a the mutual advantage of both kingdoms. The ambassador was instructed to offer, that the *Swedes* would trade directly to *France* for wine and salt, instead of taking them as usual of the *Flemings*, his majesty intending to establish magazines, and sell these commodities at a certain price to his subjects. This project never took place, but we are left in the dark A. D. 1542; with respect to the causes of its miscarriage. The *French* court received his majesty's propositions favourably; the *Swedes* were permitted to buy salt, without paying the usual duties, and a treaty of trade and navigation was concluded. Afterwards *Francis I.* made a particular enquiry into the state of *Sweden*, a kingdom very little known at that time among the southern states of *Europe*; and being well informed of the character of *Gustavus*, and of the warlike dispositions of his subjects, he readily consented to the alliance proposed.
- b *Gustavus* in consequence sent a magnificent embassy into *France*, in order to impress a high opinion of his power; both kings engaged mutually to assist each other against all their enemies, with 25,000 men and 50 ships of war; and a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive was solemnly executed.

THIS very useless treaty being finished, *Gustavus* again resumed his great design, of confirming himself and his family in the throne. Assembling the states at *Westeraas*, he prevailed on them to make the crown hereditary in his house, and found no great difficulty in obtaining whatever he desired. He had before made overtures to the same purpose, but the situation of affairs at that time was unfavourable. Now his power was established, the nation sensible of his merit, and their own obligations. He had delivered them from the cruel yoke of *Denmark*, he had rescued them from the tyranny of priesthood, rendered *Sweden* happy at home and respectable abroad; they could not therefore refuse to reward these services by an act of gratitude, which should at the same time most effectually exclude all future claims of the *Danish* monarchs, and attempts to unite the crowns. Thus it was that the young prince *Eric*, then eleven years of age, was chosen successor to his father's throne, and with this extraordinary privilege, that his descendants in the male line should successively inherit the crown; with this restriction, however, that whenever the male line became extinct, the election of a new king should devolve on the senate and states. In this assembly the states took an oath, constantly to maintain the true evangelic religion, according to the tenets of the reformed church, and never to tolerate any other in the kingdom; so that from this time we may date the entire extinction of the *Romish* religion in *Sweden*.

Gustavus secures the crown in his own family, by the act of hereditary union.

THE king of *Denmark* received with chagrin and astonishment the news of the act of hereditary union; as it was called. It absolutely cancelled the treaty of *Calmar*, and cut off all prospect of reuniting the crowns; yet could not *Christian* persuade himself altogether to relinquish his claims. He therefore ordered the *Swedish* arms to be quartered with his own, as a public declaration of his right. *Gustavus* sent ambassadors to him to complain of this insult; but he could procure no redress from this young and ambitious prince, elated with the late advantages obtained over the *Lubeckers*, by which he gained entire possession of *Denmark*. His *Swedish* majesty, far advanced in years, and broke with care and fatigue, dissimulated his resentment. Unwilling to enter upon a new war in the decline of life, he chose to preserve his authority rather by his reputation, than by arms. He knew how vain the pretensions of the *Danish* monarch were without the power of enforcing them, and contented himself with fixing the crown, by a solemn act of the diet, in his own family. It was necessary, however, that some measure should be taken to quiet the jealousies that threatened a rupture between the two kingdoms. Accordingly a negotiation was set on foot, the two kings had an interview at *Bromsebroo*, and it was agreed to defer the decision of their differences, or the renewal of their disputes, for the term of fifty years.

GUSTAVUS having now established the public tranquility on a solid foundation, applied his mind to the arts of peace, the encouragement of science and commerce. The cities were beautified by useful edifices, men of genius in every profession patronised, ships built and constructed upon a new plan, merchants of every country invited to trade with *Sweden*, the army and navy put on a respectable footing; in a word, every measure sedulously pursued that could render his people happy, and himself powerful. To settle the affairs of his own family on the best footing possible, he assigned portions for the younger children. To *John*, the second son, he gave *Finland*; to *Magnus*, the third, the province of *West-Gothland*; and to *Charles*, his fourth son, *Nericia*, *Sundermania*, and *Wermeland*, were given, as their portions, for which they did homage to the crown. Each of the children had 100,000 crowns in money, besides other valuable moveables. To *Eric*, his eldest son, he assigned the province of *Smaland*, to maintain his household until he came to the throne; after he had first signed an instrument, promising fidelity and obedience to his father and the states; to employ all his power in defending the frontiers of the kingdom; to form no alliances but with the consent of the king and the states; to communicate all letters he should receive

He applies his mind to the pacific arts.

ceive from foreign princes and states; with a variety of other articles, which shewed the caution and prudence of *Gustavus*.

He proposes a
treaty of mar-
riage be-
tween prince
Eric and queen
Elizabeth of
England.

NEXT he thought of strengthening his family by some considerable alliance. He apprehended that the powerful interest of the younger children, and the promising genius of duke *John*, in particular, might one day create trouble to *Eric*, and excite civil commotions. To preserve them in their obedience, he imagined no step would be more conducive than marrying prince *Eric* into some powerful family, whose interest and connections should be able to suppress all attempts to disturb the government. In this view, no alliance was so desirable as that of *Elizabeth* queen of *England*. Her great qualities, her dignity, and dominions, made this princess the object of the ambition of every aspiring young prince in *Europe*; but none stood a fairer chance than *Eric*, on account of the reformed religion now established in *Sweden*. *Philip* of *Spain*'s dominions were vast; but this very circumstance, together with his religion, were unsurmountable objections. The same objections might be made to the duke of *Anjou*; but with respect to *Eric* there could be none, except what depended on her own inclinations, abstracted from motives of policy. *Eric*'s person too was graceful; an air of empire and majesty distinguished his gait; every action was performed with peculiar fire and ardour; and a certain impetuosity in his disposition might easily be mistaken for valour and courage. However, his father had private reasons for not permitting him to pay his addresses in person to the queen of *England*. *Gustavus* was extremely jealous of the honour of his family; and he perceived somewhat in his son's temper, which rendered it necessary to keep him at home. In fact, his good qualities were obscured by violent gusts of passion, which sometimes rose to a dangerous height, obliterated every trace of reason, and rendered him little better than a maniac. This had once made *Gustavus* resolve to bestow the crown on his second son; from which he was only deterred by the fear that a civil war might ensue. It now, however, determined him, to refuse his son's earnest request to go personally to *England*, and rather to negotiate the marriage by ambassadors. However, to satisfy the prince, he consented that his brother duke *John* should visit *London*, under pretence of travelling for his education, pay his compliments to the queen, and obtain a positive answer. The ambassadors had before spent some time at the court of *London*, without making any progress in the treaty of marriage. The artful queen had treated them, in her usual manner, with the utmost civility and most gracious affability, but industriously avoided an explanation on the subject of their embassy. All kinds of diversions were contrived to divert their attention from this object; while the queen gratified her own vanity, with entertaining lovers at her court, and at the same time regarded her interest too much to share her power and authority with a husband.

A. D. 1566.

PRINCE *Eric*, growing impatient at the little success of the *Swedish* ambassadors, duke *John*, the king's second son, was sent to *England*, to expedite their measures, and give weight to the embassy. On his arrival he was caressed, magnificently entertained, and treated with the utmost respect, by *Elizabeth*. The young prince shewed equal liberality. His public entrance was extremely pompous; and, not contented with the magnificence and splendor of his appearance, he threw large sums of money among the populace, to impress them with a high opinion of the power and generosity of his country. After a short residence, he returned to *Sweden*, assuring his brother, that nothing more was wanting to complete his desire, than personally to appear at the *English* court; however, as he brought with him no sort of proofs in writing, nor a single clause concerning a treaty so important, the penetrating king soon discovered, that his son had mistaken compliments for the queen's real sentiments, and was, in fact, the dupe of her superior policy.

WITH these thoughts he assembled the states, to deliberate on a matter so important to the kingdom; and here he confirmed not only the succession in his own family, but likewise the will he had drawn out in favour of his younger children. As the nation had been at great expences in the late embassies to *England*, *Eric* was constrained to promise to the states, that, provided he ever became king of *England*, he would always support *Sweden*, when attacked, with all the power of that kingdom; and that, in case he failed in his pursuit of obtaining the queen's consent, he would reimburse his brothers in the sums expended in this design, as soon as he came to the throne of *Sweden*. Encouraged by these promises, the subject of a treaty of marriage was again resumed, great sums were advanced to support the prince with splendor at the court of *England*, and he proceeded on his journey as far as *Lodese*, where he proposed to embark for *England*, when the melancholy news of the king's death made him lay aside all thoughts of the voyage and marriage. *Gustavus* was attacked with a slow fever at *Stockholm*. His strength declined insensibly; but after the change in his constitution became visible, he could never be persuaded to relax in the least in his attention to public affairs. As if he had foreseen how short he had to live, his application was redoubled, to leave the kingdom in the best condition possible at his death.

De-

a Determined to reign to the last moment, he sent for *Eric Stenon*, secretary of state, and related to him some matters that concerned the most secret affairs of his government. He then ordered his children to be called; strongly recommended unanimity and brotherly affection to them. To the younger sons he said, that obedience to their brother *Eric*, now about to succeed to his crown, would be the truest test of their wisdom; after which he dismissed them with his blessing, to prevent their being disturbed with the tears and cries of his attendants. He ordered his physicians, who flattered him with the hopes of recovering, to be discharged. The last moments of his life were employed in prayer, and he died a christian, as he had lived a hero, on the 29th day of *September*, in the year 1560, aged seventy. His body was interred at *Upsal*, and his funeral obsequies celebrated by the tears and praises of his subjects, and the remembrance of all the heroic transactions of his life¹.

Death of Gustavus.

b Thus died the great *Gustavus Vasa*, after obtaining the crown by his valour, and rescuing the nation from slavery, by his perseverance in virtue and patriotism. To the freedom and independency of his notions, rather than to the piety of his sentiments, we may ascribe the revolution he effected in the church. After disposing at will of the laws, religion, and property of his subjects, he died universally adored and regretted. His character was indeed very extraordinary, if we consider the circumstances of the times when he flourished. In an age of ignorance he became learned; in a country the most barbarous, perfectly civilized; in every thing he excelled the rest of mankind; uniting all the accomplishments of the gentleman, soldier, and statesman. His person was graceful, his air noble and majestic, his eloquence rapid and nervous, and his address irresistible. The stream of his policy flowed clear, and unpolluted with mean intrigue and low cunning, in which too frequently consists the wisdom of princes. In a word, he found the nation enslaved to *Denmark*, he restored public liberty; he set the consciences of men free from the tyranny of spiritual thralldom. He made commerce and arts flourish, raised the power and reputation of his crown, rendered his people happy, secured their affections, and acquired the esteem of all *Europe*. He lived the admiration of mankind, and died the idol of his own subjects, founding the surname of *Great*, not in blood, but on all those noble arts that ennoble humanity, and truly constitute the hero.

His character.

S E C T. VI.

Containing the Reign of King *Eric XIV.*

ERIC ascended the throne of *Sweden* at the age of twenty-seven years, after having completed his education, and gained the reputation of a finished gentleman. His accomplishments were rather striking than solid. He spoke the modern languages; danced gracefully, performed the manly exercises like a prince; was eloquent, easy, and polite; but withal so imprudent, that his misconduct cost him his crown and scepter. Scarce were the remains of the great *Gustavus* interred, when *Eric* incurred the displeasure of the younger children, by refusing to refund, according to agreement, the money expended in embassies to *England*. He likewise disputed resigning the lands assigned them by their father, under pretence that they had already received more than an equivalent, by the sequestration of church-lands, which properly belonged to the crown, as they originally flowed from the liberality of his ancestors. Even the duchies specified in the will of *Gustavus*, and confirmed to them by an act of the diet, *Eric* clogged with certain disagreeable restrictions and limitations, that could not but prove displeasing to the dukes, notwithstanding they were constrained to sign them at a general diet at *Abroga*².

Eric succeeds to the throne.

His character.

Now the treaty of marriage with queen *Elizabeth* was again resumed, and considerable sums granted for his majesty's voyage to *England*, where he proposed appearing with all the magnificence becoming a prince. The diet entered the more cheerfully upon this resolution, from an apprehension that the king might be prevailed on to marry one of his mistresses, a woman of beauty, ambition, and intrigue, but of mean extraction. In the next place, regulations were made concerning the government of the kingdom in his absence. He endeavoured to abolish certain superstitious ceremonies still remaining in the church, and condemned by the reformists. This was done at the persuasion of his tutor, *Dennis Beurres*, and of certain *English* gentlemen, with whom he had contracted an intimacy. Possibly it might have been with a view to compliment queen *Elizabeth*; but he could not succeed, so powerful was the opposition of the bishops.

A. D. 1561.

g At his coronation, *Eric* created several earls and barons, the first known in *Sweden*; giving for a reason, that as the crown was become hereditary, it was requisite that other

¹ Loccen. lib. vi. Puffend. tom. i. p. 384. Vartot, tom. ii. p. 249.

² Loccen. lib. vii.

dignities

Some alterations made in the constitution.

War in Livonia.

Eric sets sail for England, and his ship wrecked.

Eric incurs the displeasure of the nobility.

He quarrels with the city of Lubeck and the Danes.

dignities should be the same (A). The visit to *England* was postponed, on account of some troubles that arose about the commerce of *Livonia*. The *Lubeckers* and *Russians* came to blows, and this province was made the scene of bloodshed and confusion. In these circumstances, the bishop of *Oesel* surrendered his diocese to the king of *Denmark*, who presented it to his brother duke *Magnus*; and the grand master, having ceded *Livonia* to *Sigismund* king of *Poland*, reserved only *Courland* to himself, which he held as a fief of that crown. The city of *Revel*, perceiving itself unprotected, both on account of the distance of these princes, and the impossibility of carrying on trade in *Poland* and *Lithuania*, already engrossed by *Riga*, formed the resolution of declaring to the grand master, that as he was in no condition to afford their city longer protection, they would choose the king of *Sweden* for their patron; a proposal to which the nobility of *Esthonia* immediately consented. The grand master refused to comply, and *Eric* determined to support the city *Revel* and *Esthonians* with a fleet and army, which he dispatched under the conduct of *Nicholas Horn*, with instructions immediately to invade the grand master's territories. *Horn* was received with great joy by the burghers of *Revel* and the *Esthonians*, who immediately united themselves to the crown of *Sweden*. However, *Gaspar Oldenbach* refused to surrender the cathedral church of *Revel*. It was attacked, and forced in the space of six weeks to capitulate ^b.

His *Polish* majesty beheld with jealousy these changes. He sent count *Lunsky* to *Stockholm*, to demand restitution of *Revel*; but *Eric* replied, that he had the same right to protect *Revel* and *Esthonia*, as his *Polish* majesty had to the rest of *Livonia*. Upon this the grand master besieged the city, with a view to reduce it under the power of the crown of *Poland*; but he was forced to relinquish the enterprise. The *Swedish* garrison made so vigorous a rally, that one wing of his army was wholly defeated, his camp and artillery taken, and himself obliged to retreat with precipitation ^c.

This advantage encouraged *Eric* to fresh attempts. He complained to the king of *Denmark* of the presumption of quartering the *Swedish* arms with those of *Denmark*; but, obtaining no redress, both courts began making preparations for war. Unseasonable as the occasion might appear, *Eric* now determined to set out for *England*, and accordingly embarked with his brother *Charles*, and several persons of distinction, while the world imagined he intended to invade *Denmark*. He never once reflected on the prejudice public affairs must sustain from his absence, nor on the uncertainty of succeeding in his pursuit. All advice was disregarded; he set sail, was overtaken in a furious storm, and, after narrowly escaping shipwreck, forced into the first port the ship could make. As the convoy was numerous, amounting to forty ships, most of them ships of war, the loss and damages were considerable, and the king was ever after deterred from the thoughts of committing his life to the capricious elements. Whether this accident had cooled his passion for *Elizabeth*, or whether the inconstancy of his disposition made him drop the pursuit, certain it is, that he thought no more of her; but began now, and with more reason, to entertain a passion for *Mary* queen of *Scots*, the most beauteous and accomplished princess of that age.

ABOUT this time the king assembled the states at *Jenecoping*, where he passed a decree that proved highly displeasing to the nobility. It was to regulate the time each was to serve in the field, the sums he was to advance, and the force he was to maintain for the king's use, in case of any domestic or foreign war, of a dangerous and pressing nature. The nobility looked upon this act as servile, and derogatory of their dignity; but they could not prevent its passing. It must be owned, that several strokes of spirited conduct appear in the short course of *Eric's* government. One instance of this is the vigour with which he treated the *Lubeckers*. They demanded an open trade to *Sweden*; it was granted, on condition they allowed the same privilege to the *Swedish* merchants. They insisted on having the whole trade of *Russia*; they were refused, and confined to that branch of commerce by the way of *Revel* and *Wiburgh*. They carried their complaints to the emperor, and *Eric* put to sea a squadron to support his refusal, with orders to take all the *Lubeck* vessels that should presume to trade directly to *Russia*, or by any other method than what he allowed. Thus a war was kindled with *Lubeck*; *Denmark* took part with the king's enemies, and made use of a frivolous pretence, which demonstrated the inclination of his *Danish* majesty to come to a rupture. Duke *John*, the king's brother, had, in the heat of youth and passion, broke in pieces a looking-glass on the stern of a *Danish* ship in the port of *Stockholm*, because it had quartered the *Swedish* and *Danish* arms, which he deemed an open insult. Some

^b LOCEN. lib. vii. PUFFEND. tom. i, p. 390.

^c Id. ibid. p. 391.

(A) This is the assertion of *Puffendorf*, to which we do not altogether accede. The word *Comes* occurs in all the ancient *Swedish* historians; and we know that these dignities are of a northern extract; whence it is

highly probable, that, with some variation of name, they were known in all the northern kingdoms, long before this æra.

a persons imagine, that *John* had deeper designs in this action; that he wanted to involve his brother as much as possible, in hopes of fishing to advantage in troubled waters. It is certain, there was no good understanding between the king and him, and that he was strengthening his interest by all the powerful alliances he could make ^a.

ERIC no sooner found himself engaged, than he chose to divert his thoughts from that object, by substituting one more agreeable. With the senate's consent, he dispatched ambassadors to *Scotland*, to demand queen *Mary* in marriage; but, from a surprising inconsistency in his temper, scarce were the ambassadors gone, when he sent other ministers to the emperor, to demand the princess of *Lorraine*, daughter to *Christian II.* with whom he fell in love from the description of some of his courtiers. The last ambassadors returned with a

Instances of
Eric's incon-
sistency.

b favourable answer; but *Eric* had changed his mind before their arrival. His passion for the princess of *Lorraine* and queen of *Scots* was vanished, and he resumed the affection he before possessed for *Elizabeth* queen of *England*. In this manner did he incur the contempt of all men, and squander in fruitless negotiations the vast treasures which *Gustavus* had amassed with such care and prudence. Duke *John*, in the mean time, displayed more steadiness of conduct. His interest induced him to seek in marriage the princess *Catherine*, daughter of *Sigismund* king of *Poland*; his address and policy obtained her. He set sail for *Dantzick*, arrived at *Cracow*, and had their nuptials solemnized with great pomp ^c.

This marriage widened the breach between the king and duke *John*. His majesty harboured suspicions, and these were heightened by the artful insinuations of his creatures, who pretended to discover a dangerous intention in this last measure of the duke's. *Eric* complained bitterly of his brother; and imagining a war with *Denmark*, as well as disputes with duke *John*, would follow, he exacted from the nobility the money and services imposed by the late decree of the states. Nothing could be more unreasonable than a step that must provoke this powerful body, when he most wanted their attachment and loyalty; but *Eric*, pursuing only his own passions, and the counsels of worthless minions, shut his eyes to all consequences. The quarrel with *John* rose to so great a height, that the duke was cited to *Stockholm*, to vindicate his conduct, particularly his allying himself with *Poland*, and disposing of certain castles in *Livonia* to that crown, for the sum of 20,000 crowns. *John* gave a short and spirited answer to the ambassadors, refusing at the same time to obey the citation, unless proper security was given for his safety. In a word, perceiving that matters were come to a crisis, he fortified himself by all the alliances possible; put his castles in a state of defence; and received an oath of fidelity from the *Finlanders*, who were attached to his interest ^d.

He comes to a rupture with his brother duke John.

ERIC endeavoured, on the other hand, to form powerful connections; but he could not succeed. His unsteadiness frustrated the effect of every negotiation, and princes were afraid to place confidence in a monarch so fickle, that he seemed not to know his own sentiments. The czar of *Muscovy* refused his alliance, even against their common enemy the king of *Poland*. He was bubbled by *Frederic* king of *Denmark*, and his ambassadors detained by violence at the court of *Copenhagen*. His *Danish* majesty excused this breach of the law of nations, by asserting, that the *Swedish* ambassadors were so insolent and outrageous, that it was necessary to put them under arrest, for the security of the state, and the safety of their own persons. *Eric* demanded their liberty; but the king of *Denmark*, instead of complying, ordered all the *Swedish* merchants and ships in his ports to be seized; and to support this violence, he equipped a formidable squadron, and formed an alliance with the czar of *Muscovy*, the king of *Poland*, and the city of *Lubeck* ^e.

A confederacy formed against Eric.

This confederacy was formidable, but it did not dispirit *Eric*. He wanted indeed nothing but steadiness and uniformity of conduct, to withstand, and even break the combination against him. He began the war in *Livonia*, and had the good fortune to deprive *Sigismund* of eight cities and castles, all garrisoned with *Polish* troops. An army was sent to *Finland*, with orders to seize duke *John* and his wife; to bring them living or dead to *Stockholm*, and to reduce the inhabitants of that province. But unhappily, *Eric* must embark in new exploits of gallantry while he was thus deeply engaged in war. He must needs send ambassadors to *Hesse Cassel*, to demand the landgrave's daughter in marriage; a prince whose alliance could be of little service at this juncture. The ambassadors were charged not to return without the princess; and to escort her with safety; a squadron of twelve men of war were put to sea under the command of admiral *Jacob Bagge*. This admiral met the *Danish* fleet off the island of *Borkholm*, an engagement ensued, and after an obstinate conflict, the enemy were defeated, though greatly superior in number; the *Danish* admiral, seven captains, and nine hundred men made prisoners, four ships taken, and about six hundred officers and marines killed. The remainder of the *Danish* fleet, greatly shat-

He demands the princess of Hesse-Cassel in marriage.

His fleet defeats the Danes.

^a Loccen. lib. vii. p. 349.

^g Id. ibid.

^c Id. ibid. PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 400.

^f Loccen, lib. vii. p. 353.

tered; was forced to put into the first port; and the *Swedish* admiral having sent his booty ^a to *Stockholm*, proceeded on his voyage, without offering the least violence to the *Danish* commerce ^b.

ERIC was no sooner informed of this action, than he sent ambassadors to *Copenhagen*, to complain of the violence offered to the *Swedish* flag, previous to any declaration of war, and while the nations lived in profound peace. The ambassadors were likewise instructed, to end the dispute in the way of negotiation, and favour an exchange of prisoners; but the *Danes*, piqued at their defeat, continued their preparations for war. A great number of *German* troops came to their assistance; the *Lubeckers* joined the *Danish* fleet with twelve men of war: in a word, an army of 30,000 men took the field, and a fleet of fifty ships covered the ocean. An irruption was made by the *Norwegians* into the provinces of *Daly*, *Wermland*, and *Helsingia*. Matters took a serious turn, and the *Swedish* ambassadors strove in vain to accommodate them amicably. The landgrave of *Hesse*, who did not relish the terms proposed to his daughter, desired the treaty of marriage might be deferred to a more seasonable and pacific occasion; but he readily offered, in conjunction with the duke of *Saxony*, to interfere as mediator to reconcile the courts of *Sweden* and *Denmark* ^c.

The Swedes
reduce Abo,
and duke
John is made
prisoner.

In the mean time, the *Swedish* troops reduced *Abo* by a stratagem; and duke *John*, his wife and family, were conducted prisoners to *Stockholm*; himself and all his domestics accused of rebellion, and condemned to death, without hope of pardon, except from the king's clemency. The states were obliged to sign this sentence. Almost all the native domestics suffered the punishment decreed, the foreigners were sent out of the kingdom; and as for the duke himself, his life was saved, but his whole estate was confiscated, and his person condemned to perpetual imprisonment; in which his duchess voluntarily accompanied him, and continued near four years. Here he passed every day in imminent danger of his life; for *Eric*, who pretended to a smattering in astrology, prognosticated, that the pardon which he granted to his brother, would one day become fatal to himself. It is reported, that the king went frequently to the prison with intention to murder his brother, but was always upon seeing him melted into pity, which made him throw himself at the duke's feet, and confess his bloody intention. Often had he told the duke, that the crown of *Sweden* was destined for him, and intreated that he would pardon his errors whenever that event happened. Hence we may collect the weakness of his disposition, the truth of that suspicion of insanity harboured by *Gustavus*, and the eternal apprehensions he ever was under that his brothers would rebel. We may likewise perceive, that his natural disposition was humane and tender, though perverted with superstition, and a prey to the evil counsels of certain intriguing worthless minions and favourites. His misfortune was, that the nobility, disobliged with the late act against them, and connected by alliance with the duke, refused to communicate their advice to the king, which forced him to throw himself into the arms of those pests of society, the sycophants and parasites of his court ^d.

Further suc-
cess of the
Swedish
troops.

THE *Swedish* arms were extremely successful in *Livonia*. After the reduction of *Abo*, the king's admiral surprised and defeated the armament sent by his *Polish* majesty to relieve that place. Almost the whole province was subdued; but the same good fortune did not attend his majesty's enterprizes against *Denmark*. King *Frederic* encamped before *Elfsburgh*; some say he besieged that place, but was forced to raise it. Certain it is, that, disappointed in his expectation of exciting a revolt in *West Gothland*, he discharged his choler upon the unfortunate inhabitants, with a fury fatal to them, and prejudicial to his own character, however, the *Danish* writers may palliate his conduct. He used every expedient to draw *Eric* to a battle; but that prince contented himself with harrassing the *Danish* army, until an opportunity should offer of attacking to advantage. To effect this purpose, he divided his army into three bodies; one he sent to *Wermland* and *Daly*, under the command of *Peter Broke*; another was detached under the conduct of *Gustavus Steenboek*, with orders to enter *West-Gothland*; and the third he led in person to *Smaland*. About the same time a faithful person was sent to his brother duke *Magnus*, to prevail on him to sign the sentence passed on duke *John*. That prince at first refused to comply from some scruples of conscience, which were soon quieted, upon *Eric's* assurance, that in case he died without male issue, *Magnus* should succeed to the crown. *Magnus* signed the sentence; but it is said, he could never get over the pangs of conscience, which wore out his constitution, and brought on his death prematurely ^e.

The Swedes
lose Elfs-
burgh.

It appears that the operations of the war, between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, went on with vigour for the whole summer-season, though nothing can be more obscure and unsatisfactory, than all the relations of their historians, who content themselves with relating a few unimportant events, and fill up the remainder of the year with *Eric's* gallantries and courtships, which he never once relinquished, amidst the tumult of arms and din of war. ^f The *Swedish* garrison at *Elfsburgh* surrendered that place upon honourable terms, after mak-

^b Loccen. lib. vii.

^c PUFFEND. p. 394.

^d Loccen. ibid.

^e Id. ibid.

a ing a vigorous resistance; but the approaching winter, and march of the *Swedish* army, stopt the progress of the *Danes*, and obliged them to go into winter-quarters in *Schonen*.

To revenge the loss of *Elfsburgh*, *Eric* made an attempt on *Babus* and *Helmstadt*, but succeeded in neither. The garrison of the latter place amused *Eric* so long with the hopes of surrendering, that the frost coming on, obliged him to raise the siege, and returned to *Sweden*. In his march he divided the army into two columns, the left of which was attacked by the *Danes*. The *Swedish* infantry faced about, and fought with the utmost gallantry; but being deserted by the cavalry, they were compelled to retreat, with the loss of three or four hundred men. *Eric* was enraged at this insult; and to revenge it he entered *Halland* and *Bleking*, which provinces he ravaged without mercy. His troops, likewise, gained possession b or *Drontheim* in *Norway*, the castle of *Steenwicholm*, with the adjacent territory; but he did not long maintain his conquests, the vice-roy coming against him with a greatly superior force ^f.

Advantages gained by the Swedes in Norway.

FREDERIC began to think, that the little success which had hitherto attended his arms, boded but trifling advantages from the continuance of the war. He therefore wrote to king *Eric*, to propose ending their disputes by negotiation. In concert with the regency of *Lubeck*, he invited the emperor, the *French* king, the elector of *Saxony*, and duke of *Brunswick*, to intercede as mediators. In effect, a congress was appointed, but acts of hostility did not cease. *Eric* laid siege to *Elfsburgh* with a powerful army, and put to sea a fleet of forty ships, which was entirely dispersed in a storm, and not more than two ships, besides the admiral's, saved. These small remains fell in with the enemy's squadron off the island of *Oeland*, and finding it impossible to escape, resolved upon a gallant defence. After fighting with the most desperate fury for several hours, against a squadron ten times their own number, they were surrounded by the enemy, forced to strike, and the brave admiral *Bagge* was taken prisoner. It is reported by the *Swedish* writers, that *Bagge* would have extricated himself, notwithstanding the enemy's superiority, had not the powder-room unfortunately taken fire, which obliged him to quit the ship ^g. She blew up a few minutes after, and the *Danes* lost the most important consequence of their victory, the finest ship at that time in *Europe* (A).

The Swedish fleet lost in a storm, and the brave admiral Bagge taken by the Danes.

The more inclined *Eric* perceived his *Danish* majesty was to an accommodation, the less disposed did he seem to terminate their disputes by treaty. His ambassadors never appeared at the congress, which he excused by the frivolous apology, that he had mistaken the time. He likewise alledged, that it was not customary to conclude treaties between crown heads in any of the *Hanse* towns, but that congresses for this purpose ought to be held on the frontiers. Thus the negotiations were broke off, and *Frederic* resumed his military operations, by prevailing on the emperor to prohibit the *Hanse* towns from supplying *Sweden* with warlike stores. The city of *Lubeck*, connected with *Denmark* by treaty, alone obeyed his imperial majesty's edict; the rest of the cities in general replied, that as *Denmark* had begun a war upon a slight foundation, it was unreasonable the free cities should be deprived of the right of commerce, merely for the sake of a people with whom e they were no way allied or connected.

ERIC, assured of receiving supplies from the *Hanse* towns, resumed the war with a full intention to enlarge his dominions. He resolved first to reduce the isle of *Gothland*, and re-annex it to the crown. Next *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking*, were the objects of his ambition. Then he thought of nothing less than conquering *Norway*, a kingdom which the *Danes* had violently wrested from *Charles Canutson*. To accomplish these great designs, it was necessary to extricate himself from a war with *Poland* in which he was engaged; but the negotiations on this subject were fruitless, because the king of *Poland* made it a necessary preliminary, that duke *John* and his wife should be released.

Eric's vast projects.

The first military operations of the summer happened at sea. *Nicolas Horn*, the *Swedish* admiral, fell in with a fleet of *Lubeck* merchantmen, richly laden, of which he took six, together with 300 seamen. He next gave battle to the *Danish* fleet off the isle of *Oeland*, and after a sharp engagement obliged the enemy to sheer off, with the loss of four capital ships. Pursuing his success, *Horn* made great havock among the *Danish* merchantmen. At last, he was a second time attacked by the royal squadron, and with the same success as before. Nor was *Eric* idle by land; perceiving the difficulty of reducing *Elfsburgh*, he turned his arms against *Bleking*, and took the city of *Lyckeby*. He summoned the inha-

Success of the Swedes at sea

^f Hist de Dan. tom. iv.

^g Loccen. lib. vii. ibid.

(A) The *Swedish* writers relate another gallant action of *Andrew Beronis*, one of their sea-captains, that deserves to be recorded. Strefs of weather obliging him to put into the mouth of the river *Warnow*, the senate of *Rostock* invited him to come near the city to

avoid being insulted by the *Danes*. This he avoided; as derogatory of his character. He was attacked by sea and land, defended himself obstinately, but finding resistance vain, he blew up the ship, and perished with her (1).

(1) *Puffend.* p. 410.

bitants of the province to submit; but they refusing with contempt, he ordered, that all ^a who were arrived at the age of manhood should be put to the sword. Next he pillaged and laid waste *Schonen*, after which he returned to *Sweden*.

Ravages committed in Norway by the Swedes. THE *Danes* profited by *Eric's* retreat. They soon retook *Lyckeby*, and demolished the fortifications the *Swedes* had erected. They attempted penetrating into *Smaland*, but they were driven out by the peasants with great loss. On the other hand, the *Swedes* committed cruel ravages in *Norway*, having pillaged *Drontheim*, *Uddewalla*, and *Kongsal*, without meeting any opposition. Towards the end of this year, his *Danish* majesty sent plenipotentiaries to *Calmar*, to treat not only of a peace, but of *Eric's* marriage with the princess of *Hesse*. The *Swedish* ambassadors likewise attended, but the conference was broke off without concluding either business; and the princess was soon after married to the duke of *Holstein*. ^b Thus every attempt to procure *Eric* a queen in foreign countries proving abortive, the states assembled at *Upsal* consented that he should marry a lady of his own country. However, he seemed to relax in his violent inclinations for matrimony, in proportion as he found obstructions to it removed ^c.

The Danes make reprisals. EARLY the next year *Eric* marched his army, in three divisions, towards *Norway* and the province of *Halland*. They carried fire and devastation wherever they went. The enemy made reprisals, laying *Smaland* waste, with the same barbarity. This was a horrid and cruel method of waging war, happily abolished among the more civilized nations; but it struck at the sinews of the states, and by disabling the peasants, destroying the corn, and ruining the husbandman, frequently put a speedy issue to the shedding of blood. The *Danes* attempted to raise the siege of *Elfsburgh*, which was again renewed; but after being twice repulsed, they at last threw a strong reinforcement into the place, having forced one of the *Swedish* posts (B). ^c

The Swedes are masters at sea. DURING the spring, *Nicholas Horn* put to sea, with a squadron of forty sail. Near *Stralsund* he met some of the enemy's ships, which he would have infallibly sunk, had not the duke of *Pomerania* strongly interceded for their safety, promising to detain them in his ports, until the war should be ended. After this, *Horn* directed his course towards *Falsterbo*, where the *Lubeck* squadron lay waiting to be joined by the *Danes*. On sight of the *Swedish* admiral, they made all the sail they could for *Copenhagen*; and the *Swedes*, now masters of the sea, entered the *Sound*, and took 250 merchantmen, homeward-bound from the western ocean. ^d At length the *Danish* fleet being ready to put to sea, resolved, in conjunction with the *Lubeckers*, to go in quest of *Horn*, and revenge the insults and losses lately sustained. *Horn* did not refuse battle, but waiting for the enemy between *Wafena* and *Rostock*, both fleets began a furious engagement on the fourth of *June*, which continued all day, without any apparent advantage on either side. The calm that ensued next morning prevented their renewing the fight; and on the third day, as the *Swedish* fleet was bearing down to engage, the *Danes* returned to the *Sound*. Such is the account given by the *Swedish* historians; and it is supported with probability, as the *Lubeckers* shewed but little inclination to renew the combat, and the *Danish* admiral *Trolle* was dangerously wounded. Notwithstanding the loss was very considerable on both sides, and particularly on that of the *Danes*, nothing decisive flowed from this battle. *Horn* indeed, after giving chase to the enemy, made a descent on the island of *Mona*, and put all the inhabitants to the sword ^e.

Progress of the war in Livonia. IN *Livonia* the *Swedish* affairs went less successfully. They lost *Pernaw*; but had the good fortune to raise the siege of *Revel*, on which the *Poles* made several abortive attempts.

Eric besieges Warburg. IN winter, negotiations for a peace were renewed as usual; but *Eric's* advantages lately obtained, made him rise so much in his demands, that his *Danish* majesty resolved to continue the war. Upon this, *Eric* marched to give battle to the *Danish* army in the neighbourhood of *Elfsburgh*. The *Danes* retreated at his approach, and *Eric* poured out all his vengeance on *Warburg*; however, the first assault, which the garrison withstood with infinite spirit, cooled his ardour, and determined him to pass to *West Gothland*, to view at a distance the operations of that siege. His retreat greatly dispirited the soldiers, persuading them either that the danger was very great, or his majesty too careful of his own person; but the

^a LOCCEN. lib. vii. p. 364.

ⁱ PUFFEND. tom. i. ibid.

(B) About this time *Steen Erickson*, the *Swedish* ambassador, detained prisoner in *Denmark* since the commencement of the war, was now set at liberty. This excited the king's jealousy. He thought it extraordinary that he should be released so suddenly, and could only account for this conduct, by supposing that *Erickson* had entered upon private en-

agements with his *Danish* majesty, to excite troubles in *Sweden*, by procuring duke *John's* liberty. This presumption determined *Eric* to confine his brother more closely, and likewise to commit *Erickson* to prison; but his suspicion was soon removed, and that nobleman again restored to his favour (1).

(1) LOCCEN. lib. vii. p. 361.

a arrival of duke *Charles* restored their spirits, and encouraged them to push on the siege with vigour. The whole town was set on fire with bombs and ignited balls, *It is taken by* the breach in the wall stormed, and after an obstinate dispute, for the space of five hours, *storm.* carried with great slaughter. Notwithstanding the place was taken by assault, the *Swedes* gave quarter to all who threw down their arms; and, from their humanity, five hundred *German* foot, and an hundred *French* and *Scotch* volunteers, received their lives ^k.

b ALL the northern quarter of *Halland* was thrown into the utmost consternation by the loss of *Warberg*, and submitted to *Eric*. The citadel, however, still made a gallant defence; but was likewise forced to surrender, after the defeat of the forces sent to raise the siege. The *Swedish* writers alledge it was taken by assault, and the officers, who sought refuge in the women's apartments, saved at their intercession: These signal advantages were followed by other successes at sea. The *Danish* fleet was defeated off *Börnholm*; the *Sea-fight.* admiral and chief officers were taken prisoners; and several ships sunk and destroyed; but not without the loss of many men and ships on the side of the *Swedes*. That victory declared evidently in favour of the latter, appears from the retreat of the *Danes*, the capture of their admiral, the pursuit of the *Swedes*, and the superiority at sea they maintained during the season.

c AFTER taking *Warberg*, the *Swedish* army retired to *Sweden*, and the *Danes* laid hold of that opportunity to lay siege to the place, with a view to re-conquer it, before the breaches made in the late siege could be repaired. But the vigorous conduct of *Mornay*, the governor, who repulsed them in three successive assaults, and the approach of the royal army, obliged them to relinquish the enterprize. A detachment from the king's army, having intelligence of their rout, resolved to intercept them, which they did as they were attempting to cross the river *Swartera*. This threw the enemy into despair, they lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven, imploring the divine protection; and the *Swedes* construing this behaviour into fear, and relying on their own superiority, made no doubt but they would all surrender. The post the *Swedes* occupied was advantageous; but their security made them leave it with indifference, in order to attack the enemy on more equal terms. *Swedes defeated.* Instead of throwing down their arms, the *Danes* began the engagement, and fought for several hours with such desperate fury, that the *Swedes* were forced to retreat with the utmost precipitation, having left about 6000 killed, wounded, and prisoners on the field ^l.

d *ERIC* was extremely irritated at this defeat, owing to the cowardice of the *German* cavalry, as well as to the imprudence of his general. To punish the former, he ordered *Nils Sture* to put all to death who had fled out of the field before the retreat was sounded, and to destroy the houses of certain bailiffs in *West Gotbland*, who have shewn, by their conduct, a secret partiality to the *Danes*. *Sture* refused to obey such rigorous orders, and drew upon himself the royal displeasure. All the king's suspicion against this only remaining branch of the ancient family of the administrators was roused, and he persuaded himself that *Sture* was engaged in a conspiracy to release duke *John*, and place him upon the throne. He ordered this nobleman to be conducted in the most ignominious manner *The king's behaviour to Nils Sture.* to *Stockholm*, mounted upon a peasant's horse, with a crown of straw upon his head, and exposed all the way to the scoffs and derision of the populace. From this imprudent conduct we may date the source of his misfortunes, and of those domestic broils which again brought the nation into great danger. Such an indignity to the character of a nobleman of the first rank and merit, alienated the minds of great numbers of men, and was never to be erased out of the memory of his friends, notwithstanding the king so far restored him to his favour, as to send him ambassador to *Lorrain*, to negotiate a marriage with a princess of that house.

e THE late advantage gained over the *Swedish* troops had so elated the king of *Denmark*, *Negotiations for a peace.* that, at the conference held in the winter, he proposed such terms of accommodation as it could scarce be expected his *Swedish* majesty would have complied with, after repeated losses. They could not therefore fail of appearing ridiculous to a monarch, who regarded himself as victorious, upon the whole, notwithstanding this check to his conquests: they were therefore rejected with disdain; upon which his *Danish* majesty repeated his instances to the imperial court, to prohibit the *Hanse* towns from supplying *Sweden* with ammunition and warlike stores. The emperor, in consequence wrote to king *Eric*, pressing him to listen to terms, and accept of him as mediator between the northern crowns. The messenger sent with this letter, being detained in *Sweden*, he then published the prohibition required by the king of *Denmark* and regency of *Lubec*, but to no effect ^m.

f THE following year was ushered in with unhappy presages to *Eric*. He lost a great number of troops before *Pernaw*, which place he was desirous of retaking; and a plague creeping into his army, made terrible ravages, and swept off the greater part of his forces. A. D. 1566.

^k Hist. de Dan. ibid. Loccen. lib. vii.

^l Aust supra citat. ibid.

^m Puffend. tom. i. ibid.

Advantages
gained by the
Swedish fleet.

Nevertheless, his fleet put to sea in quest of the enemy, and to open the passage of the *Sound*, which the *Danes* had blocked up. The enterprize was successful; many ships were taken in sight of the enemy's fleet, who durst not hazard a battle; and the *Swedish* merchantmen convoyed safe under the very flag of the *Danish* admiral. Off the island of *Mona* the *Swedes* met a fleet of 200 merchantmen, which they forced into the ports of *Sweden*, to sell their goods, and particularly salt, at the market-price. At last the two fleets came to an action, which terminated to the disadvantage of the *Danes*, who were forced to sheer off with considerable loss. To complete their ruin and disgrace, they were soon after overtaken in a storm, several ships were cast away on the rocks, among which were the *Danish* and *Lubec* admirals, and the whole loss amounted to about 900 men and 16 large vessels; in consequence of which the *Swedes* rode the ocean triumphant for the remainder of the year.

An unfortu-
nate expedi-
tion against
Norway.

A. D. 1567.

NOR were the *Danes* more fortunate by land. A detachment from the main army made an irruption into *West Gothland*, where, after ravaging certain places, they were attacked by *Mornay*, governor of *Warberg*, defeated with the loss of 2000 men slain, an equal number of prisoners, and of all their booty. *Mornay*, flushed with success, ventured to lay siege to *Helmstadt*, but was obliged to relinquish the attempt on the approach of the enemy, who were greatly superior in numbers. Thus ended the campaign of 1566, in which the advantage by sea remained wholly on the side of the *Swedes*, while that by land was pretty equal; so that upon the whole *Eric* seemed to have the better, and accordingly raised his terms at the negotiation introduced upon the carpet in winter. It is probable indeed that he would have extricated himself with honour out of this war, but for the unfortunate expedition to *Norway*, undertaken at the persuasion of *Ennon Brunk*, who passed for one of the principal personages in that kingdom, and pretended that he was sent with an invitation to *Eric* from the chief inhabitants of the country. He said they were earnest to shake off the *Danish* yoke, and would receive him with open arms, as their deliverer. *Eric*, without further enquiry, ordered his army to march through *Dalecarlia* to *Norway*, under the conduct of *Sigeson*, over the high mountains that divide that kingdom from *Sweden*, and through woods almost impervious. On the arrival of *Sigeson* in *Norway*, he found the people disposed very differently from what was represented. He was every-where attacked and harrassed by numerous troops of peasants; the country was laid waste before, and his army reduced to great extremities. Fortunately he surprised *Hammershuz*, where his troops found some subsistence, after which he undertook the siege of *Azlo*, but was obliged to relinquish it for want of heavy artillery to make approaches in form. In a word, the *Swedish* army returned home, disappointed, harrassed, fatigued, and broken.

Domestic trou-
bles.

Now domestic troubles grew to such a height, that *Eric* had no time to attend to foreign wars. We have already recited many occasions of secret discontent, and into what contempt *Eric* brought himself by his fickleness and gallantry, and by his amours and courtships, at almost every court in *Europe*, where there was a princess arrived at the age of maturity. Among his concubines was *Catherine*, daughter of a peasant at *Medelpad*, who had gained an entire ascendancy over the king. When a little girl she used to sell fruit about the city, and being one day observed by *Eric*, he was so struck with her beauty, that he took her under his care, and had her genteelly educated. At a proper age he made her his mistress, and grew so passionately fond, that he not only dismissed all his other women, but at last made *Catherine* queen of *Sweden*. It was reported she had given the king philters and love-potions; a notion that arose from his unaccountable and blind passion for a woman descended from the very dregs of the people. These violent transports of passion, which often rose to insanity, were attributed to these potions; though in fact this misfortune had been taken notice of early by his father *Gustavus*. Others imagined that the king's intense application to astrology, and the ridiculous whims and superstitions adopted from this vain science, had impaired his natural faculties, and disturbed his reason. Certain it is, that he became obstinate, suspicious, jealous, and vindictive, furious in the paroxysms of jealousy, and so outrageous, that constraint on his person was often found necessary.

The king per-
secutes the
Sture family.

AMONG the many extraordinary prejudices entertained by *Eric*, the most unfortunate was his hatred to the *Sture* family. He had but lately taken *Nils Sture* into favour, and sent him, in quality of his ambassador, to *Stralsund*; now he again became his abhorrence, and probably because he was jealous of the favour shewn him by *Catherine*. To this were added a thousand other whims, all arising from the same cause. He conceived that *Sture* was conspiring against his life and crown, in order to enjoy the latter with *Catherine*; tho' in fact *Sture* heartily despised that favourite lady. He laboured to convince the states, that *Sture* carried on dangerous intrigues at *Stralsund*; that he was ambitious of recovering

^a LÖCCEN. lib. vii. PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 432.

^o Idem ibid.

- a the dignity possessed by his ancestors, and earnest to revenge the late affront given to his pride. His old governor *Beurre*, who hated *Sture*, confirmed his suspicions, and told him, when the body was too full of blood, phlebotomy was necessary, meaning that *Sture* ought to be put to death. It was not difficult to determine the king to extirpate the *Sture* family. He put every expedient in execution to find foundation sufficient for a process. After having long tried in vain, at last a page of *Sture's* was found armed with a pistol at court, upon which he was seized, put to the torture, and every means practised to force him to acknowledge that he was employed by his master to assassinate the king. The faithful domestic, however, continued firm; and neither promises nor the power of torments could prevail on him to accuse his master; upon which he was put to death.
- b This scheme being frustrated, *Eric* fell upon another stratagem equally mean. He corrupted a young *Pomeranian* merchant to declare, that he was told by a gentleman of that country, that *Nils Sture* was taking measures to dethrone the king. This attestation was confirmed by the testimonies of a doctor of physic, and the king's organist; to which were added several specious and forged letters, supposed to be written by *Sture* and his adherents. Full of expectation from such undeniable documents, *Eric* assembled the states, under pretence of consulting upon measures for suppressing the many alarming conspiracies now forming in the kingdom. He removed his court to *Swartsio*, as if he did not think himself secure at *Stockholm*, and to give an air of credibility to the pretended conspiracy. Soon after, he had *Swante Sture*, with his sons *Eric*, *Steen Ericson*, *Steen Banier*, and *Ivar Ivarson*, arrested. Several other lords, whom the king suspected, underwent the same treatment. *Swante Sture* was examined before the king at *Swartsio*, and circumstances appeared so favourable, that *Eric* could not avoid declaring him innocent; notwithstanding which he was cited, with several other persons, to plead his defence at *Upsal*. With respect to *Nils Sture*, every circumstance appeared so clear, so open, and candid, that the king complimented him on the occasion, and hoped he would endeavour to forget the suspicion entertained against his loyalty. He visited *Swante* and *Eric Sture* in prison, and apologized for his conduct; but a few days after he stabbed *Nils Sture* with a poignard, who, pulling the weapon out of his side, kissed it, and presented it to the king. This moderation, however, did not prevent his being put to death by the guards, who were ordered by the king to fall upon him with their halberds. All the rest of the prisoners were cruelly massacred, and their death carefully concealed, until *Ivar Peerston* had obliged the states, to condemn capitally those persons who were already dead, by which he hoped to save the king's honour ^p.
- ERIC*, notwithstanding this success, could not resist the pangs of his own conscience. He grew frantic, and in a fit of despair took shelter in the woods, where he prowled about like a savage, in the habit of a peasant. At last he was found, and brought back by the influence of his wife *Catherine*, who prevailed on him to take some food and repose. A new scene now opened. He distributed large sums of money among the states, to engage them in his interest by his liberality. He poured out all his generosity on the friends and relations of the deceased, and laid the whole blame of his cruelties on *Peerston*, who had seduced him to this bloody action. Upon this *Peerston* was tried, and condemned for this and other high crimes and misdemeanors: particularly for having put to death twenty-six persons, without consulting the king or the senate ^q.
- HOWEVER the friends of the deceased lords might pretend to be satisfied with the atonement made by *Eric*, they still harboured an implacable resentment, and watched the opportunity for revenging the injury. Nor did *Eric* much rely on external appearances; he knew that his crimes were of such a nature as could not be heartily forgiven. To try their sincerity, he put the government into the hands of a regency, chosen out of the senators, pretending he would no more intermeddle in public affairs. This, he imagined, would furnish them with an opportunity of expressing their resentment, if they harboured any, of forming conspiracies, and entering upon intrigues, which he might quash, by resuming the reins of government ^r.
- His *Danish* majesty beheld with pleasure these rising commotions in *Sweden*, which he hoped to turn to his own advantage. He made all possible preparations for attacking *Eric* as soon as the season permitted, in expectation that his attempts would be greatly assisted by the strong party of malecontents in *Sweden*. *Eric* penetrated his designs, and believed they could only be frustrated by plucking up the roots of civil discord, and reuniting himself to his brothers. In this opinion he was confirmed by the perpetual exhortations of his brother duke *Charles*, his mother-in-law, his wife, and the noblesse. The friends of the deceased lords, though they mortally hated *Eric*, yet joined in this request,

^p Hist. de Dan. tom. v. p. 92.

^q Loccen. lib. vii.

^r PUFFEND. ibid.

Duke John set
at liberty.

The king's in-
trigues with
the czar of
Muscovy.

The dukes John
and Charles
retreat.

A. D. 1568.

as imagining it necessary to the public security. Persuaded by their arguments, the king agreed to set *John* at liberty, upon certain conditions, with which the duke complied without hesitation. Accordingly the duke was released, to the great joy of the *Swedish* nation, who had always expressed the utmost affection to this prince, the favourite of their darling monarch, the great *Gustavus*.

To understand the king's proceedings on this occasion, it is necessary to have a retrospect to his negotiations with the czar of *Muscovy*, at the beginning of the war. *Eric* had often solicited the czar to form an alliance against *Sigismund* king of *Poland*, to whose daughter duke *John* was married. The *Russian* had before paid his addresses to this princess, but met with a repulse. He now demanded as a preliminary article of the treaty, that she should be restored to him; and this *Eric* knew he could not perform without endangering a civil war, and the life of the duke his brother. Unable to determine how to act, the negotiation was protracted for some years. At length he resolved to gain the czar at the expence of his honour, his natural affections, and humanity. He agreed to surrender the duchess, and for this purpose a splendid ambassy arrived from the czar. The massacre at *Upsal* had so embarrassed him, that he thought he should stand in need of the powerful alliance of that prince, to defend him against his own subjects. When the ambassadors arrived, *Eric* began to meditate how he should fulfil his engagement. He was still more disconcerted by intelligence that the *Danish* army was approaching the frontiers, which he feared would excite an insurrection, in case he detained duke *John* in prison. This was a very critical situation, and to make the most of it, *Eric* removed the duke of *Gripsholm* to *Wentholm*, obliging him to sign an instrument, whereby he renounced all claim to the crown, and acknowledged *Eric's* son by *Catherine* the legitimate heir; to swear, in his own and his duchess's person, to forget all injuries done to either; to promise that he would always pay that fidelity and obedience that was due to the king his elder brother; to use his whole interest in mediating a peace between *Sweden* and *Poland*; constantly to oppose *Denmark* with all his might; and in case *Frederic* and the regency from *Lubec* were comprehended in the treaty of peace, to resign the provinces of *Halland* and *Schonen*, with his conquests in *Livonia*, to the crown of *Sweden*. He likewise obliged him to engage, that *Poland* should not conclude a peace with *Russia* without comprehending *Sweden* in the treaty. *John* acceded to all the conditions, with a full determination to break them as soon as an opportunity offered. His conscience could easily answer an infraction of terms, unjust in themselves, imposed by force, and accepted through necessity. However, he renewed his promises without scruple in the king's presence, and no sooner obtained his liberty, than he proceeded to quit himself of a part of his engagements, by endeavouring to bring the king of *Poland* to consent to a peace with *Sweden*. *Peerfon*, however, who was also set at liberty, notwithstanding the sentence of death passed upon him, began his old practices. He again insinuated himself into the king's favour, and obtained such an ascendancy, that when his secretary *Martin Helsing* honestly advised his majesty to beware of this artful person, the king stabbed him with his own hand. At *Peerfon's* persuasion, it was that the king proposed assigning his brothers certain lands in *Livonia*, as an equivalent for those granted them by their father *Gustavus*; as it was in their refusal to accept of his proposals, that he finally resolved to surrender the duchess *Catherine*, *John's* wife, to the *Muscovite* ambassadors. This design he determined to execute on the day appointed for the solemnization of his marriage, with his mistress *Catherine*, for hitherto he had not publicly acknowledged that lady for his queen. His intrigues were discovered by the dukes, and they immediately deliberated with the friends of the lords massacred at *Upsal*, in what manner they could avert the blow. At last it was unanimously resolved to dethrone *Eric*, and to prevent the *Danes* from traversing their designs, an ambassador was sent to *Copenhagen*.

ERIC was all this while bent on the execution of his project, which he imagined lay concealed, and the solemnization of his nuptials. When the day arrived, he espoused his mistress *Catherine*, but failed in the attempt to spirit off the duchess, who had taken effectual measures to disappoint him. In the mean time, the dukes *John* and *Charles* having raised a considerable force, and made themselves masters of sufficient treasure to prosecute the war, attacked the fortresses of *Wadstena*, *Steckeburg*, and *Leckoo*, which they took, obliging the garrisons to swear allegiance to them. At the first of these places they seized the treasure of duke *Magnus*, which they recoined in their own names. After this they wrote to the king, demanding the execution of the late treaty, and exhorting him to govern the kingdom with more wisdom, and conduct himself with more prudence and circumspection than he had lately shewn. They particularly entreated him to remove *Peerfon* from his councils; but the king returned a haughty answer, they declared war, and published their reasons for this proceeding, in a strong and well-drawn manifesto.

^a LOCCEŒ. et PUFFEND. ibid.

^b LOCCEŒ. lib. vii. p. 374.

a ERIC finding himself involved in domestic troubles, when he expected a perfect reconciliation with his brothers, determined to put an end, if possible, to the foreign wars in which he was engaged. With this view he assembled the states, and communicated several proposals for accommodating all differences with *Denmark*. But so rapid was the progress made by the dukes, that the king found no leisure to enter upon negotiations with foreign powers. Full of hope to crush *Eric* at one blow, they were in rapid march at the head of a powerful army towards *Upsal*. His majesty immediately put himself at the head of a body of troops to oppose them. He several times attacked the enemies advanced guard, and burnt *Nicoping*, which belonged to duke *Charles*.

THIS, however, was all the advantage he could obtain. The dukes, after traversing *Sundermania*, and dispersing all the detached royal parties, appeared before *Stockholm*. Numbers of the inhabitants and soldiers of the capital came out to join them, and among the rest the duke of *Saxe-Lawenburgh*, lately married to the king's sister, upon information that *Eric* had formed a design against his life. His majesty finding that force would not avail him, had recourse to other expedients, which proved equally ineffectual. When the dukes army was seen encamped at *Noder Malm*, *Joran Peerfon* told the king, "If your majesty had followed my advice with respect to duke *John*, you would not now be besieged in your capital." Previous to opening the trenches, several overtures for a peace were made from one side and the other, which all came to nothing, as the dukes made it an essential article of their agreement, that *Peerfon* should be surrendered to justice, to suffer the punishment due to the crime of misleading his sovereign, to the destruction of the commonwealth. At last, however, *Eric* perceiving matters pushing to a crisis, consented that he should be delivered up to the dukes. *Peerfon* was instantly seized with his mother, who passed for a witch; and he now behaved as abjectly, as he had before done insolently, while he basked in the sunshine of the royal favour. When he was put to the torture, he confessed the most abominable crimes, and, among others, a project formed by himself and the king, of pillaging *Stockholm*, stripping all the wealth of the city, and putting it on board vessels in the harbour, to which they proposed setting fire, and then steering with the rest of the squadron for *Narva*. This determined the dukes to break the treaty, and push the siege with vigour, in hopes of saving the city. The trenches were opened, and the batteries began to play with fury; but the king opposed all their attempts with equal skill and intrepidity. Brisk sallies were made every night, and the camp of the besiegers kept in perpetual alarm. His majesty sent an express to demand succours of his *Danish* majesty, and offered very advantageous terms; but the express was taken at sea and put to death, after having thrown his dispatches over-board.

ERIC, now destitute of succours and advice, began to despair of his affairs. He secreted 150,000 crowns, with intention to levy forces to reconquer his dominions. He formed a thousand other ideal projects, but was in the mean while forced to yield to the inclination the people expressed of opening their gates to the dukes. His majesty now lost all hopes upon seeing *Peerfon* executed on a high gibbet before the walls, and proclaimed a robber, adulterer, assassin, incendiary, and traitor; crimes but too clearly proved. He endeavoured, however, to pacify the senate and inhabitants, and encourage them to support the fatigues of a siege some days longer; but they had agreed to admit the enemy privately in the night. A postern gate was opened to duke *Charles*, who entered with a body of troops, and immediately pillaged the house of *Peerfon*, from which he could not restrain the soldiers. His design was to seize the king's person; but the alarm raised by the pillaging of *Peerfon's* house, gave his majesty the alarm, and enabled him to escape to the citadel. Here he was immediately invested, and forced to capitulate, after a very short defence. He consented to yield up his crown, and desired no other terms than that he might be confined in a prison suited to his dignity. Upon this he was given to the friends of the nobility massacred at *Upsal*, who it was supposed would guard him with the utmost vigilance; the senate renounced their allegiance, their resolution was soon followed by the states, and duke *John* solemnly elected king. Thus ended the glory of *Eric*, a prince doomed by the fickleness and inconstancy of his nature to misfortune; and yet endowed with talents which might render himself and people powerful and happy. In one circumstance there appeared a steadiness of disposition; namely, in chusing favourites hateful to his subjects, and screening them from the just punishment of their crimes, and the resentment of their injured fellow subjects.

^a PUFFEND. tom. p. 446.

^b Tom. ii. p. 3. et seq. LOCEN. lib. vii. ibid.

S E C T. VII.

Containing the Reigns of John, Sigismund, and Charles IX.

Duke John
elected king.

JOHN had no sooner ascended the throne, than he ordered the authors of the horrid massacre at *Upsal* to be tried, condemned, and executed. He raised his uncle, *Steen Ericson*, to the dignity of baron, which he extended to his heirs male. Among the first proceedings of his reign, was the embassy sent to the czar *John Basilowitz*, to announce his elevation, and acquaint him with the resolution he had formed of concluding a peace with *Denmark*. Finally, to declare, that his inclination to enter upon a good understanding with the czar, had prevented him from using his ambassadors found in *Stockholm*, in the manner they deserved, considering the pernicious designs they were plotting against him.

Disputes with
Denmark.

In the next place an embassy was sent to *Copenhagen*, to finish the peace between the two crowns, which had for some time been in agitation. The conduct of his ministers reflected dishonour on *John*; they signed a peace at *Roschild*, shameful to *Sweden*. Here it was stipulated that *John* should pay the *Danish* forces for the whole time they refrained from hostilities against *Sweden*; that all the *Danish* shipping should be restored; that *Femptland*, *Oesel*, *Sonneburgh*, *Leake*, *Hepsal*, *Lede* and *Warberg*, should be ceded; that *John* should renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of *Norway*, the isle of *Gothland*, and the provinces of *Schonen*, *Halland* and *Bleking*. Finally, that he should quietly permit his *Danish* majesty to wear the arms of *Sweden*; that he would indemnify his losses during the war, and pay an old debt due to the regency of *Lubec*, from his father *Gustavus*. These were terms which necessity only could grant, and a series of victories impose. The people suspected the ambassadors were corrupted, and *John* was so displeased with their conduct, that after receiving them coldly, he assembled the states to deliberate, whether so injurious a treaty to the kingdom ought to be ratified.

THE first proceedings of this assembly were formally to renounce their allegiance to *Eric*, and swear obedience to *John*; to destroy all the writings and instruments, whereby they were bound to fealty; to condemn that unhappy prince to perpetual imprisonment; to declare his children incapable of succeeding to the crown; to reverse all his judgments and decisions, and to oblige him to appear publicly in the high court of justice to hear his sentence passed (A). As soon as this business was finished, the treaty of *Roschild* was canvassed, when, after mature deliberation, it was resolved rather to renew the war than ratify a peace so injurious and disgraceful to the kingdom.

In the mean time the czar *Basilowitz* treated *Sweden* with great respect, and sent passports to the *Swedish* ambassador: but he was secretly labouring to seduce the magistrates of *Revel*, and gain possession of that city. His endeavours, however, were frustrated by *John's* policy, who in spite of the civil factions then within the walls, kept the inhabitants firm in their allegiance. It was the principal object of the king's administration, to confirm his authority in all the provinces. With this view he sent ambassadors to *Denmark*, to solicit terms of peace more equitable than those signed at *Roschild*. To gratify duke *Charles*, he granted him *Sundermania*, *Nericia* and *Wermland*, agreeable to the will of *Gustavus*, reserving only to himself the right of sovereignty. Lastly, he ordered himself and queen to be crowned with the usual solemnity at *Upsal*.

A. D. 1569.

THE *Swedish* ambassadors were no sooner arrived with their rich presents at *Moscow*, than they were arrested by the czar's orders, imprisoned, and confined to live on bread and water; nor was *John* more successful on the side of *Denmark*. *Frederick* haughtily refused to relinquish any of the articles of the treaty of *Roschild*. Instead of listening to any new propositions, he laid siege to *Warberg*, which was vigorously defended by the

c Loccen. l. vii.

d Id. ibid.

(A) When *Eric* came into court, he maintained long disputes with his brothers, before the states denounced sentenced, and discovered a subtilty and keenness of wit, that astonished the whole assembly. His behaviour on this occasion gained him at least the compassion of a great part of the audience; but it could not alter the intention of his judges. They proceeded formally to renounce their allegiance and pass sentence; upon which he was recommitted to prison, where he was used

with great severity by his keepers, the friends of those persons massacred at *Upsal*. Besides the opprobrious language, the scoffs and insults, they were brutal enough to bestow, they likewise made him feel cold and hunger. *Oluf Steenboek* proceeded even to beat and wound him, afterwards refusing his king the assistance of a surgeon, leaving him for several hours weltering in his blood (1).

(1) Loccen. ibid. Puff. ibid.

Swedish

- a *Swedish* garrison, but at length taken by treachery^c, after the *Danish* general had been slain before the walls. Duke *Charles* in revenge made an irruption into *Schonen*, where he committed terrible ravages, which were at last ballanced by the cruel depredations of the enemy in *West Gothland*. There was besides a *Danish* army in *Smaland*, where among other places they reduced *Wexlo* to ashes; while the *Swedes* retaliated by carrying the torch of war into *Norway*, burning, pillaging, and destroying all before them; a savage method of carrying on war, happily extinguished among the more civilized nations. It produced one happy effect, by obliging *Frederick* to hearken to more reasonable propositions, and relax from the severity of a conqueror, which before he assumed. But the desire of both kings to put an end to this destructive war, met with a variety of obstructions. A new subject of contention arose; the duke of *Holstein* endeavoured to annex *Livonia* to the crown of *Denmark*, and his intentions were seconded by the eager inclinations of the people, who expected the return of the golden age under a *German* king. The opposition given by the *Swedes* and the city of *Revel*, to the duke of *Holstein*, created king of *Livonia* by the czar, excited new troubles in that quarter, obliged the czar to raise an army in support of the new king, and afforded *Frederick* a prospect either of continuing the war with success, as a great part of the *Swedish* forces must be employed in *Livonia*, or of ending it advantageously. However, a congress was agreed upon and appointed in the city of *Stetin*, at which attended ambassadors from the emperor *Maximilian*, from *Charles IX.* of *France*, *Sigismund* king of *Poland*, the czar, the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, the elector of *Saxony*, and several other princes: after warm altercations had been carried on for the space of five months, neither side would relinquish certain points insisted upon by the opposite party. His *Swedish* majesty demanded restitution of *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking*, and that the king of *Denmark* would no longer quarter the *Swedish* arms. *Frederick* would not accede to these propositions; and while the two kings were disputing, the *Russians*, under the conduct of the duke of *Holstein*, laid vigorous siege to *Revel* and *Wittenstein*, refusing to admit any propositions made by king *John*; upon which he sent a squadron to attempt raising the siege, or at least throwing provisions into *Revel*. The duke, however, pushed his operations so briskly, and fired with such fury upon the city, that *John* finding himself hard pressed on one side by the *Russians*, and on the other by the *Danes*, resolved to stop the progress of misfortunes, by the best peace he could obtain. Accordingly the negotiations were recommenced, and *John* ceded his right to *Norway*, *Halland*, *Bleking*, *Jemtland*, and *Hermdahn*. As to the disputes about *Livonia*, these were referred to a future discussion, since adjusting points so intricate, required time and deliberation.

War with Denmark.

The czar besieges Revel.

Peace with Denmark.

In this manner was the peace of *Stetin* huddled up, that *John* might be at liberty to push the war against the *Russians*, and take ample vengeance on the czar for his usage of the *Swedish* ambassadors, and irruptions into *Livonia*. It was likewise discovered, that the czar was managing certain intrigues to procure king *Eric's* liberty, and reinstate him in the throne. This obliged *John* to remove the unfortunate prince to the citadel of *Abou*, for the greater security, where he was more closely confined than before, watched with more vigilance, and used with more rigour, if possible.

While the czar was preparing a mighty army to invade *Livonia* and *Finland*, the *Tartars*, at the instigation of his *Polish* majesty, entered *Russia*, took, pillaged, and laid the city of *Moscow* in ashes, after having put above thirty thousand souls to the sword. This produced a negotiation, but the czar's haughty insolence was not subdued; he still talked high, made unreasonable demands, and threatened, if they were not accepted, to overrun, not only *Finland* and *Livonia*, but all *Sweden*. *John* made all possible preparations to resist the fury of this *Barbarian*. He sent *Mornay* to solicit assistance from queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, and the king of *Scotland*; but this embassy had almost proved fatal to his interest. *Mornay* was secretly a partizan of the late king *Eric*, he ardently wished for his restoration, and found the queen of *England* in the same sentiments. Intrigues were carried on between them; and *Puffendorf* scruples not to affirm, that the queen endeavoured to animate the ambassador to assassinate king *John*: but this assertion wants proof; though we may venture to affirm, that her majesty seemed to return, by gratitude, the passion which the unfortunate *Eric* entertained for her in his youth. The same author adds, that *Mornay* would have executed his design by means of his majesty's fencing-master, with whom he used to play for exercise; but the man struck with horror at the attempt, with-held the blow he meditated, just as it was ready to fall. Some time after the plot was discovered to the king by a *Scotchman*; but as the accuser could corroborate his assertion by no kind of proof, he was beheaded for endeavouring to traduce a faithful servant in his high employments, and the particular favourite of his majesty.

A. D. 1571.

John solicits assistance against the czar, from queen Elizabeth.

^c PUFFEND. tom. ii. p. 8.

^f LOCEN, ibid.

^s PUFFEND. tom. ii. p. 17.

The czar sues
for peace.

A. D. 1573.

An accident in
John's army
determines the
czar to con-
tinue the war.

John endea-
vours to effect
changes in re-
ligion favour-
able to popery.

JOHN's embassy to *England* and *Scotland* producing no effect, he determined to rely upon his own subjects, and accordingly lent strong detachments to *Livonia*, which at first acted with great spirit and success against the *Russians*; but the czar in person entering the province, at the head of a numerous army, stopped their conquests, took *Wittenstein*, plundered, destroyed, and put to the sword all before him. Next he took *Karckbusen*, made an irruption into *Esthonia*, laid the province waste, defeated a sally from the city *Revel*; but was at length attacked by six hundred *Swedish* horse and a thousand foot, who fought with such desperate valour, that they defeated the whole *Russian* army, and struck the czar with so much consternation, that he immediately sued for peace, and wrote to the king in the most humble and obliging strain ^b.

JOHN received the czar's letter with due respect, returned an answer, that he was ready to accommodate matters; but insisted that their negotiations should be in some frontier town, and at the same time reinforced his army with 5000 *Scotch*, whose arrival obliged the czar to renew his solicitations, and supplicate peace in the most abject manner. One peculiarity in his temper appeared amidst his consternation. Eager as he was for a peace, he would listen to no terms, unless *John* consented that the treaty should be negotiated at *Neuwarte*; whereas the king was equally determined the ambassadors should meet at *Sosterbeck* upon the frontiers. Both maintained the dignity of their crowns with such obstinacy, that the flames of war were again kindled in *Livonia* with redoubled fury. The *Swedes* besieged *Wesenberg* and *Telsburgh*, but were foiled in the enterprize. Another accident of a more fatal nature contributed to the king's losses. A quarrel arose between the *German* cavalry and *Scotch* infantry in his service. Both flew to arms, and engaged with so much fury, that out of 500 *Scotch*, not twenty-five came off the field. Happily, however, the main body of the *Scotch* was not present, or it is probable the affair might have still been more bloody. This was followed by divers other misfortunes, which entirely altered the face of the campaign, and turned the advantage wholly on the side of the *Russians*. A body of *German* and *Swedish* cavalry was surprised and cut to pieces by the enemy; the *Russians* and *Tartars* ravaged *Esthonia*, and the king's fleet suffered greatly by storm before *Narva*.

WHILE *Livonia* felt all the horrors of war, ambassadors from both sides were negotiating a peace. The czar at last consented that a congress should be held on the frontiers; but his demands rose so high with his prosperity, that nothing was concluded except a truce, to which the *Russians* paid very little regard. Nor did this truce extend farther than to *Finland*, the czar refusing to include *Livonia*, which he doubted not must soon come into his possession. What prevented king *John* from pushing the war in this country, was the change he endeavoured to effect in religion, at the instigation of his queen. *Lutheranism* had for some years been universally embraced in *Sweden*, but the court now meditated the restoration of popery, merely on the queen's account; for his majesty as yet not publicly professed his own sentiments. The clergy, who hoped to regain their former authority, readily joined with the court, and laid a plan plausible enough for accomplishing their end, because it proposed gradual measures, and rejected all violence. The archbishop drew up certain articles, in which he affirmed that *Anascarius* and his disciples had preached the true doctrine of Christ in *Sweden*; that his tenets, abstracting from a few external ceremonies, were the same taught now by the church of *Rome*; that the fathers were the best interpreters of the sacred writings; that faith and good works were inseparable; that auricular confession and mass were necessary; that, in administering the sacrament of baptism, exorcisms, the sign of the cross and white surplices, ought not to be neglected or laid aside; that the host was a ceremony which produced a happy effect on the minds of the people, with a variety of other particulars, the aim and intention of which were very apparent. These articles were read to the general assembly of the clergy, and approved: in a word, the form of worship proposed by the archbishop was ordered to be observed in all the churches. It was on the preceding year that *John* formed the resolution of bringing about a change in religion; which proceeded from reading books wrote by the *Romish* clergy, and the conversation of his queen: he became in fact a convert, and warm advocate for that religion. He was for purging it of certain superstitious ceremonies; but he believed, that at the bottom it was the true primitive faith, and hoped to reduce the religion of *Sweden* to the simplicity of the earlier ages of the gospel. However, these notions he carefully concealed from the clergy, whom he proposed making the instruments of his design. To execute this vast project, *John* called in the assistance of his secretary *Peter Feften*, and of certain learned Jesuits who remained in disguise in the country. As soon as he thought matters ripe for execution, he assembled the clergy, under pretence of filling some vacant sees, and particularly the archbishopric, void

- a by the death of *Neritius*. He opened the assembly by a pathetic speech, representing the fatal consequences of the growth of heresy and schism over all *Europe*, particularly *Germany*, *England*, and the *Netherlands*. He said, that with respect to the confession of *Augsburgh*, theologians themselves were of very opposite sentiments; it was therefore the most safe to adhere to the catholic and apostolic faith, confirmed by the testimony of sacred writ, and the blood of so many martyrs. He said, that when their predecessors endeavoured to destroy the errors of the church, they at the same time abolished good and wholesome ordinances, and picking off the lace, tore the garment. *Luther* had besides, he said, established a great number of articles of faith not at all consonant to the true christian religion, and quite opposite to the liturgies of *St. James*, *St. Basilus*, *St. Chrysostome*, *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Gregory*.
b He concluded that it was therefore necessary to restore some fundamental articles abolished by *Luther*, and to deduce the just ceremonies from a pure and unpolluted source; namely, the writings of the fathers, and not the muddy rivers that flowed from modern enthusiasts and religious projectors.

His majesty's address, the ambition of the clergy, the queen's influence, and a variety of other circumstances, all contributed to gain the ready assent of the clergy to his propositions. Several of the ancient customs and ceremonies of the church were restored, and the king, to reward the zeal and obedience of the ecclesiastics, suffered them to proceed to the election of prelates to fill the vacant sees. But he artfully declined confirming the new bishops, until they had first signed certain articles, serving to promote his general
c scheme of restoration, or rather of reformation.

AFTER this several meetings of the bishops, and general convocations of the clergy, were held by the king's order, and certain disputed points among the different sects of christians taken into consideration. For the space of three years the kingdom was in the utmost confusion with theological disputes, and common sense seemed to be wholly extinguished by the violence of bigotry and enthusiasm. Instead of effecting the scheme of pure reformation intended, the *Romish* religion, and all the superstitious ceremonies, abolished by the sensible and free-spirited *Gustavus*, were again creeping in, and daily gaining ground. The old archbishop dying, his brother, tutored at *Rome* in all the cunning and intrigue of the apostolic court, was elected in his room. Duke *Charles* and his dependents opposed the measures of the king. All the clergy within the jurisdiction of this prince held an assembly, and signed articles whereby they declared never to abjure nor depart from the confession of *Augsburgh*. Party-heats were pushed to violence, and probably would have terminated in a civil war, had not the queen wisely interposed, and consented rather to permit liberty of conscience, than involve the kingdom in scenes of blood and confusion. The duke found means to influence the states; for when they met, a remonstrance, in very strong terms, was made to the king upon his scheme for restoring popery. They requested his majesty to confirm publicly the doctrines of the church of *Sweden*, as established by their glorious monarch *Gustavus*, in order to stop the rapid progress of schism. They entreated, that to avoid suspicion of favouring popery, he would prohibit
d the importation of the writings of the *Romish* clergy; that he would fix in all the schools able masters attached to the established religion; and that he would place the prince apparent under protestant tutors, to be educated agreeable to the confession of *Augsburgh*. This alone, they said, would confirm him in the affections of the people, and quiet the apprehensions, lest on his coming to the throne he should endeavour to restore popery. Besides, the states admonished the king to conclude a peace with the *Russians*, and to be careful lest the *Poles* might anticipate him, by signing a separate treaty.

- f *JOHN* received their advice and remonstrances with deference; but he pursued his first intentions, though in a more cautious manner. A nuncio from the pope was admitted, and a great number of Jesuits privately introduced into the kingdom, to poison the principles of the people. What the consequence might have been, had it not pleased the Almighty to remove the queen by death, is hard to conjecture. This event however, produced an immediate change; the *Romish* religion fell into disrepute; the king pushed his project with less ardor; and the states resumed their remonstrances, in behalf of the reformed religion, with more zeal and spirit. They exhorted prince *Sigismund* to declare openly in favour of the established religion, and even to abjure popery, the better to secure his right of succession; but his constant answer was, that he preferred a crown in heaven to all earthly honours. The queen his mother had bred him in the superstition of her own faith, and besought him, with tears in her eyes, on her death-bed, never to relinquish the *Romish* religion. The states again exhorted the king, not to destroy the tranquillity of the kingdom, by innovation, and the introduction of religious disputes, which generally ended in persecution, and the ruin of public virtue. Their admonitions were now heard with more attention, and better regarded, because his majesty perceived the powerful influence of duke *Charles* his brother, and apprehended the consequence of the

Duke Charles
opposes the
king.

John resolves
to put an end
to the civil
divisions occa-
sioned by re-
ligion.

negotiations that prince was carrying on for the support of protestantism, in which he saw *England*, the *German* princes, and all the reformed states, combined. He observed how seldom he lately appeared at court, and the popularity which he daily acquired. This determined him to end the dispute about religion, the war with *Muscovy*, and by every means possible to confirm himself in the esteem and affections of his people. Accordingly, he openly discountenanced the *Romish* clergy, banished all the Jesuits, and prolonged the truce with *Russia*, which had for several years been very indifferently observedⁱ. Such were the public transactions and the state of the kingdom for the space of twelve years, except a few occurrences, which we could not mention without interrupting our narrative.

Among the principal of these was the death of king *Eric*, which happened on the 22d of *February* 1578, in consequence of a dose of poison administered by the king's order, who apprehended that the religious contentions might excite a desire in the people to restore him. Another remarkable event was, the execution of *Mornay*, upon some proofs which had lately appeared to confirm the accusation of the *Scotchman*, beheaded some years before. He had likewise attached himself to duke *Charles*, and thereby incurred the king's resentment. It ought not to be passed over, that notwithstanding the truce between *Sweden* and *Russia* respecting *Finland* in particular, the czar had made frequent irruptions into that province at the head of numerous armies, laying all waste with a truly savage barbarity. He had likewise excited the *Tartars* to over-run the province, and that lawless people poured in with such impetuosity as bore down all resistance. This, among other reasons, it was, that induced the king to enter upon fresh negotiations with the czar, and tie him down by more explicit and strong articles, than those of the former truce.

The disputes
about religion,
the quarrel be-
tween the king
and his bro-
ther renewed.

WE now return to domestic affairs, and a further view of the growing differences between the king and duke *Charles*, as well as the circumstances which opened a path for that prince's elevation to the throne. Duke *Charles* seeing the king rid of all foreign enemies, and assiduous to gain the affections of his people, sent ambassadors to court, to solicit a reconciliation, without which he foresaw his own ruin would ensue. King *John*, however, either disapproving of the overtures made by his brother, or unwilling, for some private reasons, to heal up their divisions, convoked the states at *Wadstena*, and summoned his brother there to justify his conduct. Upon this occasion he made use of a stroke of policy that had not the desired success. Apprehending that so ignominious a citation would greatly affect the people, who strongly espoused duke *Charles*, and he looked upon as a snare to get him into his power, he ordered it to be published in all the churches, that the sole intention of the summons was to oblige the duke to declare the cause of his discontent, and the reasons that induced him, in contempt of the royal authority, to fill up certain vacant sees, over which he usurped a sovereignty, and right of patronage. Notwithstanding this public declaration, and several other assurances, *Charles* disobeyed the summons, and immediately assembled a body of troops to oppose any violence that might be offered to his person. With these he marched to the neighbourhood of *Wadstena*, and thereby obliged the king also to levy troops to protect himself and the diet assembled at that place. The states upon this interposed. They besought the duke to appease the king by craving his pardon, and prevailed on his majesty to pass over all that was passed, and grant a general amnesty to his brother and army, provided he would sign the terms imposed by king *Eric* on his brothers *John* and *Magnus*, in 1561. His majesty expected that the duke might now be brought to accept the new liturgy; but he, with all his clergy, positively refused subscribing to it, upon any consideration.

Prince Sigis-
mund stands
a candidate
for the crown
of Poland;
an event
which proves
the source of
all the misfor-
tunes that be-
fel the king-
dom.

In this situation stood the affairs of *Sweden*, when the king of *Poland*, brother-in-law to *John*, yielded up his last breath. His queen, sister to her *Swedish* majesty, laboured with all possible diligence to fix the crown on the head of prince *Sigismund* her nephew. As soon as she had gained a sufficient number of the nobility, and particularly the chancellor and great mareschal, she dispatched an account of her proceedings to *Sweden*. Upon mature deliberation, *John* sent an embassy to *Poland*, to solicit the payment of an old debt, and the election of his son. Their instructions, however, were, to mention nothing of the money, in case they found the other object of their embassy in a favourable train. On their arrival, their success was so extraordinary, that prince *Sigismund* was elected by a great majority, and on the following conditions; that there should subsist a perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive, between the crowns of *Poland* and *Sweden*; that prince *Sigismund* should, at the death of his father, succeed to the crown of *Sweden*; that on urgent occasions he might, with the consent of the states, return to that kingdom; that he maintained, at his own expence, a fleet for the service of *Poland*, when required; that *Sigismund* should cancel the old debt due from the crown of *Poland* to that of *Sweden*; that, with

ⁱ Loccen. lib. vii. Hist. de Dan. tom. iv. Puffend. tom. ii. p. 28. & seq.

a the consent of the states, he should build five fortresses on the frontiers of *Poland*; that he should have liberty to introduce foreign soldiers into the kingdom, provided he maintained them at his own expence; that, after his accession to the crown of *Sweden*, he should not make use of *Swedish* counsellors in *Poland*; that he should have his body-guard entirely of *Poles* and *Lithuanians*; and that he should annex to *Poland*, that part of *Livonia* now subject to *Sweden*.

b Thus we see honours conferred on prince *Sigismund* at the expence of the kingdom of *Sweden*. Advice of his election was no sooner arrived, than king *John* sent notice of it to duke *Charles*, in order to sound his opinion. He likewise ordered, that not only the duke, but the states should take a fresh oath of fidelity, the better to secure his own family in possession. To this the duke declared, that he was ready to pay all due respect to the prince; but as to the obligation required, he was at a loss for the proper form: that for the rest, he would never consent that *Esthonia*, and the *Swedish* possessions in *Livonia*, should fall into the hands of foreigners. At the same time he sent ambassadors to prince *Sigismund*, to congratulate him on his accession to the crown of *Poland*. *Charles*'s declaration obliged the king and prince *Sigismund* to protest to the *Polish* ambassadors, that they would never consent to alienate any of the *Swedish* dominions, or to accept of the crown of *Poland* upon terms in the least prejudicial to *Sweden*. But this protest was not made before advice was received, that the *Poles* had elected the archduke *Maximilian*. It was, however, determined, that *Sigismund* should support his election by a fleet, provided the *Poles* would give up that article of the conditions respecting *Esthonia*. A fleet was accordingly equipped, and just as the prince was ready to embark, the *Swedish* senate perceiving to what a height of power he was likely to arrive, persuaded king *John* to join with the prince in signing the following articles. That on the prince's arrival in *Poland*, he should maintain no greater number of *Romish* priests about his person than he was allowed in *Sweden*. That they should be suffered to enjoy no greater privileges than what were granted in *Sweden*. That they should give no disturbance to his protestant servants in *Poland* on account of religion. That he should promote none but natives to posts in *Sweden*, unless they embraced the established religion. That he should introduce no innovations in the present established mode of worship. That he should retain in his service the same priests that attended him in *Sweden*. That he should persecute no one on account of religion. And finally, that the pope should exert no spiritual power, and have no supremacy over the church of *Sweden*. To these articles, in support of their religion, they annexed several others for the security of their property, prohibiting the prince from alienating the crown-lands; establishing a perpetual alliance between the two kingdoms; obliging him, in case of marriage, to settle the queen's jointure mutually at the expence of *Sweden* and *Poland*: with a variety of other conditions, which we need not recite. Sufficient it is, that many were deemed unreasonable, and thought to indicate the senate's design of excluding the prince from the succession, under pretence that he had broken some of the articles. It was indeed universally suspected, that the *Sture* family secretly aspired at the crown, and first suggested these hard conditions. Difficulties about his election.

c ON the prince's arrival in *Poland*, great disputes arose. The *Poles* insisted upon his ceding *Livonia*, and granting the articles specified in his election. *Sigismund*, and the *Swedish* ambassadors, absolutely refused this, as inconsistent with the conditions imposed by the *Swedish* senate. At last it was proposed, to defer the dispute until *Sigismund* should, at his father's death, succeed to the crown of *Sweden*; but even this expedient was not satisfactory to king *John*'s ambassadors. They therefore entreated the prince to give them a letter, declaring that he would never consent to annex *Esthonia* to the crown of *Poland*; and that his sole aim in thus accommodating matters, was procuring peace and the quiet possession of that crown. They requested, that he should send written orders to all the governors in *Esthonia*, not to obey his orders in case they should be inconsistent with the interest of *Sweden*. *Sigismund* consented to all they required; notwithstanding which, king *John* was highly incensed at the conduct of his son, for ballancing a minute between the interest of his native and a foreign country. The young king, to satisfy his father, declared publickly to the *Poles*, that he had rather abdicate their throne than surrender the smallest village belonging to *Sweden*; what then must they think of his relinquishing a large province that cost such seas of blood^k.

d SATISFIED with these excuses, *John* now renewed the subject of the new liturgy, and published manifestoes, declaring all the clergy who should oppose it, guilty of high treason. This was in particular levelled at the clergy of the duchy, who had all, to a man, refused to subscribe to the new form of worship. He went further, calling them servants A weak and arbitrary edit published by king John.

^k Vid. auct. citat. locis citat.

of the devil; he threatened to banish them, unless they retracted their errors, and submissively asked pardon for their disobedience. a

A. D. 1589.

JOHN never deviated so much from true politics as in this declaration. He treated men of spirit with too much haughtiness, and prescribed with a despotism he ever had reason to repent, to the consciences of men born to freedom, and who had but lately abjured the slavish doctrines of the church of *Rome*. The clergy of the duchy immediately wrote to duke *Charles*, desiring to know if they might vindicate their conduct in a public manner; and told him, they were ready to answer to the king's accusation, before the states, senate, and throne. The duke's answer was favourable; upon which they refuted, in public writings, all the calumnies laid to their charge; refused again, with more solemnity, their assent to the new liturgy; appealed to the scripture, the confession of *Augsburg*, and the catechism of *Luther* for the truth of their doctrine, and prayed his majesty to revoke the severe and unjust sentence passed upon a body of men, equally loyal in their politicks, and conscientious in their religion. However, their remonstrances served only to increase the king's indignation. He resolved to recal his son *Sigismund* to his assistance in so difficult a conjuncture, and deeply regretted that he should have parted with his only son, to make way for the intrigues and cabals of his brother the duke. The conduct of the clergy, and the hard conditions imposed on *Sigismund* by the senate; the king charged wholly on duke *Charles*; and thus the rupture between the two brothers grew every day wider. b

The truce with Muscovy expires.

Intrigues with respect to Poland, and the king's interview with Sigismund.

THIS year the truce between *Sweden* and *Russia* expired; upon which *John* assembled the states, to deliberate whether he ought to renew it. The czar refused to conclude perpetual peace on any other terms, than his majesty's resigning the province he had conquered; and the states offered to afford his majesty the means of recommencing the war, if he thought it adviseable. On the other hand, as civil dissensions daily increased, the king thought it necessary to provide against consequences. He sent a message to his son, desiring an interview with him at *Revel*. He had only, he said, to desire him to come to that city, from whence he might easily pass to *Sweden*, and never more to return to *Poland*, the possession of which crown, he feared, would deprive him of that of *Sweden*. *Sigismund* followed his father's advice; the two kings met at *Revel*, spent a month there together in that city, and then *Sigismund* acquainted the *Poles* of his intention of making a visit to his native country. The *Poles* were dissatisfied; they recollected the affront given them by the abrupt departure of *Henry de Valois*, and positively opposed the king's resolution. King *John*, in order to satisfy them, gave the most solemn assurances, that the whole design of the journey was to secure his succession, by going through the ceremony of the coronation; but the *Poles* would by no means consent, until he had solemnly sworn he would return within a limited time. d

WITH respect to the *Swedish* senate, they requested that his majesty would defer the king of *Poland*'s return to a more seasonable opportunity. They promised, that as soon as they found a person who would accept of the crown of *Poland*, they would send an embassy to solicit *Sigismund*'s return, to assist in his majesty's councils, and comfort his old age. They represented, that if his majesty insured his return in the manner proposed, it could not fail of incensing the *Poles*, obliging them, perhaps, to chuse the czar of *Muscovy* for their king, or at least of forming an alliance with that prince, highly prejudicial to *Sweden*, in the present state of the kingdom, loaded with debts, rent with civil dissensions, threatened by *Denmark*, and now on the eve of a war with *Russia*. They proved to a demonstration, the inconveniencies which would attend this measure; but perceiving their arguments made no impression on his majesty, they so incensed the officers of the army against the king, that they went in a body, and threw down their commissions before the palace, protesting they would never take up arms in his service if he recalled the prince, at a time so critical and dangerous to the state. e

AN incursion which the *Tartars* made into *Poland*, the pressing instances of his subjects that *Sigismund* would return to the defence of the kingdom, the resolute conduct of the *Swedish* senate, and in particular, this last act of the officers of the army, obliged the two kings to lay aside their schemes, and take a last farewell. One circumstance, in particular, compelled king *John* to return with the utmost expedition to *Sweden*. He received letters from *Hogenbilla Bielke*, appointed regent during his absence, that duke *Charles* had broke out into open rebellion; but finding on his arrival at *Stockholm*, that this was only a feint to recal him, he poured out his vengeance upon *Bielke*, and accused him and other senators of high treason. They had conspired, he said, against the royal family, and with that view advised his sending prince *Sigismund* to *Poland*. They had fomented divisions be- f

¹ PUFFEND. tom. ii.

^m LOCCEN. lib. vii.

a tween him and the duke, in hopes of disappointing *Sigismund* of the succession, after the two brothers had weakened themselves by civil wars. Fully persuaded of the justice of these sentiments, his majesty recalled the duke, invited him to *Stockholm*, and after being perfectly reconciled, intrusted him with a share of the government^a.

By the duke's advice the king assembled the states, to deliberate on the punishment to be inflicted on the accused lords, and the measures to be taken with respect to *Russia*. The czar had offered to purchase all the conquests made by *Sweden* in *Livonia*; but finding that, notwithstanding the truce had been prolonged for three months, the *Swedish* army continued their ravages, he raised a powerful army to oppose them, and marched at the head of one hundred thousand men to *Narva*. With respect to this last affair nothing could be determined in the assembly; but the accused lords were stripped of all their preferments, and rendered incapable of serving the king in any public employment. On this occasion his majesty likewise revoked the edict passed against duke *Charles*, under pretence that it was suggested by the senate, in order to sow dissention between him and his brother. He continued him in the government of all *Sweden*, and passed an act, confirming the succession in the male line; whereby *Charles* should succeed to the crown, in case *Sigismund* died without male issue. Just as the assembly was on the point of breaking up, the news arrived of the surrender of all the *Swedish* fortresses in *Ingermania*. *John* resolved to recover them by force of arms, and for this purpose hired a body of *Germans*, who all deserted a few weeks after, for want of their pay. Thus duke *Charles*, who entered the province at the head of these auxiliaries, was forced to return without taking a single town. About the same time the *Russians* invested *Narva*, and battered it with great fury. The *Swedish* garrison behaved with the utmost gallantry; but their numbers daily decreasing, *Horn* the governor entered into an agreement with the enemy, whereby he surrendered into their hands *Ivanagorod* and *Corporie*, on condition that they raised the siege of *Narva*. Thus it was that the *Russians* came into possession of the *Swedish* fortresses in *Ingermania*. The senate was incensed at the loss, at the disappointment of duke *Charles*, and the conduct of *Banier*, who commanded the *Swedish* army, and of *Horn*, governor of *Narva*. *Banier* was accused of affording no assistance to *Narva*, and making no attempts to relieve the garrison; and *Horn* was blamed for surrendering two cities to the enemy before he had consulted the senate, and was himself reduced to the last extremity. *Eric Sture* was also accused, of having promised the province of *Esthonia* to the *Poles*, on condition they would elect prince *Sigismund*: and these three lords gave in such answers to their accusation, as prevented their being either condemned or acquitted. Duke *Charles* countenanced them all that was possible, king *Sigismund* interceded for them, and the king, at last, consented they should be released; but he was taken off by a sudden death, before the act for their enlargement was passed (A).

Progress of the
Russians.

Certain Swe-
dish noblemen
accused.

THE king's death was sudden: he was seized with a disorder in his bowels, a few hours before, and fell a victim to the ignorance of the physicians and apothecaries round him; for at that time, philosophy and physic were but little understood in *Sweden*. *John* died esteemed, but not much beloved by his subjects. The obstinacy or his temper made him persevere in measures which he knew were wrong; yet would he yield every thing to the opinion of his queen. Had his majesty lived, his superstitious and imprudent adherence to the absurd scheme of religious reformation, would have involved him in disputes with his subjects, which might have terminated fatally to both; happily, for his glory and peace, death prevented an open rupture. That he permitted prince *Sigismund* to be educated in the principles of the church of *Rome*; that he obliged him to offer himself a candidate for the crown of *Poland*; that he suffered him to accept the crown upon terms injurious to *Sweden*; and that he would afterwards prevail on the prince to affront the *Polish* nation, by abdicating the crown, and making his escape by flight, will always be looked upon as blots in king *John*'s administration.

King John's
death and
character.

f For two days the king's death was kept concealed, to furnish those about him with an opportunity of pillaging the treasury; the reproach of which fell chiefly on the queen. Even duke *Charles*, then at his seat at *Tellie*, was not made acquainted with an event so important to the kingdom. Before his arrival at court, every thing was plundered, the

His death con-
cealed, and the
treasury plun-
dered.

^a Loccen. lib. vii.

^o Idem. ibid. Puffend. tom. ii.

(A) We should mention within the transactions of this year, previous to the king's death, the marriage of duke *Charles* with *Christina*, daughter to the duke of *Holstein*. The alliance was by no means agreeable to king *John*, both on account of his brother's having promised not to marry, and because he feared lest the children of this marriage might possibly dispute the

succession with the children of *Sigismund*. The young king of *Poland* had paid his addresses to this princess, and made her considerable presents; but the lady preferred duke *Charles*. Upon this *Sigismund* espoused *Ann* daughter to the archduke of *Austria*. Loccen. ibid. Puffend. ibid.

Duke Charles
takes the ad-
ministration,
until the ar-
rival of Si-
gismund.

Disturbances
in the king-
dom.

wardrobe quite despoiled; nor could all the diligence of the duke recover the loss. ^a Charles highly blamed the senate for their conduct, and insinuated, that they had concealed the king's death from him, only to make a prey of the public money. He began his administration as regent, with releasing the imprisoned lords, and granting a general amnesty; he took an exact inventory of all the king's remaining effects, and having put the public affairs on the best footing possible, he acquainted king *Sigismund* with his father's death, desired he would return with all possible expedition, and promised to govern with the utmost fidelity, until he should arrive to direct the reins with his own hands. At the same time that he was shewing his obedience to *Sigismund* as king of *Sweden*, he did not forget that he was king of *Poland*, in which capacity he might be induced to oblige that nation at the expence of *Sweden*. To prevent his ceding *Esthonia*, he wrote to the governors, that should ^b they receive orders from the king to open their gates to the *Poles*, they were upon no account to obey commands so prejudicial to their country; but that he might not seem to act clandestinely, he made *Sigismund* acquainted with his proceedings. However, count *Axel Læwenhaupt* regarded this action of the duke's as a signal of his intentions to aspire at the crown, took occasion to admonish the *West-Gotlanders* to remain steady in their allegiance to *Sigismund*, and laboured to alienate their affections from the duke. He proceeded in the same manner in *Finland*, and obliged *Charles* to threaten punishing him, as a disturber of the public tranquillity, if he did not immediately repair to *Stockholm*, to make the proper submissions. But the count, not caring to put himself in the duke's power, fled to the king of *Poland*, and returned with a letter of protection from his majesty. As the duke ^c now apprehended that the king might create the count governor of *Finland* and *West-Gotland*, he wrote to the principal inhabitants not to acknowledge his commission, in case he were appointed to that government. *Oluf Steenboek*, in like manner, fled for the king's protection, and obtained it. He had endeavoured to infuse suspicions into his majesty's mind, and to excite jealousies of the duke's ambition. The duke summoned him to answer his conduct in a public trial; he refused; and from hence we may date the first appearance of the troubles that soon broke out.

A. D. 1593.

AFTER the regent had performed the funeral obsequies of his late majesty, he entered upon a treaty with the senate, whereby, on account of prince *John's* minority, he was declared the most ancient of the royal line (B), and in that quality acknowledged regent in ^d the king's absence. The senate promised obedience, and to assist him in every undertaking for the glory of God, the protection of the established reformed religion, the preservation of the rights and privileges of the nation, but without prejudice to the allegiance sworn to king *Sigismund*. On the other hand, the duke gave the strongest assurances, that he would enter upon nothing of importance, without their advice and consent. An agreement to this purpose was signed and sealed, after which, in conjunction, they convoked the states, to deliberate by what means they could entirely put an end to the scheme of introducing a new liturgy, and stop the growth of popery. This they believed was absolutely necessary before *Sigismund's* arrival, who, as he had embraced the *Romish* religion, would probably endeavour to restore it. A convocation of the clergy was likewise assembled, and ^e an archbishop, sincerely attached to the protestant religion, elected. His majesty, being acquainted with these transactions, sent over letters, filled with promises that he would preserve the people in all their rights, and suffer no one to be oppressed for the sake of conscience; in a word, that he would introduce a second golden age. He enjoined them to obey the duke in whatever respected his majesty's and the people's interest; but being informed by the duke's enemies of the letters he sent to *Finland* and *West-Gotland*, he dispatched certain *Swedish* lords, attached to him, to take the command of the fortresses in *Sweden* and *Esthonia*; at the same time he sent *John Sparre*, to exact an oath of fidelity from the *Finlanders*. These orders were the sparks which soon lighted up the torch of discord, and enflamed the whole kingdom. ^f

Sigismund
obtains leave
of the Polish
diet to return
to Sweden.

THE diet of *Poland* being met, *Sigismund* obtained leave, without much difficulty, to return to *Sweden*; but on condition that he staid no longer than was necessary to regulate the affairs of the kingdom, and that he would afterwards fix his constant residence in *Poland*. This last article proved highly displeasing to duke *Charles*, and is said to have furnished him with the first thoughts of aspiring at the crown. *Thuron Bielke* was sent to *Poland*, with orders to obtain from the king, in writing, a full and explicit confirmation of the privileges of the state, and security of the protestant religion; he had likewise directions to advise the king to bring with him as slender a retinue as possible, on account of the miserable state of the *Swedish* finances. Secretary *Suercherson* likewise presented to his ma-

^b LOCCEN. lib. vii.

(B) This prince was the son of king *John* by his second queen, born not long before his father's death, and at this time but a few months old.

jefty

- a jesty the acts passed by the states and synod of the clergy, for the security of their privileges and religion; but the king declared, that, as they were made without his consent, so they could not now meet with his approbation; an answer that gave great offence to the states and clergy. However, he said he was determined to act agreeable to what was required in those acts, although he would ratify nothing passed, from a diffidence in his conduct. He gave notice to the senate of his intention to begin his voyage on a certain day; upon which a fleet and ambassadors were sent to receive him at *Dantzick*. On the 30th of *September* he arrived in *Sweden*, and was met by the duke and the senate. All ranks of people were delighted with seeing their king; but it threw a considerable damp over their joy, that they saw him accompanied by *Malaspina*, the pope's nuncio, to whom he presented 30,000 ducats, to defray the expences of his journey to *Sweden*. *He arrives in Sweden, but soon excites great disturbances.*

- b AMONG the first acts of his reign he betrayed his affection for the religion in which he had been bred, by insisting warmly, that one church for papists should be permitted in every town and city; by annulling the decrees of the synod of *Upsal*, disputing the election of the present archbishop, under pretence that he was an enemy to the late king, and chosen without his consent; and lastly, by refusing to be crowned by a protestant bishop, and insisting that ceremony should be performed by the pope's nuncio. The states and senate violently opposed the king's resolution; and the convocation of the clergy sent to entreat his majesty to desist from a design that would prove fatal to the tranquility of the state; but he was deaf to their entreaties. The clergy, knowing they would be protected by duke *Charles*, began to declaim against *Sigismund* and his council from the pulpit; and *Sacercherson* helped to blow the coal of dissension, by revealing in the consistory all that passed in the palace. On the other side, the jesuits and popish clergy, about court, declaimed and preached against the protestants, which produced no other effect than to enflame the nation against his majesty.

- c AMIDST these altercations some acts of violence occurred. When any of the *Poles* died, the protestants allowed they should be buried in the church of *Riadersholm*, a privilege that was denied the *Swedes* in *Poland*; but the popish clergy, not satisfied with this indulgence, demanded the use of the pulpit, to pronounce the funeral orations of the deceased. When this was refused, they endeavoured to extort it by force. At a certain burial they appeared in arms, seized the pulpit, and wounded some persons who opposed them. This occasioned such tumults and riots among the populace, that the king was forced to reprehend the papists for proceedings equally illegal and ungrateful, considering the little indulgence shewn to the protestants in *Poland*, and the civilities afforded to the natives of that kingdom in *Sweden*. In vain, however, did the nobility exhort him to execute more severe justice on the criminals; this he refused, under pretence that all the churches had been built and adorned by the papists, who had consequently a right in them. In vain did the states remonstrate to the same purpose, and request that he would give ample security for the safety of the protestant religion, before his coronation; the king declined their entreaties, and put them off with general assurances. Hence his coronation was a long time deferred, while the king listened every day with more attention to the counsels of his *Polish* ministers, who flattered him, by insinuating, that he was above the laws, and born to govern without controul. *The source of the civil dissensions.* A. D. 1594.

- d ALL this time duke *Charles* kept aloof, expecting the issue of these dissensions; but as the states were well assured of his sentiments, it inspired them with courage and resolution in opposing the king. Every one perceived that this young monarch was plunging headlong into destruction; yet had no one the honesty, prudence, or courage, to warn him of his danger, and direct him better, except *Livin de Bulou*, a page, who presented several sensible and loyal memorials, which were disregarded and thrown aside. About the beginning of the next year the states sent deputies to duke *Charles* at *Gripsholm*, praying him to use all his influence with the king, to prevail on him to grant their just and reasonable requests, and to come in person to *Upsal*, to assist at the diet, and their endeavours to promote the peace and felicity of the kingdom. *Charles* was sensible that nothing could be expected from gentle remedies; however, he did not care to refuse a request made by the states. He counselled the king, by letters, to grant the entreaties of his faithful subjects, and in particular to secure their religion, without which it was to be feared they would come to extremities. The king answered his letter in very polite terms; he exhorted him to stand up in defence of his nephew and the royal family, and not listen to the false accusations, the complaining and murmuring of a turbulent and aspiring faction; but the duke's reply was by no means agreeable to his wishes. His advice came now accompanied by menaces; and the king, hearing that he was assembling troops, was resolved to go to *Upsal* at the head of a strong corps. From this, however, *Banier* dissuaded him, by representing that so numerous a retinue could not find subsistence in the city. The king

went only with his usual guard, and next day the duke arrived with a few attendants, but left orders for his troops to follow with the utmost secrecy and expedition. a

THE states now pushed their pretensions with great warmth; and the nobility presented strong remonstrances, which regarded their own peculiar privileges. *Sigismund* promised to give them satisfaction upon certain conditions. He demanded that both the states and nobility should implicitly rely on his pleasure, and be directed by his will; and that, if for the present they would not tolerate the *Romish* religion, they should at least promise to suffer it to be preached, conjointly with the *Lutheran*, as soon as they were better instructed in the principles of that faith. But the states would hearken to no conditions that tended to abolish the established form of worship, and introduce innovation; and the king persisted in requiring those concessions, before he granted any favours. Upon this the states began to deliberate whether they should acknowledge his sovereignty. Many were immediately b for offering the crown to duke *Charles*, and in case of his refusal, placing it on the head of the infant duke *John*; but duke *Charles* and the senate rejected this opinion. The former charged himself with the important business of prevailing on the king to give satisfaction to the states; and went with this view to the palace, where the high words between him and the king must have ended in blows, had they not been parted by some of the nobility. This, however, made such an impression on the king, that he was perfectly reconciled to the duke, before the departure of the latter. He promised all that was required; but as he had no intention to perform his promises, it was not possible their agreement could be of long duration. c

As soon as the duke perceived the king's real intentions, he entered upon a treaty with the states for the preservation of their rights and the security of religion; after which he reviewed the troops and militia at *Upsal*. Besides, the senate desired an interview with the *Polish* lords about his majesty; and to them they complained so pathetically of the king's obstinate temper, of the absurdity of his designs, and the fatal consequences of his perseverance, that the foreigners unanimously resolved to enter into their measures, and use every expedient to prevail on his majesty to grant their just requests. To succeed the better, they told the king, that promises extorted by force were not obligatory; he might therefore revoke them as soon as he found himself in a condition to support his design by force. Persuaded of this truth, *Sigismund* granted every thing required; but stipulated that he should have the free exercise of the *Romish* religion, which might likewise be publicly preached in his own chapel. d

The civil divisions seemingly quieted, but soon renewed with more violence.

WHILE matters were thus happily compromised, to outward appearance, the king had formed the base design of murdering duke *Charles* at the *Italian* comedy, acted the night after his coronation; but the duke, having intimation of the plot, escaped. The disappointment irritated the king so much, that, without reflecting on his own powers, he resolved to use force to accomplish his designs. His scheme was to introduce a *Polish* army, and he accordingly gave orders for the march of the troops. Relying upon their speedy arrival, he broke through all his engagements to the states, and began building *Romish* churches in divers parts of the kingdom.

IN the mean time the states met again at *Stockholm*, to deliberate on a proper form of government in the king's absence, as he now talked of going to *Poland*; and the prolongation of the truce with *Russia*. The bad understanding between them and the king made these points of great difficulty and importance. The *Poles* round his majesty's person advised him to leave the kingdom in its then present disorder, and renew the war in *Russia*, to prevent the *Swedes*, encumbered with a powerful foreign enemy, from dividing into factions, and taking measures against his government. In this situation of affairs the *Polish* army arrived on the frontiers, directing their march straight to the capital. However, as the force was not considerable enough to undertake any enterprize of importance, the states seemed but little alarmed. The *Poles*, perceiving no attempts to resist them, grew more daring; they pillaged, plundered, and laid waste all before them, as if they had penetrated f into an enemy's country. Complaints being made by the protestant clergy to the senate, no other reply was made, than to abstain from those bitter reproaches and invectives which had incensed the catholics, until the king's departure, when they should be at liberty to act with more freedom. At length this period arrived; the king set sail for *Dantzick*, leaving the administration in the hands of duke *Charles*, and the citadel of *Stockholm* under the command of *Eric Brabe*, notwithstanding the remonstrances made by the senate against placing a papist in a trust so important.

The king returns to Poland.

A. D. 1545.

THE senate gave immediate notice of the king's departure to duke *Charles*. They acquainted him with the king's intention, that he should direct public affairs during his absence; they set forth the confusion in the government, and the necessity of an able head g

- a and steady hand to regulate the helm of state; they promised to lend him all possible assistance, and concluded with requesting, that he would immediately take upon him the administration. The duke politely declined a burthen too great for his strength; the truth is, there were certain restrictions imposed by the king, which were disagreeable to him. Upon this the senate voted, that the form of government prescribed by his majesty, to be observed during his absence, and the limitations of the regent's authority, were directly opposite to the oath he had taken, of governing by the advice of duke *Charles* and the senate. They also resolved, that every article of the late treaty with the king should be rigidly executed, and of consequence the popish religion abolished. *Stockholm* first led the way in enforcing the decrees of the senate. Here the burghers absolutely refused to acknowledge the governor's authority, or regard his commission, because he professed the *Romish* religion. They forbid, under severe penalties, the exercise of that worship, within the jurisdiction of the city and suburbs; while duke *Charles* was at the same time caressing the protestant clergy (A).

A. D. 1595.
The origin of
the civil com-
motions pre-
ceding Sigis-
mund's depo-
sition, and the
accession of his
uncle Charles
to the throne.

- At the assembly of the states at *Sunderkoping*, the public disorder began to break out with greater violence. The senate and duke had apprised the king of the necessity of convoking the states; but receiving no answer, writs were issued out for this purpose, without his consent. After voting that their meeting was necessary to the welfare of the kingdom, and conformable to the constitution, to ancient custom, and to their late engagements with the king, the states proceeded to the business of religion, resolving, that no other mode of worship should be tolerated, except that professed by the confession of *Augsburgh*; that no natives of a different religion should be capable of holding posts and preferments; that all *Romish* priests should quit the country in the space of six weeks; that all children should be educated in the protestant religion; that children nurtured in different principles, whether born in or out of the kingdom, should be rendered incapable of inheriting; but that with respect to those who had professed the *Romish* faith before the accession of *Sigismund*, they should be allowed to remain in the kingdom, but without exercising their religion, or holding preferments under the government. It was further resolved, that the duke should be made governor of *Sweden* upon such terms as he thought equitable; that no appeals should be made to the king, during his residence in *Poland*; that no edicts or ordinances sent by his majesty from *Poland*, should be valid before they were approved by the duke and the senate; that all vacancies should be filled up by the duke and senate jointly; that the king should have power to turn no person out of his place, before the affair was approved by the duke and senate. To take away all suspicion of their having rebelled against the king, the states again renewed their professions of fidelity, in confidence that his majesty would rest satisfied with their assurances and verbal promises of loyalty. Then they obliged this resolution to be subscribed by all men, under pain of being treated as traitors to their country, and disturbers of the public tranquility. Many of the nobility accordingly signed it, though they avoided being present at the vote, from an apprehension of incurring his majesty's displeasure. By the duke's order it was published in *Latin*, *Swedish*, and *German*, with intention that the whole world should be acquainted with the equity of the proceedings of the diet.

- It was not long before all these spirited resolutions were put in execution. First, the *Romish* clergy were banished, and kindly received by *Nicholas Flemming*, governor of *Finland*, promoted by the king to the dignity of veld mareschal, in reward of his services on this occasion. He likewise gave him the command of the forces that had served against the *Russians*, whom he ordered to be quartered upon the peasants. This produced great disorders. The soldiers behaved with all the licentiousness of troops, who imagined themselves necessary to the sovereign, and protected by him; while the peasants, ruined by their tyranny and pillaging, carried their complaints to the duke. *Charles* took the peasants under his protection, and made the circuit of the kingdom, to see that the decrees of the states were rigorously observed in every province. His majesty was highly offended at the expulsion of the clergy, and, to regain the affections of his people, wrote letters to the inhabitants of *Uplandia*, requiring them to pay no duties or taxes, but by an order from him. He exhorted them to defend the honour of their sovereign, to adhere to their loyalty, and to pay no obedience to the duke; adding, that he hoped soon to reward in person their zeal and fidelity. As he inherited the wealthy treasury of the princess *Anne* his aunt, he determined to enter immediately upon coercive measures, and to reduce the power and insolence of the duke and senate.

(A) We may observe, that soon after the king's departure, was born the renowned *Gustavus Adolphus*, son of duke *Charles*; which afforded the highest satisfaction to the *Swedish* nation, as thereby the succession was strengthened, and duke *Charles* now looked upon as

sovereign, though he had declined the regency. It is said, that the nativity of the young prince was cast by the famous astronomer *Ticho Brahe*, who declared he would one day ascend the throne.

A.D. 1596. DURING these transactions the duke was taking the necessary steps for restraining the insolence of the soldiers in *Finland*, and reducing *Flemming*, as well as punishing his attachment to the king. The senate, dreading a civil war, opposed his design, and the duke highly resented their conduct. He suspected them of holding secret intelligence with the *Finlanders*; and this was the first spring of the discontents that ensued between him and the senate. However, to give his highness some satisfaction, they wrote in a spirited manner to *Flemming*, and threatened him, if he persisted to disturb the peace; but *Flemming* disregarded their menaces, and returned a haughty, insolent answer, telling them, their heads would pay for their disloyalty.

Quarrels between the duke and the senate.

ABOUT this time ambassadors arrived from *Poland*, who bitterly upbraided the senate for the resolutions taken at *Sunderkoping*. The senate endeavoured to shift the blame on the duke; and he accused the senate of having too much power; of embezzling the public money; of fomenting quarrels between the king and him; and of an intention of ruining both, in order to ingross the whole authority. He added, that as his toil and labour for the service of the state was repaid with ingratitude, he would lay down his commission. None of the senators attempted to dissuade him from this resolution, and their coldness still more irritated him, insomuch that he retired to *Gripsholm* in disgust. However, that he might not leave the state entirely without a pilot, he sent *Oluf Suercherson* to assist at the conference appointed between the *Swedes* and *Russians*, about the cession of *Kexholm*. This *Suercherson* was a cunning, artful person, who ballanced between both sides, and trimmed with so much address, that while he appeared the most faithful of the duke's servants, he was betraying his secrets to the king. To him it was owing that the breach between the duke and senate became so wide, that several of the nobility fell off from his party; that the archbishop in particular sided with the senate, and was restored to the king's favour; and that the embers of discord were again raked, and blown up to a civil war in several parts of the kingdom. The first insurrection appeared at *Osterborn*, where the peasants took arms, massacred the troops quartered upon them, entered *Carelia*, pillaged all before them, and burnt the villas belonging to *Flemming*.

The king devolves the administration on the senate.

THE king was no sooner informed of the quarrel between the duke and senate, and of the resolution of the former, than he devolved the whole power on the latter, absolutely excluding the duke from any share in the government, and strictly enjoining all his subjects to aid and assist the senate, in case the duke made any attempts to subvert or oppose their authority. In opposition to this measure, the duke called an assembly of the states at *Albroga*, and declared all who absented themselves guilty of high treason against their king and country; notwithstanding which many of the principal members did not appear, and of the whole body of the senate only *Axel Lewenhaupt* attended. The assembled states passed a decree, confirming the decrees of the synod of *Upsal*, with respect to religion, and the treaty between the duke and the states at *Sunderkoping*. They also declared his highness sole governor of *Sweden*, without a rival in power, during the king's absence. They resolved to send an embassy to his majesty, to devise means for checking the insurrection in *Finland*. Finally, they resolved to make a tender to the absentees, of confirming the above resolutions, and of declaring all who rejected them, culpable and punishable according to the duke's pleasure. Before the diet broke up a league was formed, whereby they agreed to stand by each other, in case any of their number should be molested, on account of their attending at this assembly.

WHEN the duke proposed the articles of the assembly to be confirmed by the senate and absentees, they fled out of the kingdom, believing that their persons were in danger if they staid; and that their loyalty would be questioned if they accepted the terms proposed. The chancellor, *Eric Sparre*, was the first who retired, with his wife and family. The rest staid for some time, amusing the duke with fair speeches, and at the same time secretly exhorting the king to send them succours. His highness the duke extremely resented the chancellor's retreat. One of that lord's domestics being seized, informed the duke, that all the other senators and noblemen, who absented themselves from the diet, were likewise on the point of quitting the kingdom, with intention to return with a powerful army. A servant of *Flemming's* declared, that his master had 2500 horse on foot, with a fleet of ten sail, expecting every day to be joined by a powerful reinforcement from *Poland*; and that with these forces he proposed invading *Sweden*, where he hoped to be joined by a great number of friends, particularly *Arfwed* and *Steenboeck*, governor of the *Two Gotblands* and *Smaland*.

The duke assembles an army.

UPON this notice the duke assembled some forces, and marched directly to *Gotbland*, to sound the disposition of the inhabitants. After taking some fortresses, he assembled the states of the three provinces, and exacted an oath of fidelity from them. Notwithstanding these hostilities, he still wrote to the king, requesting him to compose the troubles of the

^c Loccen, *ibid.*

^f *Id. ibid.*

a kingdom; but he never received one answer. On the contrary, his majesty complained bitterly to the senate of the duke's conduct, and even authorised them, if other methods failed, to take up arms to suppress his licentiousness, defend the honour of the sovereign, and the tranquility of the kingdom. But as these menaces had no effect on the duke, the other absentees pursued the safest method, that of quitting the kingdom. Upon this they were prosecuted by the duke, who laid immediate siege to *Calmar*, and obliged *Steenboeck*, the governor, to surrender prisoner of war. In the same manner he subdued all the other fortresses of the kingdom, and then turned his thoughts to the affairs of *Finland* and *Esthonia*, resolving to oblige the states of these provinces to sign the treaty of *Sunderkoping*. To facilitate his design, he called a diet of the states at *Stockholm*, whether the absent senators were cited to appear. All the arguments contained in this citation, were answered by the king, so that it came to nothing. After the breaking up of the diet, the duke entered *Finland* and *Revel*, to oblige the inhabitants of *Esthonia* to acknowledge him as governor, and sign the treaty of *Sunderkoping*; but not meeting with the desired success, he retired with a great number of prisoners and ships, which he had taken in the different ports.

In the beginning of the year following, an ambassador arrived from *Poland*, complaining bitterly of the duke's conduct in *Finland* and *Esthonia*, and requiring him to release all the prisoners. His highness cleared himself, by asserting, that all he had done was conformable to the laws, and by direction of the states. He intreated his majesty to punish, according to the oath he had sworn at his coronation, all those senators who had absented themselves from the business of their country, and deserted the bark of state in the most imminent danger, leaving it to be navigated by a single pilot, amidst the storms of faction and the shoals of treachery. He likewise wrote to the king, declaring his innocence, and attributing the whole misunderstanding between them to *Eric Sparre*. The states at the same time vindicated the duke, declaring that his conduct was in all respects agreeable to the constitution and laws of his country. They entreated *Gustavus Banier* and *Thuron Bielke* to go to his majesty, to endeavour, if possible, to conciliate the king and duke; but he declined the commission, and retired out of the kingdom. At length *Sigismund* determined to reduce the duke by force, and for that purpose raised a powerful army, giving orders that it should immediately be reinforced with the troops in *Finland*. It is said the pope liberally supplied him with money upon his mortgaging the province of *Esthonia* to the holy see.

The brothers
come to an
open rupture.
A. D. 1598.

WHEN it was known that his majesty proposed entering his own dominions, the governor of *Calmar* desired to know of the duke, in what manner he was to behave, should the king summons him to surrender; to which his highness answered, that if the king signed an instrument to secure the rights and privileges of the people, he should then open his gates. *Laski*, the *Polish* ambassador, made likewise a demand, which it required great address and delicacy to obviate. He told the duke, that his majesty required the *Swedish* fleet should meet him at *Dantzick*, to convoy him to his own dominions; and to this the duke replied, that the king might depend on the fleet's being employed in the service of the king and kingdom. The states assembled at *Wadstena*, foreseeing the danger of being unprovided with an army when the king should arrive, gave orders for levying forces with all expedition, and enjoined the duke to march at their head, to meet the king at *Calmar*, and inform him of the conditions required by his people, before he permitted him to pass further.

The consequences of that
rupture.

SIGISMUND, in the mean time, met with more success than he could readily expect. His menaces and thundering manifestoes struck terror into the troops in several provinces. Some threw down their arms, others wavered in their resolutions, but the greater part deserted the duke, and went over to the king. The *Finlanders* and *Esthonians*, in particular, passed with a great number of ships to a port not above six miles from *Stockholm*, waiting to be joined there by his majesty. This, however, the duke's fleet prevented, though contrary winds frustrated the design to oppose the king's landing at *Calmar*. Here the king erected his standard, to which crowds of people from all the provinces flocked. Hostilities immediately commenced, *Calmar* was summoned to surrender, all the duke's domestics were seized, and *Axel Lewenhaupt*, the only senator who remained in the kingdom, was now banished by the king's command.

STILL the duke preserved a specious outside, making use of the most gentle and persuasive language in his letters to the king. He admonished him to dismiss the foreign troops about his person, intreated that he would not listen to the false and delusive advice of those senators, who absented themselves from the business of the nation, only to excite tumults and sedition, exhorted his majesty to assemble the states, to whom he desired his conduct might be submitted, since he first took upon him the government. Measures so constitutional might soon heal up all those sores, which by wrong treatment would certainly fester, and one day require incision. As the king paid no regard to his remonstrances, he began

with putting *Stockholm*, and the other fortresses of the kingdom, in a state of defence. After giving the command of the capital to *Charles Carelson*, he retired to *Nicoping*; and indeed there was the greatest reason for standing upon his guard, as a prison was already provided for him in *Russia*. Here he formed a court, and drew up manifestoes, which proving ineffectual, he advanced to *Steegeburgh*, where the king was encamped, demanding, by a trumpet, an answer to the conditions of reconciliation which he proposed. Immediately the royal army flew to arms. A detachment attacked the duke's rear, while the main body charged him in front. The duke's army perceiving themselves hemmed round, began to ask for quarter after a short resistance; when the king reflecting that he was shedding the blood of his own subjects, ordered a retreat to be sounded just as victory was hovering on his standards. A negotiation was set on foot, and a suspension of arms agreed upon, until the next day. Both sides, however, adhering obstinately to their own opinions, the negotiation came to nothing, tho' several *German* princes offered their mediation. Skirmishes then daily passed, and at last the duke surprised his majesty in his camp at *Strangbroo*, advancing early in the morning under cover of a thick fog, and falling on with such fury, that the body-guard was entirely cut in pieces, the king's army wholly defeated, and his person in imminent danger. The duke displayed great moderation after his success. He solicited with as much earnestness that matters should be accommodated, as if he had been defeated. At last a treaty was concluded, through the mediation of certain persons, who wished well to both princes, and foresaw that the ruin of the country must be the necessary consequence of their divisions. The duke renewed his oath of allegiance to the king; and his majesty not only promised to forget all that was past, but granted several of the demands to which he before refused to listen. The treaty was no sooner signed, than the princes had a friendly interview, which raised expectations in all men, that their quarrel was entirely laid aside.

SIGISMUND having restored peace to the kingdom, resolved to return to *Poland*. Whatever appearances necessity obliged him to keep up with duke *Charles*, his resentment still declared revenge, and he resolved to return with so numerous an army, as must entirely crush all opposition. On his arrival in *Poland*, he published reports at every court in *Europe*, very prejudicial to the duke's reputation. He accused him of treason and rebellion, declared his resolution of breaking a treaty imposed upon him by force, and threatened to reduce the *Swedes* by dint of arms to their duty. As to the duke, his conduct afforded suspicions that he had no intention to keep the treaty, which he had patched up for a particular purpose. On his arrival at *Stockholm*, he ordered some of the king's adherents to be arrested, particularly the governor of the citadel; he confiscated their estates, changed several of the senators, and committed other violences, which plainly indicated his sentiments. He exclaimed bitterly against the king's leaving the state in such confusion, his fondness for *Poland*, the preference he shewed the *Polish* nobility, the carrying away violently his domestics, and the reports propagated at foreign courts of his conduct. In a word, he openly declared his resolution to take up arms, in defence of his own character and the liberties and religion of the people.

NOTWITHSTANDING both parties secretly resolved to decide their differences by the sword, each endeavoured to manifest by divers writings and publications, their love of peace, and wishes that matters might be amicably adjusted. On the first of *February*, the states met at *Jenecoping*, whence they wrote to the king, accusing him of a breach of the late treaty, and a design of stirring up the *Finlanders* to tumults and seditions. They besought him, at the same time, to pay some regard to his engagements; to quiet the troubles of the commonwealth; to put affairs on the same footing they formerly stood; to punish the guilty according to the laws; to embrace the protestant religion, without which he could never enjoy his crown in peace; and to reside among his faithful subjects.

REMONSTRANCES made with so much spirit and freedom could not but incense the king; however, hostilities were first renewed by the duke, who made himself master of *Calmar* by force, after having first summoned the *Polish* garrison to deliver up the fortress to natives of the country. Some *Swedish* noblemen were put to death upon this occasion; but all foreigners were pardoned, on condition they would quietly leave the kingdom. On the fourteenth of *June* the states assembled at *Stockholm*, resolved to renounce their allegiance to the king, because he had, in repeated instances, broke his coronation-oath, infringed upon the constitution, and disregarded the laws. What mostly incensed them was the countenance given to foreigners, and the design the king seemed to have formed of reducing *Sweden* to a province dependent on *Poland*. The security of religion; indeed, was the great cry; but *John* had made stronger attempts to introduce popery than *Sigismund*, yet did the crown remain unshaken on his head to the day of his death. An offer of the crown was made to his son *Uladislaus*, on express condition that in six months he should be brought to *Stockholm*, and there educated in the *Lutheran* religion. It was also stipulated, that if this article should fail of being strictly complied with, then the prince, as well as his father, should lose his right, never again to revert to either, or to

a their descendants. Duke *Charles* was appointed governor of the kingdom, and the care of the affairs of *Finland* committed to him.

BEFORE the end of the season the duke marched with an army into *Finland*, the inhabitants of which province stickled hard for the king, notwithstanding the oppression from the troops they complained of in the beginning of his reign. *Sigismund* had sent powerful succours to the *Finlanders*: but from a variety of accidents; as well as the vigorous measures of the duke, the king's affairs were every where unsuccessful. Among other places, *Wiburg* surrendered to his highness; at the siege of which place the duke shot *Oluf Steenboek*, the same person who had some years before wounded and insulted king *Eric*, a prisoner in his custody.

b WHILE duke *Charles* was thus engaged in *Finland*, he received advice of a dangerous design formed by the king and the regency of *Lubeck*. To prevent the effects of this combination, he made advantageous proposals to the regency, and concluded an alliance with them; the whole aim of that ambitious republic being to augment their commerce; and raise their maritime power. He next secured himself on the side of *Prussia*, by forming an alliance with the czar against *Sigismund* and the republic of *Poland*, as the common enemy of both nations. Before he left *Finland*, *Narva* surrendered; but *Revel* and the fortress of *Livonia* declared they would remain firm in their fidelity to the king, to whom alone they had sworn allegiance, and not to the states of *Sweden*.

ABOUT the beginning of the year the duke returned to *Stockholm*, to attend the diet, A. D. 1600. c assembled chiefly to try the prisoners made in *Finland*, and certain partizans of the king's, seized by order of his highness and the senate. Accordingly, after a very long and solemn trial, sentence of death was passed on *Gustavus* and *Stein Baniere*, *Eric Sparre*, and *Thuron Bielke*, whereby they were to suffer death for having torn letters they received, signed and sealed by the duke, out of disrespect to the regent of the kingdom; for having calumniated and propagated reports to the prejudice of his reputation; for having opposed the resolutions of the diet at *Sunderkoping*; and for having, contrary to their oath and the duty they owed to their country, excited the king to a civil war. They pleaded an exception to the *Swedish* law by which they were condemned; but no excuses or palliations would be admitted, and they all perished on the scaffold, after publicly declaring their d innocence in harangues pronounced to the spectators.

ANOTHER act of this diet was not only to exclude *Sigismund* from the throne, but likewise the young prince *Uladislaus*, because the time prescribed for his being sent to *Stockholm* was expired. The duke, however, of his own free will, prolonged the time to five months longer, probably from a conviction that *Sigismund* would never send his son to possess a crown in prejudice to his own right. He knew that the government would never be intrusted to prince *John*, half-brother to the king, because the prince, seduced by his majesty, had opposed all the measures of the duke and senate; besides, his youth unqualified him for holding the reins of state in times full of trouble and danger: thus the duke was, on all hands, secure of holding the power; and in a fair way of being vested with the sovereignty, however specious a conduct and unambitious a carriage he might assume. The e states, indeed, invested him with absolute power; the situation of affairs rendering it necessary; and in the space of five months after created him sovereign and king of *Sweden* and *Gothland*, fixing the succession in his issue male^a. Such is the assertion of a celebrated historian, notwithstanding all other writers affirm, that *Sigismund* was not dethroned in form before the year 1604, and consequently no successor chosen. Be this as it will, *Charles* certainly enjoyed all the authority of a king, and was complimented and acknowledged as such by foreign states, from the time that *Sigismund* and *Uladislaus* were excluded, soon after which prince *John* solemnly renounced his right^b.

f IN raising himself to the dignity and power of sovereign, duke *Charles* displayed great address and policy. His public conduct was open, candid, and moderate; while he was secretly fomenting quarrels between the king and the states, and taking every measure that could forward his ambition, without destroying his reputation. At length he brought matters to such a crisis, that his election seemed the result of necessity, produced by the king's own mal-administration. His services to the state demanded this return of gratitude: besides, he was the only surviving son of the great *Gustavus*, which circumstance alone greatly endeared him to the people. The states, after maturely considering the subject, unanimously resolved, that the crown should be given to *Charles*, his son *Gustavus*, and their issue male; but that, in case they all died, and the line was extinct, then it should revert to prince *John*, and his descendants in the male line. It was further resolved, that g all who opposed this decree should be deemed traitors; that the children of those persons condemned by the diet should be rendered incapable of enjoying posts and prefer-

^a Loc. l. vii.

^b PUFFEND. t. ii. p. 146, & seq.

A. D. 1604. ments; that all natives of *Sweden*, now residing with *Sigismund*, should be outlawed, and treated with all the rigour of the law, should they ever presume to return; that all persons, whether upon business or pleasure in foreign countries, should be recalled to take an oath of fidelity to the king; and that their refusal and disobedience should be punished with great severity. This assembly of the states decreed likewise, that troops should be levied for the defence of the kingdom; that duke *John* should be put in possession of *West Gothland*, the province assigned for his maintenance when he resigned his right to the crown; that when the whole male line royal should be extinct, a sovereign should then be chosen from the *German* princes married to the daughters of *Gustavus*; that no future king of *Sweden* should marry but in a Protestant family; and that, should the hereditary prince accept of a foreign crown, he should from that instant be disqualified from succeeding to the throne of *Sweden*.

Charles IX.
raised to the
throne of Swe-
den, and un-
successful in
Livonia.

CHARLES was no sooner seated on the throne than he resolved upon an expedition to *Livonia*, to repel the encroachments of the *Poles*, and retake *Wittenstein*. His success did not answer universal expectation: on the contrary, he lost three thousand men, twenty pair of colours, and six pieces of cannon. His absence, besides, furnished king *Sigismund* with an opportunity of making an attempt upon *Finland*; but the design was discovered, and its abettors imprisoned at *Stockholm*. To avenge his losses, he summoned the states, and procured supplies for continuing the war in *Livonia*. Immediately he bent his march with a select body of troops for that country; and was just preparing to lay siege to *Riga*, when advice was received that the enemy were but a few miles distant. Upon this he determined to attack them; for which purpose he marched all night, and came up with the *Polish* general, after his army was harrassed and fatigued. This precipitation cost him dear. The enemy, superior in number, refreshed with sleep, possessed of several advantageous posts, and indeed of every other advantage, received him so vigorously, that, after a sharp conflict, the greatest part of the *Swedish* army was cut off, or made prisoners; and the rout became so general, that his majesty must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had not an officer supplied him with a horse, on which he escaped. Covered with shame and grief, his majesty arrived at *Revel*, and after a short stay in that city posted to *Sweden*; but neither the absence of *Charles*, nor the decisiveness of the victory could enable *Sigismund* to pursue the advantage, on account of the disturbances in *Poland*.

A. D. 1607.
He again at-
tacks Livonia
with more ad-
vantage.

THE king's disgraces in *Livonia* were soon forgot, upon finding himself in quiet possession of the kingdom of *Sweden*. *Charles* thought to make use of this opportunity to purge the church of several remaining popish ceremonies; but his design was opposed with so much heat by the clergy, that he was forced to relinquish it, after having deprived the university of *Upsal* of its privileges. He waited for a proper opportunity both for accomplishing this point, and revenging his late disgraces; and employed himself in the mean time in redressing the grievances introduced during the late troubles. As soon as he perceived *Poland* torn with faction, he availed himself of that conjuncture to attack *Livonia* a third time, whither he sent count *Mansfeldt* with an army. This general soon recovered *Wittenstein*; and then dividing his army, left one part to carry on the siege of *Derpt*, while with the other he besieged *Wolmar*. The former party was defeated by a sally from the town; and the latter, giving up the design on *Wolmar*, invested and took *Felin*; after which the count agreed upon a suspension of arms with the *Polish* general, without consulting the king, or indeed any apparent necessity, as he was superior to the enemy, and ought to have pushed his conquests. His majesty, from this consideration, refused to ratify his agreement, and sent him positive orders to break it; upon which the count made himself master of *Dunamund* and *Rochenhäusen*. This frustrated the effects of the negotiation set on foot for a peace, in consequence of the late suspension of arms. The *Poles* were so incensed at the loss of *Dunamund* and *Rochenhäusen*, that they refused to treat with the *Swedish* commissaries. They besides persisted on *Sigismund's* right to the crown of *Sweden*; and openly declared, in their letters to the states, that *Charles* was an usurper. In a word, the *Poles* insisted upon restitution of the above places, as a necessary preliminary; and the *Swedes* refusing their demand, and protesting against the injustice of their proceedings, returned home.

IN the mean time the *Swedish* fleet, lying off *Dunamund* to intercept the commerce of *Riga*, sustained a considerable loss by the address of the *Riga* fleet; the admiral of which found means to send a fireship into the middle of the *Swedish* squadron, whence several ships and their crews perished.

IN the preceding year a revolution happened in *Russia*. *Zuski* was raised to the imperial throne upon the murder of *Demetrius*; and king *Charles*, in consideration of having *Kexholm* ceded to him, sent some forces to assist the latter prince. *Sigismund*, on the other hand,

* Loc. l. vii.

having

a having quieted the civil dissensions in *Poland*, applied his thoughts to raising some of his favourites to the throne of *Russia*, which he hoped would enable him to succeed easily in his designs upon *Sweden*. But king *Charles*, to traverse his schemes, and at the same time draw some considerable advantage to himself, resolved to assist *Zuski* more powerfully than before. However, the *Muscovites* suspecting that the intentions of both princes were selfish, seized *Zuski*, and delivered him up to the *Poles*. They went farther: they made an offer of the crown to prince *Uladislaus*, who accepted it, on condition he should not be obliged to reside in *Russia*. On this occasion it was that the *Poles* got possession of the capital, and by their tyranny obliged the *Russians* to revolt. This again revived the hopes of his *Swedish* majesty; but did not hinder the *Poles* from gaining some advantages in *Finland*, where they took *Pirnau*, by means of a treacherous correspondence with one *Wachen*, a *Swede*, for which he was punished with the loss of his head at *Stockholm*. His majesty expressed great uneasiness at this loss; but the rupture with *Denmark* that ensued prevented his endeavouring to renew the war in *Livonia*^a.

b For some years there subsisted disputes between the crowns of *Denmark* and *Sweden* A. D. 1609. about *Laponia*, *Sonneburg*, and the *Swedish* arms usurped by the *Danish* monarchs. Commissioners had frequently been appointed to terminate their differences, but without effect. The *Danes*, taking advantage of the troubles in *Livonia*, now recommenced hostilities; which so alarmed *Charles*, that he assembled the states at *Stockholm*. At this diet it was his majesty proposed, that young gentlemen, who had not directed their studies to the good of their country, as required by a former decree, should lose their right of inheritance; but this proposition was rejected. The states likewise refused granting the necessary supplies for defending the kingdom against foreign enemies. His majesty was so much affected with their conduct, that he was seized the day after, from perturbation of mind; with an apoplexy; or, as the biographer of *Gustavus Adolphus* asserts, a hemiplegia, of which he never thoroughly recovered^c.

c THIS refusal determined him to procure peace on the best terms possible; but *Christian's* demands rose in proportion to his concessions. That monarch eyed with jealousy the progress in commerce which the *Swedish* nation made, since the accession of *Charles*: he could not bear to see his subjects deprived of the trade of *Riga*, *Courland*, and *Prussia*, and subjected to the caprice of the *Swedes*; and he believed this a proper occasion for resuming his former superiority, when *Charles* was involved in a war with *Poland* and *Muscovy*, in disputes with a rival to his crown, and upon very indifferent terms with the states. *Charles* remonstrated with the utmost temper; but finding that his ambassador was insulted, several of his domestics killed, and others imprisoned. he wrote in sharp terms to *Christian*, and again assembled the states, in hopes of finding them more compliant than before. Happily for him, he found the states in a disposition to support him; and the campaign in *Russia* was very successful under the conduct of *John de la Gardie*, who had defeated the *Poles* in several battles, demanded *Kexholm* of the *Russians*, and on their refusal, and insulting his messenger, and committing other outrages, he laid siege to that place, and took it in the spring of the year 1611. From thence he returned to *Muscovy*, where without any orders from his court, he made strong interest to have *Charles-Philip*, second son of king *Charles*, elected czar, in the room of *Uladislaus* of *Poland*. Perceiving the *Russians* very fickle in their resolutions, he seconded his negotiations by a spirited attack on *Newgarte*, which he took by assault. After this he reduced the towns of *Noteburg*, *Ivanagorod*, *Jama*, and *Coporie*; put the *Swedish* affairs upon the best footing in that country; but made little progress in the treaty for procuring the imperial dignity for prince *Charles-Philip*.

d THE states having granted the necessary supplies for coming to an open rupture with *Denmark*, and opposing the attempts of *Christian* to reduce *Calmar* and *Elfsburg*, to which he laid siege previous to any declaration of war; a herald was dispatched to *Denmark* to declare war, with a long writing, specifying the injuries sustained, and the reasons for coming to a rupture. Immediately after the young prince *Gustavus Adolphus* was detached with a body of forces towards *Calmar*, the king his father following with the main army. When their forces were joined the king offered battle (*June 11*) to the *Danes*; but they declined it, chusing to keep close within their lines. Next day the enemy surprised the *Swedish* camp, but were repulsed with the loss of seven hundred men and a field-officer. Soon after the prince *Adolphus* attacked and took *Christianstadt*, a strong fortress where the *Danes* kept large magazines of warlike stores and provisions (A). *Calmar* however surrendered to

^a PUFFEND. tom. ii.

^c HARTE'S Life of Gust. Adolphi. t. i. p. 7.

(A) The author of the Life of *Gustavus* alledges, that this enterprize was executed by a stratagem, which very early displayed the genius of that prince for war. Cloathing a thousand of his men in the *Danish* habit, he ordered

to the enemy, rather from want of conduct and courage in *Christopher Soma*, the governor, than on account of any extraordinary efforts made by the *Danes*, or any kind of necessity within the garrison. Some writers indeed affirm, that *Soma* was corrupted, having sold the fortrefs committed to his care for the territory of *Kolstorp*, situated between *Lubeck* and *Segeberg*, which he received as an equivalent for the loss of honour and reputation.

A. D. 1611.
Charles chal-
lenges the king
of Denmark
to single com-
bat.

AFTER the surrender of *Calmar* the *Danes* attacked the islands of *Oeland* and *Berkholm*, the latter of which was defended for some time with great spirit by *John Ulfsparre*; but desertion prevailing in the garrison, it was at length surrendered upon honourable terms. King *Charles* was so incensed at these losses, that he sent *Christian* a challenge, without re- b collecting the disorder that deprived him of the use of one side. His *Danish* majesty, more regardful of the dignity of the monarch, declined the proposal, which he called an enthu- b stastic scheme of a knight-errant, and not the overture of a monarch; declaring for his own part, that he must beg to be excused from lifting his hand against a prince oppressed with old age and bodily infirmity. Some of the *Swedish* writers attribute *Christian's* refusal to a deficiency in personal courage; and it is certain, from the consequences it produced, that the spirit of the proposal piqued his pride at the very time he made it the subject of ridicule. To prove however that he was possessed of courage, he attacked the *Swedish* camp a few days after, and pushed the attack with such resolution and vigour, that *Charles* was near being disconcerted and defeated. But the losses here received were not long after re- c venged upon a body of *Danish* infantry encamped before *Calmar*, which the *Swedes* defeated and dispersed. This success was followed by several others obtained by prince *Gustavus*, as presages of his future glory. Among others he invaded and reduced the isle of *Oeland*, taking prisoners near two thousand fugitives from the *Danish* army that had taken shelter in that place. He also recovered, by a spirited assault, the city of *Berkholm*, garri- foned by a strong body of chosen men from the *Danish* army ^e.

Death and
character of
Charles IX.

WHILE *Gustavus* was gathering laurels in the field, *Charles* summoned the states to meet at *Nicoping*, in order to grant supplies for prosecuting the war. On his way thither he was seized with a disorder that put an end to his life in a few days, supposed to be the effects of the fatigue he underwent the preceding campaign, and of the fit of melancholy that had attacked him two years before. He yielded up his last breath on the thirtieth of *October*, in the sixty-first year of his age, leaving the reputation of a prince personally brave, d faithful to his allies, sincere in his friendship, generous in rewarding merit, rigorous in punishing crimes, the patron of arts and letters, the promoter and encourager of commerce and agriculture, addicted to violent but short transports of passion, the protector of the Protestant religion; in a word, a king in all respects worthy of being the parent and predecessor of the illustrious *Gustavus Adolphus* ^e.

S E C T. VIII.

Containing an Account of the Swedish Affairs to the Year 1633, when *Gustavus Adolphus* was killed. e

NOTWITHSTANDING *Charles* closed the last scene of his life with obtaining considerable advantages over *Denmark*; yet the affairs of the kingdom in general were left in great confusion. Prince *Gustavus* was still in his minority, and tutors appointed him; *La Gardie* had been successful in *Russia*, but scarce any progress made in seating the young prince *Charles-Philip* on that throne; the treaty concluded by the magistrates of *Revel* with the *Poles* was but indifferently observed; the finances of the kingdom were entirely drained by a series of wars and revolutions; powerful armaments were preparing in *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Russia*: in one word, *Sweden* was involved with potent enemies abroad, f and supported at home with only weak friends, ill paid armies, and exhausted treasuries. To regulate in the best manner possible the affairs of the state, a diet met at *Nicoping* in the month of *December*; and here the first measure taken was to secure the interior tranquility of the kingdom, by procuring a fresh renunciation from duke *John* of all his rights to the throne, persuading him to give up the guardianship, and allow the young prince to take into his own hands the reins of government. The *Swedish* law required that the prince should have attained his eighteenth year before he was of age; yet were such striking marks of genius, prudence, and knowledge, discovered in *Gustavus*, that the states supposed him equal to the weight of government at this critical juncture, even in his minority.

Gustavus Adolphus ascends the throne, and takes upon him the administration during his minority.

^f LOCCEŒ. lib. vii.

^e Vid. Auct. citat. supra.

ordered them to take refuge in *Christianstadt*, under pretence they were pursued by a body of *Swedish* horse.

The townsmen seeing the horse at a distance, gave credit to the tale, admitted them, and were ruined.

John

- a *John* indeed seemed to have the same prepossessions in favour of *Gustavus* with the rest of the *Swedish* nation in general. He not only relinquished a claim which he might easily have disputed, and the guardianship of the minor; but he remained at court, esteemed and loved the young prince, entered into all his councils, and was the first in suppressing all plots, conspiracies, and cabals, to disturb the peace of the country, the government of *Gustavus*, and to place himself on the throne. From the figure which *John* had made at the head of an army, it is apparent he wanted neither courage nor ambition; but he preferred the good of his country to his own private gratification, foresaw the felicity that would ensue from the great qualities of *Gustavus*, and cheerfully sacrificed his own interest to procure that felicity. Perhaps too he made a sacrifice of ambition to love; for
- b he was at that time enamoured of the young prince's sister, and dreaded the thoughts of losing her by kindling a war about the succession. Whatever were his motives, certain it is, that he made concessions upon this occasion which were deemed extraordinary instances of a true heroic courage, that dared to subdue and sacrifice his own passions and private interest to his affection for the young prince and the *Swedish* nation^a.

In the beginning of the year, *Gustavus*, by his own authority, assembled the states; where he resumed all the crown-grants, the better to carry on the war with such a variety of foreign enemies. He published an edict setting forth the uncertain returns of tithes and feudal lands, and ordering that an account of their annual produce should every year be delivered into the royal exchequer; he then granted a new confirmation of all grants which he did not propose to resume, and closed the assembly with a minute examination of the consequences which would probably ensue from prosecuting the war against his several enemies, or concluding peace on the best terms that could be obtained. But what impressed mankind with the highest idea of the young monarch's penetration and capacity, was the choice he made of a minister. The great chancellor *Oxenstiern* was placed at the head of domestic and foreign affairs; and every other post, both civil and military, were filled with persons adequate to the trust reposed.

- c Soon after his accession *Gustavus* received an embassy from *James I.* king of *England*, exhorting him to conclude peace with his neighbours. His *Britannick* majesty's interposition was seconded by that of the states-general of the United Provinces, and the ambassadors
- d of both were treated with great respect and frankness. *Gustavus*, tho' full of fire and the natural impetuosity of youth, gave strong proofs of his inclination to listen to any reasonable terms of accommodation; but discovering that the king of *Denmark's* politics tended to oppress and crush a young monarch, he gave that prince to understand how ready and able he was to repel all attacks upon his dominions. The mediation of *Great Britain* and *Holland* thus met with insurmountable obstructions, notwithstanding they warmly pressed all parties, in order to obtain the free and undisturbed navigation of the *Baltick*, and it was by both parties resolved to prosecute the war. Instead of beginning with the siege of *Calmar*, which he foresaw would be attended with great difficulty and loss of time, *Gustavus* made an irruption into *Schonen*, sending duke *John* with an army he
- e had raised to succour *Elfsburg*, and make a diversion in *Ostrogothia*. A third army, under the command of general *Crusz*, acted on the frontiers. Each pushed their views with great vigour; but that under duke *John* received a check. The king with his own army laid siege to *Elfsberg*, in order to prevent succours from joining the *Danish* army, and to cut off a retreat from the enemy that had already penetrated into *Sweden*. At the same time a strong detachment from the main body entered *Norway*. *Elfsberg* was reduced by *Gustavus*, *Nilofia* by general *Crusz*, *Norway* greatly disturbed by the irruption of the *Swedes*; but the invasion of *Westrogothia* by king *Christian*, and the difficulty of recovering *Jenecoping*, in some measure disconcerted the schemes of the young *Swedish* monarch. The perplexity of *Gustavus* chiefly arose from the variety of his enemies. King *Sigismund* had at
- f this very time made an irruption into *Carelia*, whither *Gustavus* was preparing to go in person, when advice of the invasion of *Westrogothia* arrived. Upon this he sent orders to the governor of *Jenecoping* to demolish the fortifications, and make the best retreat circumstances would allow¹.

THE cunning, the artifice, and judgment of *Christian* gave great uneasiness to *Gustavus*. His impetuosity was checked by the numberless difficulties and obstructions thrown in his way by that sage and experienced monarch. Finding then that he could not act in the sphere which his genius required; that the war must be carried on by irruptions, sieges, and skirmishes; and that the great superiority of the enemy by sea, gave them the utmost advantages in this kind of piratical war, he resolved upon concluding a peace, until he should put his finances and navy in condition to engage them upon equal terms. The court of *Great Britain* acted as mediator, and the *Dutch* likewise offered their services; but his Da-

^a Life of *Gustavus*, vol. i.

¹ Vit. *Christian*, p. 96. Hist. de Dan. t. iv. Loc. l. viii.

Peace con-
cluded.

A. D. 1613.

Disputes with
Russia, and
Gustavus's
views upon
that crown.

nish majesty would not hear them mentioned. The negotiation was tedious, and the disputes high, though chiefly about matters extremely unimportant. Both kings were allowed to bear the arms of both crowns: *Calmar* was restored to *Gustavus*, and *Elfsburg* put into the hands of *Christian*, until it should be redeemed by an equivalent. *Christian* renounced all pretensions to *Sweden*, and *Gustavus* yielded up the title of king of *Lapland*.

ONE of the reasons that induced *Gustavus* to hurry on this peace, was the desire he entertained of pushing the affairs of *Russia* with vigour. The whole northern quarter of that vast empire was extremely earnest to have a *Swedish* prince, in hopes thereby to extend the commerce of the country. *La Gardie* wrote pressing to his court not to neglect the opportunity, while general *Horn* desired to be put in possession of *Plescow*. His request being refused, he attempted to surprize the place, but without success. The inhabitants of *Newgarte* demanding to have a *Swedish* king, *Gustavus* wrote to them in terms of the utmost civility and gratitude, assuring them that the moment his affairs were put in tolerable order, he would study to comply with their request. It is reported that *Gustavus* was irresolute, whether he should annex the *Russian* empire to his own crown, or yield it to his brother. This made him defer the prince's voyage, until *La Gardie* had urged, in the strongest terms, that some measure should be taken. The *Russians* had remarked this irresolution, and conjectured, that the design of *Gustavus* was to render their country a province of *Sweden*. They resented that his majesty should press them for a debt due to him, at the very time they were offering a crown to his brother; however, the inhabitants of *Newgarte* sent an answer filled with submission and respect. They intreated *Gustavus*, that as the affairs of his kingdom did not admit of his coming in person, he would send the prince his brother, in order to put a period to the distraction and confusion that had nearly ruined the empire. *Charles-Philip* had no ambition to become the prince of a nation of barbarians. He preferred his peaceable appennage at home to the savage pomp of the imperial dignity of *Russia*; yet *Puffendorf* attributes his disappointment of this crown wholly to the jealousy of his brother, and the delays and obstructions which, in consequence, he placed in his way. At last the *Russians*, tired out with uncertainty, fixed their choice upon another monarch, and thus the affair was dropt, after having for some years been a principal object of the politics of the court of *Sweden* ^k.

A. D. 1614.

Gustavus ap-
plies to civil
solity.

GUSTAVUS no sooner finished the *Danish* war, than he concluded a treaty of commerce with the *Dutch*, and put the interior trade of the kingdom on the best footing. To ease industry of every restraint, he absolved peasants and farmers from the obligation of supplying the government with horses and carriages; he admitted foreigners of every religion into the kingdom, on condition they brought testimonies of their character from proper authority; and he established a society of trade at *Stockholm*, every subscriber to which advanced certain sums to the king, upon his being released for the space of three years, from all taxes, duties, and imposts. Among other excellent institutions, this prudent monarch did not forget to regulate the lectures, discipline, and morality of the university of *Upsal*, and the education of the youth in general, prohibiting them to study at *German*, and other foreign universities, where they only imbibed a taste for useless wretched metaphysics, at the expence of the national treasure, and often of the public tranquillity ^l.

A. D. 1615.

Gustavus
abridges law-
suits.

THIS year *Gustavus* assembled the states at *Helsingford*, where, among other important transactions, he took the affairs of *Russia* into consideration, and concluded with an act of domestic policy of the utmost advantage to his people. An edict was published to abridge the tediousness and expence of litigation, especially in affairs of regal judicature, and a form was prescribed whereby this was to be effected, so sensible and salutary, that to this day *Sweden* enjoys the happy consequences. The states concurred with his majesty's resolution, to oblige the *Russians* to make restitution of the money lent them in their necessity. Their haughty refusal and ingratitude, together with their abrupt election of a czar, picqued the king's pride. He determined upon revenge, and with that view entered the province of *Ingria* at the head of an army. Here he took *Kexholm* by storm, and was laying siege to *Plescow*, when *James I.* of *England*, the great pacificator of *Europe*, offered his mediation to compose the differences between *Sweden* and *Russia*. The influence of his *Britannic* majesty prevailed, *Gustavus* granting peace, on condition of having the money repaid, and part of the continent of *Russia* ceded to him (A).

A. D. 1617.

HOWEVER short a time *Gustavus* served in person in this war, here it was that he learned the rudiments of that art, which afterwards made him the admiration of *Europe*. *Gustavus* caught every opportunity of improvement, with a quickness that bordered on intuition.

^k Vid. supra citat. auct.

^l Loc. l. viii.

(A) By this treaty of peace the pretensions of *Charles-Philip* were extinguished, a free intercourse of commerce restored, *Livonia*, and four towns in the prefecture of *Novogorod*, ceded to *Gustavus*, the *Russians* tied up from assisting *Poland*, and nine thousand pounds in money paid down to the *Swedes*. (1).

(1) *Loccen. l. viii. p. 532.*

a He not only learned at one glance, but improved the military maxims of that great general *La Gardie*, who added to experience all that speculation and study could give him in the military art, nurtured and seasoned in the *Russian* campaign that invincible body of *Finlanders*, and brought the *Swedish* army in general to a more steady and regular discipline, than had before been exercised.

PEACE was no sooner established with *Russia* than his majesty was crowned with great ceremony at *Upsal*, amidst the sincere acclamations of his people, who beheld with joy the virtues of the great *Gustavus Vasa* renovated in his grandson *Gustavus Adolphus*. They profited by this interval of peace, every day producing some new ordonnance or regulation for the good of the state, the increase of the revenue, the ease of the people, the augmentation
b of industry, arts, and commerce. *Gustavus*, at the same time that he omitted nothing that could establish a lasting and honourable peace with *Poland*, took the necessary measures for frustrating the designs which *Sigismund* still formed against *Sweden*. For this purpose he ordered *La Gardie* to acquaint the *Polish* general *Codekowitz*, that now the truce of two years being expired, he required to be upon a certainty, whether he was to expect peace or war with the king his master. In the mean time he borrowed money of the *Dutch*, to pay the sum stipulated to the king of *Denmark* for the redemption of *Elfsburg*, and had an interview with that monarch on the frontiers, where they conceived the utmost esteem for each other, and entered into the strictest ties, which the politics of their several kingdoms, and the jealousy of neighbouring states, would admit. One consequence of this interview
c was the promise he obtained of *Christian*, no ways to aid or assist *Sigismund*, or in any respect take part with *Poland*, in case the war between that kingdom and *Sweden* should be renewed.

GUSTAVUS, receiving no satisfactory answer from *Poland*, began to prepare for the actual invasion of that kingdom; while *Sigismund* was laying a scheme to seize upon his person. With his connivance colonel *Furenbach* had orders to surrender several fortified towns in *Livonia* into the hands of *Gustavus*, under pretence of obtaining peace by these concessions; but in reality to appoint a conference in some of these places, where the plan was laid for imprisoning *Gustavus*. The stratagem, however, did not escape the penetration of the *Swedish* monarch; and thus the whole negotiation vanished into threats and
d upbraids, which *Gustavus* bestowed on the insidious schemes of *Sigismund*. Immediately after a tour which he made to *Germany* in disguise, and his marriage with the princess *Eleonora*, daughter to the elector of *Brandenburg*, he entered heartily upon the war with *Poland*. A vast fleet, on board which he embarked twenty thousand men, was prepared at the very time when the *Poles* were busied in repelling the *Turks* out of *Walachia*. With this force he set sail for *Riga*, to which he laid siege. In this expedition the king had under him a number of eminent officers, namely, *De la Gardie*, *Wrangel*, *Horn*, *Banier*, *Oxenstiern*, *Rutbven*, a *Scotch* colonel, and count *Mansfeldt*. A line was drawn round the city, and the troops divided for their proper attacks. *Riga*, on the other hand, was well prepared for defence. It was strongly fortified with walls, moats, half-moons, and bastions. The citadel was garrisoned with a considerable body of veteran troops, whose attachment to *Sigismund* appeared altogether extraordinary and enthusiastic. His majesty took possession of all the surrounding eminences, and directed his batteries so successfully, that the streets were raked, and the enemy unable to appear with safety out of their houses. A prodigious quantity of bombs were likewise thrown in, and the town reduced to ashes; yet did the reliance of the inhabitants upon succours from *Sigismund* keep up their spirits, and induce them to reject all the proposals made by the *Swedish* monarch. The king, to prevent all relief by sea, stationed the fleet at the mouth of the *Dwina*, and defended the islands and the western shore of the river, by several bodies of troops under the command of colonel *Fleming*. The precautions taken by *Gustavus* rendered abortive all the endeavours of *Radziwil*, the *Polish* general, to throw in a reinforcement; notwithstanding a brisk
fally was made by the besieged under one *Burk*, an *Irish* officer, to open a communication with the *Polish* army. His majesty now filled the moat with fascines and rubbish, and made himself master of the strong fortress of *Dunamund*; after which he summoned a second time the besieged, and received a rough and abrupt answer. Enraged at their insolence he attacked and took a half-moon by storm, and the garrison in return sprung a mine, that blew up an hundred *Swedes*. At last the fury with which the *Swedes* played from their batteries effected a breach; to storm which his majesty contrived a flying bridge over the moat, a project which he more gloriously executed afterwards on the *Elbe* and *Lech*. Although the ditch
g was filled with fascines and rubbish, it still contained too much water to admit the passage of a large body of men. The bridge was therefore laid, and the colonels *Seaton* and *Horneck* ordered to conduct the attack, which was done with so much spirit as occasioned its miscarriage. The *Swedish* soldiers crowded on with such impetuosity, that the bridge gave

A scheme formed by the king of Poland to seize on the person of Gustavus.

Gustavus renews the war with Sigismund.

Progress of the war.

Siege of Riga.

way, by which accident the brave *Seaton* broke his thigh, and afterwards was forced to undergo an amputation ^a. Not dismayed by this untoward accident, *Gustavus* resolved to reduce the city by mining; in which he employed the *Dalecarlians*, giving directions at the same time to *Horn* and *Banier*, with three thousand men to storm the sand half-moon. These officers conducted the attack with great intrepidity; but nothing could surmount the obstinacy of the besieged, who fought with a fury that soon obliged the *Swedes* to retreat. *Horn* and *Banier* were wounded; and his majesty, to console them, sent both the order of knighthood. By the middle of *September* matters came to a crisis. The *Swedes* had formed their mines under the ditch, while the king threw a strong boom, and laid two bridges, across the river. It was then the inhabitants received the first impressions of fear, notwithstanding they had been closely invested for six weeks, disappointed of the expected relief, and consumed by hunger, fatigue, and the shot and bombs of the besiegers. ^b

A. D. 1621. All hope of succours from *Sigismund* appearing chimerical, they at last hung out a flag of truce, demanded terms of capitulation, and obtained honourable conditions from *Gustavus*, out of regard to the valour they displayed; nor did he ever once upbraid them with the insolent messages returned to his summons, or the fatigue or loss of time occasioned by their obstinacy. Hostages being exchanged, *Gustavus* made his entry into the city, marching in procession to the great church, where he returned thanks to God for this signal success. He easily admitted the apology of the inhabitants, praised their intrepidity, and told them, “ he never desired or expected more loyalty from them than they had shewn their former master; for which reason he should not only preserve, but augment their privileges.” ^c The only change displeasing to the inhabitants which he made, was banishing the Jesuits, who were continually engaged in plots and conspiracies against the public tranquility.

A truce concluded.

AFTER the reduction of *Riga*, his majesty entered the duchy of *Courland*, where he soon made himself master of *Mittau*; but ceded it, upon concluding a truce for one year with *Poland*. This truce was of but short duration; for *Sigismund* had no sooner settled the affairs of his kingdom, than he prepared new enterprizes against the *Swedes* in *Prussia*. *Gustavus* discovering his designs, set sail with his fleet for *Dantzick*, where *Sigismund* resided at that time; and by this sudden and unexpected motion broke all his designs, and obliged the *Polish* monarch to prolong the truce for two years, in order to establish during this interval the conditions of a general pacification. *Sigismund*, indeed, declined all overtures ^d on this head; though he did not absolutely reject them. His intention was to procure some favourable opportunity of attacking *Gustavus* by prolonging the truce, and thereby lulling this vigilant enemy into security: however *Gustavus*, hearing that the states of *Poland* would not agree to the prosecution of the war, demanded perpetual peace, or at least the prolongation of the truce to a more distant period. With this view he put himself at the head of a body of troops, at the expiration of the former truce; entered *Livonia*, with intention wholly to reduce that country, defeated *Stanislaus Sapieha*, took *Derpt*, *Hockenhausen*, and other places of less importance. Encouraged by these successes, he entered *Lithuania*, and took the city *Birsen*, where he found sixty pieces of new-cast cannon, which he shipped for *Riga*. ^e

The war renewed.

ONLY *Daneburg* now remained in possession of *Sigismund* of all *Livonia*; yet did *Gustavus* propose the same equitable terms of accommodation as if his conquests had been balanced by equivalent losses: but labouring in vain to terminate matters by negotiation, he had recourse to arms, in which he was no less fortunate than before. The *Swedish* generals *Horn* and *Thurn* obtained a victory over *Sapieha* in *Semigallia*; but *Sigismund* was still sanguine in his expectations, that, with the emperor's assistance, he should conquer *Sweden*. Consoling himself with these imaginary conquests, he suffered *Gustavus* to gain other new and solid advantages. That monarch had in the month of *February* assembled a considerable army, which embarking on board one hundred and fifty ships, he landed at *Pillaw*, a city garrisoned by the electoral troops of *Brandenburgh*. This place he had surrendered to ^f him after a few shot discharged without ball, the governor being corrupted by a sum of money. With the same facility he seized upon *Braunsberck* and *Frawenberg*. From thence he led his army to *Elbing*, which place the inhabitants would have defended, had not the magistrates entered upon certain engagements with the *Swedes*, whereby they agreed to surrender the town. Three days after *Marienberg* received a *Swedish* garrison; and in a few days following *Mew*, *Dirschau*, *Stum*, *Christburg*, and other places, underwent the same fate. Thus *Gustavus* got possession of the chief places in *Prussia*, before his *Polish* majesty was informed he had quitted *Sweden*.

A. D. 1626.

UPON advice of these successes, *Sigismund* assembled a body of forces, which he detached to recover his losses, and prevent *Dantzick* from falling into the hands of the *Swedes*. ^g The *Poles* appeared before *Marienberg*, in hopes of surprising it; but the *Swedish* garrison sallied out so opportunely, and with such intrepidity, that they cut off four thousand of the

^a HARTE'S Life of Gust. vol. i.

a enemy. In the same manner were the *Poles* received at *Mewe*, the siege of which place they were obliged to raise. Their attempts on *Dirschau* were not more fortunate; for, after besieging that town for the greater part of the winter, they were attacked by a detachment of *Swedes*, defeated, and forced to abandon their works in the utmost confusion, leaving their cannon, tents, and baggage behind.

In the month of *May*, 1627, *Gustavus* arrived with fresh forces before *Dantzick*; and would probably have carried that city, had he not unfortunately been wounded in the belly by a cannon-shot from *Kesmurck* fort (A). Soon after his majesty had invested *Dantzick* the enemy recovered *Mewe*; and ambassadors arrived from *Holland* to interpose their influence, and procure an accommodation between the two crowns. However, as they had first visited

A. D. 1627.
Gustavus in-
vests Dant-
zick.

b the *Swedish* camp, the king of *Poland* would not admit of their mediation, supposing them to have a bias in favour of his enemy. The *Spanish* and Imperial ambassadors likewise helped to frustrate the effects of this embassy, by repeating their assurances; that they would powerfully assist *Sigismund*, and send him twenty-four ships of war, fourteen thousand veteran soldiers, and thirty thousand pounds; the first and last articles of which promise were never performed. His *Polish* majesty, full of these promises, determined to make a winter campaign; but *Gustavus* was so well entrenched, and all the forts so strongly garrisoned, that he laughed at all *Sigismund's* endeavours (B). He was however greatly irritated at the resistance made by the *Dantzickers*. This city was the principal object of his attention, both on account of its wealth, and the prejudice that would result to the enemy by its

A. D. 1628.

c reduction. Having new-modelled his fleet, he gave his admiral orders to attack the *Polish* and *Dantzick* squadrons, that were attempting to throw in succours to the city. An obstinate engagement ensued, which, after continuing the whole day, terminated in the defeat of the enemy, and the destruction of their admiral's ship. Another ship of equal

d size and value was just ready to fall into the hands of the *Swedes*; when, by an accidental shot in the powder-room, she blew up, after having defended herself with great gallantry for the space of twelve hours. Inspired by this advantage, *Gustavus* pushed his approaches with vigour on the land-side, having blocked up the harbour with his fleet. Next he made an incredible march over a morass fifteen miles broad, assisted by bridges of a peculiar construction, over which he carried a species of light cannon, invented by himself.

e By this motion he got possession of a forest that incircled the city, and by so unexpected an approach threw the magistrates, who apprehended an insurrection from the scarcity of provision, into great confusion. They were actually on the point of surrendering, when a sudden flood of rain swelled the *Vistula* to so great a height, that, overflowing its banks, it swept away the temporary bridges, ruined the *Swedish* works, and obliged his majesty to break up his camp, having no alternative but seeing the army drowned or starved. He made, however, the best use possible of his retreat, taking in his way the towns of *Newburg*, *Strasburg*, and *Brodnitz*, in which he found an immense value of booty. Soon after *Swetitz* and *Massovia* were taken by storm, the garrisons put to the sword, and a body of *Polish* horse cut in pieces as they were endeavouring to cut off a convoy going to *Strasburg* (C).

Raises the
siege.

THESE transactions by land did not divert the attention of his *Swedish* majesty from the depredations made by the combined fleets of *Spain* and *Austria* in the *Baltick*. *Wallestein*, who had procured the commission of admiral of the *Baltick*, formed designs upon *Stralsund*, which city alone he thought obstructed his imaginary possession of the northern ocean. The reduction of this place would afford the opening he desired, and wealth, shipping, and necessaries sufficient to complete the ideal conquest of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and all the northern crowns. The ambition of this project startled *Christian*, and induced him at

Wallestein's
ambition.

^a Life of Gust. vol. ii. Loccen. l. viii.

(A) The reverend Mr. *Harte*, in his laboured and authentic history of the life of this prince, speaks of a wound he received in an action before *Dirschau* in the elbow. This he relates from *Loccenius*; but both writers seem to be mistaken, as the action before *Dirschau* happened in the preceding year; and yet they allow that he was wounded in 1627.

(B) It was this campaign that the irrational practice of duelling became so fashionable in the *Swedish* army as to engage the king's attention, and oblige him to suppress those false notions of honour by some very rigorous edicts. Soon after a quarrel arose between two general officers, who agreed to ask his majesty's permission to decide their difference by the laws of honour.

The king consented; but said he would be a spectator of their courage. Upon which he went to the place appointed with a body of guards, and ordered the executioner to be called, telling the officers, "Now gentlemen, fight until one dies;" and adding, to the executioner, "Do you immediately cut off the head of the survivor." His inflexibility produced the effect: the quarrel was dropt, and no more challenges were heard of in the camp (1).

(C) *Puffendorf* mentions a general action that happened on this occasion, in which *Gustavus* commanded in person, and by a stratagem obtained a complete-victory; but we find no account of this either in *Loccenius* or the accurate Mr. *Harte* (2).

(1) *Mem. Suec. Gentis*, p. 61--63.

(2) *Puffend. Hist. tom. ii. p. 198.*

first to send powerful succours to the *Stralsunders*; but finding that *Gustavus* had the same reasons to wish its safety, he soon devolved that weight on the *Swedish* monarch. Sir *Alexander Lesley*, a *Scottish* officer in the *Swedish* army, was detached to succour the city with a chosen body of *Scotch* troops; and having joined lord *Rhea's* *Scotch* regiment in the *Danish* service, both made so stout a resistance as foiled all the attempts of *Wallestein*, after he had boasted, that if *Stralsund* was slung to heaven by chains of adamant, he would reduce it. After a siege of three months, he was forced to relinquish the enterprize, and retreat with a half-ruined army, to the great mortification of this vain-glorious but experienced officer ^b.

*Gustavus re-
lies Stral-
fund.*

A. D. 1629.
*The affront
put on Gus-
tavus by the
congress at
Lubeck.*

We now see *Gustavus* gradually engaged in the affairs of the empire, and for some time jealous of the support afforded to his enemies by the house of *Austria*, and of the ambitious projects of that grasping family. The congress held this year at *Lubeck* created him fresh matter of disgust and uneasiness. To this congress *Gustavus* sent *Oxenstiern* and *Spar*, with instructions to see the dukes of *Mecklenburg* reinstated, whom, as friends and neighbours, he had taken into his protection. Secretary *Salvius* was dispatched to *Denmark*, to obtain from *Christian* a proper introduction for the *Swedish* ambassadors to the congress; but his *Danish* majesty returned a cold answer, referring the secretary to the court of *Vienna*. *Gustavus* resented the indignity with his usual high spirit; and he retained so strong a sense of it, that it was afterwards urged as one of his reasons for marching an army into the empire ^c.

*Poles defeat-
ed by Wran-
gel.*

*The king ob-
tains another
victory in per-
son.*

WHILE the king was taken up with endeavouring to procure a place at the congress of *Lubeck*, his general *Wrangel* defeated a body of *Poles* that kept *Brodnitz* blocked up. Three thousand were left dead on the field, one thousand taken prisoners, together with five pieces of cannon, and two thousand waggons laden with provision. *Wrangel* would likewise have infallibly taken *Thorn*, had not general *Dorkof* thrown himself with a chosen body of troops into the city. This advantage was succeeded by another more considerable victory, obtained by the king in person at *Stum* over the combined troops of *Germany* and *Poland*. The emperor had sent five thousand foot and two thousand horse under *Arnheim*, who joined the main army commanded by the *Polish* general *Coniecspolski*, and determined to attack his *Swedish* majesty, encamped at *Quidzin*. The superiority of the enemy was so great, that the friends of *Gustavus* representing to him the imminent hazard he run by waiting for them, were coldly answered by that monarch, "Our men will take the surer aim." As soon as the battle began, the *Swedish* horse, contrary to the king's express order, charged with so much impetuosity, that, leaving the infantry behind, they were almost surrounded by the enemy, when *Gustavus* came up to their assistance, and pushed the enemy's infantry with so much vigour that they gave way, and retreated with precipitation to a bridge they had thrown over the *Werder*. *Gustavus* had taken care to secure this retreat, by a detachment he sent round to take possession of the bridge. This brought on another action, more bloody than the former, in which the king exposed his person to great danger, and twice providentially escaped being made prisoner. At last, however, the *Poles* were totally defeated, with the loss of a great many men, twenty-two pair of colours, five standards, and several other military trophies. The carnage among the *German* auxiliaries was so great, that *Arnheim* scarce carried off half the troops he brought into the field ^d.

BUT this defeat did not prevent *Coniecspolski* from attempting the siege of *Stum*, more unfortunate to his army than either of the preceding actions. Here the garrison sallied out upon him with so much vigour, that they repulsed him with the loss of four thousand men. The blame of this misfortune was laid upon *Arnheim*, who was accused of maintaining a correspondence with the elector of *Brandenburg*, whose vassal he was, by which means *Gustavus* was informed of every thing that passed in the combined camp. The *Poles* complained to *Wallestein*, and in consequence *Arnheim* was recalled, and replaced by *Henry* of *Saxe-Lawenburg*, and *Philip* count *Mansfeld*. This change in the general officers could not, however, stem the torrent of misfortune. A plague raged among the troops, and that produced a famine, the peasants being afraid to carry provision to the camp from a dread of the infection. One happy consequence, however, attended. The *Poles*, finding themselves equally reduced by the sword, by famine, and the plague, consented to a truce; to which ambassadors from *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, excited *Gustavus*, to enable him to turn his arms against the emperor. After abundance of altercation, at length a truce for six years was concluded, to expire in the month of *June*, 1635. The conditions, were, that *Gustavus* should restore to his *Polish* majesty the towns of *Brodnitz*, *Stum*, and *Dirschau*; that *Marienberg* should be sequestered in the hands of the elector of *Brandenburg*, to be restored again to *Sweden*, in case a peace was not concluded at the expiration of the truce.

*A truce for
six years con-
cluded with
Poland.*

^b LOCCEŒ I. viii.

^c Id. Idem.

^d PUFFEND. tom. ii.

a *Gustavus*, on his side, kept the port and citadel of *Memel*, the harbour of *Pillau*, the towns of *Elbing*, *Brunsborg*, and all he had conquered in *Livonia*.

In this manner did *Gustavus* put a glorious end to the wars with *Muscovy* and *Poland*; but he did not long enjoy the fruits of his victories in peace. The resentment he bore to the emperor for the assistance lent to king *Sigismund*, the eager desire he had to curb the ambition of the house of *Austria*, to succour the Protestant states of the empire oppressed by the edict of *Restitution*, to gain a footing in *Germany*, and to extend his own fame, as well as to procure *Sweden* some consideration in the ballance of *Europe*, determined this hero to march an army into *Germany*, where he occasioned a most astonishing revolution in the affairs of *Christendom*, and raised his country to a degree of military fame that will always be recorded with lustre in the annals of mankind. We need not here enter upon a detail of those religious factions that rent the empire, and inspired *Gustavus* with the first idea of an invasion. All these particulars have been already recited in a former part of the work. Sufficient it is, that, besides the motives abovementioned, the *Swedish* monarch was strongly invited by the Protestant league, and the houses of *Hesse-Cassel* and *Brandenburg*; to which *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, joined their solicitations.^c

Things being in this situation, *Gustavus* convoked the states of *Sweden*, in order to deliberate on the propriety of a war with the emperor. As in every thing he studied the inclinations of his people, so, in a matter so important to their felicity, he passionately desired the concurrence of their sentiments with his own. Not chusing, however, to re-

c ceive any publick check in the diet of the states, he first assembled in his own tent the ablest men, civil and military, in his service, to be informed of their opinion. Here his majesty recapitulated, in an elegant oration, the several arguments advanced for and against the proposal; concluding however in favour of it, and obtaining a majority of voices to support his determination. The affair was then carried before the states, where his majesty pathetically enumerated the miseries of the Protestant states, the injuries and indignities he personally sustained from the emperor, the weight that *Sweden* would acquire in the scale of *Europe* from taking part in the affairs of *Germany*, the vanity and insolence of *Wallestein*, now created duke of *Mecklenburg*, in prejudice to the rights of the legitimate heirs; with innumerable other topics, which his resentment and ambition inspired. Warm debates arose in the diet upon the subject of the king's speech. Some pleaded, that the revenues were exhausted by a series of wars, which, though gloriously finished, could never produce any equivalent for the expence of blood and treasure; that it favoured too much of chivalry to run headlong, out of punctilio, into an unnecessary war against the most powerful sovereign in *Europe*; that religion was only a cloak used by princes, to cover the secret designs of ambition; that the dukes of *Mecklenburg* might more effectually be assisted by remonstrances and negotiations than by the sword; that the affairs of the empire properly belonged to the cognizance of the electors and the imperial diet, who would probably not thank a foreigner for interfering; that the protection of the reformed religion was in the hands of God, and not of men; and lastly, that as nature seemed to place the sea as a barrier to secure *Sweden* from all invasions, so this very circumstance pointed out the absurdity of her interposing in continental quarrels, from which she must ever prove a sufferer. Other arguments were likewise added, with respect to the illegality of attacking the emperor, who had given no just cause for a war; the expences which would necessarily attend such a measure; the little hope there was of succeeding: nor was the power of the emperor, the consumption of men to *Sweden*, and the present state of the kingdom, passed over unnoticed.

To these arguments *Gustavus*, and those who followed his opinion, opposed others no less convincing. All attempts, they said, to universal monarchy, in any prince, must be repressed by the neighbouring states, who in time would be swallowed up in the immensity of power such a prince might acquire: a power of that ambitious and encroaching nature must, upon every successive motion, make wider and more dangerous undulations, unless opportunely checked. The fate of a country, removed at a moderate distance from so enterprizing a state, might be suspended, but not averted. That if such insults and attacks as the march of the imperial army into *Poland* were timorously connived at, the character of *Gustavus* and of *Sweden* would be very ambiguously transmitted to posterity: that invasions from foreigners far from being objects of indifference, under certain circumstances were matters of very casual and equivocal decisions: that *Wallestein*, stationed with a fleet at *Dantzick*, had formed projects very dangerous to the marine and commerce of *Sweden*: and that the king, in the light of a statesman and warrior, had no other alternative than immediately declaring against the emperor. To this *Gustavus* added, that he would submit what was becoming to his own glory, and the good of *Sweden*, to the breasts of his faithful senate, giving them free liberty to canvass the ex-

*Gustavus re-
sents the em-
peror's con-
duct.*

*He forms the
project of
invading the
empire.*

^c LÖCCEN. *ibid.*

Gustavus's
speech to the
senate.

pediency of the undertaking: "But," says he, with emotion, "I know as well any person the obstacles, the perils, the fatigues, and nature of the enterprize; yet neither the wealth, the grandeur, nor the veterans of *Austria* dismay me. There are powers, even in the empire, who will receive me with open arms; and I may assert, that a certain late edict has cooled the flaming zeal of *Saxony*, if it has not wholly extinguished it. Besides, the imperial army subsists by rapine and military exactions; whereas the *Swedish* forces are regularly paid, though the revenues of the crown be small; and my soldiers are accustomed to frugality, temperance, and virtue. At the worst, my retreat is secure; and my brave troops shall never want their daily subsistence, though it should be transported to them from *Sweden*. If it be the will of heaven that *Gustavus* must fall in the defence of liberty, of his country, and of mankind, he pays the tribute with thankful acquiescence. It is his duty and religion, as a king, to obey the great Sovereign of kings without murmuring, and cheerfully to resign that authority delegated to him for the purposes of the Divine Being. I shall yield up my last breath with a firm persuasion, that Providence will support my subjects, because they are faithful and virtuous; and that my ministers, generals, and senators, will punctually discharge their duty to my child and people, because they love justice, respect me, and feel for their country."

This speech was decisive; the whole states wept: they beheld their sovereign as a being of superior order; were fired with his noble sentiments, and convinced by his rhetoric. Every thing he required was instantly granted: the plan for prosecuting the war referred wholly to him; and the strongest assurances given, that they would sacrifice their fortunes and lives to support the glory of a monarch so far surpassing the rest of mankind.

State of his
fleets, armies,
and finances.

It was not difficult for *Gustavus* to make the necessary preparations. It was the policy of this prince to keep his affairs on such a footing as if he expected a rupture with some neighbouring power. He retained a set of generals, distinguished for genius and valour. His troops were composed of veterans gleaned from the shattered armies of *Mansfelt*, duke *Christian*, and the kings of *Poland* and *Denmark*. All were incorporated with the *Swedish* soldiers; all admired the king's virtue, and soon became the most faithful of his subjects, from punctilio and affection. Ten thousand *English* and *Scotch* auxiliaries served under his command. Rivalship and emulation gave spurs to the natural valour of these troops. They gained the confidence of *Gustavus*, and were honoured with the execution of the most delicate and most arduous enterprizes. In his second *German* campaign one would have thought the *Swedish* army had been led intirely by *British* officers. There were not fewer than six generals, thirty colonels, and fifty-one inferior field-officers. The *Swedish* troops were hardened by a succession of severe campaigns in *Russia*, *Finland*, *Livonia*, and *Prussia*. They seemed expressly formed to endure labour and fatigue, no soldiers in the universe exceeding them in temperance, patience, perseverance, and subordination. On the eve of this war his whole force amounted to sixty thousand men, and his fleet exceeded seventy sail, mounting from forty to twenty guns, and manned with six thousand mariners.

A. D. 1630.

Gustavus enters
Germany.

SUPPORTED by such a military and naval power, *Gustavus* projected the vast design of humbling the house of *Austria* in the zenith of its grandeur, acquiring more weight in the scale of *Europe*, protecting the oppressed Protestant interest, and transmitting his own name to posterity among those of the most illustrious heroes. In a manifesto he declared his reasons for invading the empire. Here he invited the Protestant states to co-operate with his designs, and was not discouraged at the backwardness they expressed, attributing their caution to fear. He paid little regard to the negotiation on foot between the emperor and the king of *Denmark*; the motives of both were known to him, and he prosecuted his schemes with a constancy, perseverance, and circumspection, altogether extraordinary in a prince so young, so full of ardor, vivacity, and the love of glory. Embarking his troops, he arrived off *Usedom* on the twenty-fourth of *June*, and immediately effected a landing, the imperialists evacuating *Wollin* and all the fortresses they possessed. The isle of *Rugen* had before been reduced by general *Lesley*, to secure a retreat should fortune frown upon the king's endeavours. Passing the frith *Gustavus* stormed *Wolgast*, distributing the plunder amongst the troops; another strong fortress in the neighbourhood sustained the same fate; *Bannier*, with a garrison, was left for the defence of these conquests. His next enterprize was against *Stetin*, which he no sooner invested than the duke of *Pomerania*, consenting to receive a *Swedish* garrison, the duke's troops were incorporated with the king's army. This was a happy stroke, and greatly facilitated the designs of *Gustavus*, by anticipating the Imperialists, who were advanced as far as *Gartz*, with a view of gaining possession of this important city. But the policy of the *Swedish* monarch went farther; he persuaded the duke to form an alliance with him; and this affair was executed

a so suddenly, and conducted with such address, that the emperor imagined it must have been concerted. In consequence of this alliance, the king's troops were received into several towns of the duchy, and the most bitter animosity subsisted between the Imperialists and *Pomeranians*, each refusing the other quarter g.

THESE successes overwhelmed the empire in consternation. All was in confusion by the rapidity of the *Swedish* king's motions. Distracted by civil dissention, *Germany* was in no condition to stem the torrent, and resist the warlike *Gustavus*, flushed with victory and supported by the finest army in *Europe*. Besides, the Imperialists were without a general, the supreme command being disputed by a number of candidates of very unequal merit. All parties assisted in degrading *Wallestein*; and the emperor was reduced to the necessity of paving
b the way gently towards his dismissal. The elector of *Bavaria* considered that general as his rival; he thought himself entitled to the chief command, and yet was too judicious to accept an employment for which he had no natural genius. Eloquent, artful, penetrating, and sagacious, he wanted that elevation of soul that constitutes the hero; yet he was ambitious of directing the army, by raising to the chief command one of his creatures, to whose capacity there could possibly be no objection. Count *Tilly* was fixed upon as the tool for executing these designs: accordingly that general was vested with the commission of veldt-mareschal; and the elector was highly elated with the prospect of directing every thing agreeable to his own pleasure h.

MEAN time, *Gustavus* being reinforced by a considerable body of troops in *Finland* and
c *Livonia*, under the conduct of *Gustavus Horn*, resolved to drive the Imperialists out of *Mecklenburg*; accordingly he attacked and defeated them before *Griffenhagen*, and then laid siege to that place, which, after an obstinate defence, he took by assault. The plunder was given to the soldiers, but not the smallest outrage or irregularity was committed; such was the rigid discipline maintained in the *Swedish* army. By this and less considerable conquests, *Gustavus* opened a passage to *Lusatia*, *Brandenburg*, and *Silesia*; but the advantage was not obtained without some retribution on the side of the enemy. Count *Tilly* invested *New Brandenburg*, defended by *Kniphausen* and a garrison of two thousand infantry. *Kniphausen's* instructions were to evacuate the place and join the main army; but imagining he could withstand all the efforts of the enemy, he kept his ground,
d and was forced by the young count *de Montecuculi*, who with a handful of men rushed impetuously into the breach, drove the besieged before him, and took the town sword in hand with prodigious slaughter. Near two thousand *Swedes* perished on this occasion, and only *Kniphausen* with a few officers, experienced the clemency of the victors. *Gustavus* was affected with the loss of so many brave soldiers; but he prevented the enemy from deriving any benefit from their conquests. He invested *Frankfort* on the *Oder*, a town strongly fortified, and garrisoned by nine thousand veterans, under the conduct of the count *Schomberg*. The king's army employed in the siege was not more than double the number; but his train of artillery was the finest at that time seen in *Europe*. It exceeded two hundred and sixty pieces of heavy battering cannon. The defence was obstinate but fruit-
e less. *Gustavus* stormed the town, took it sword in hand, and made the whole garrison prisoners, except near two thousand killed in the breach.

THE reduction of *Frankfort* was of the utmost consequence to *Gustavus*; by means of it he commanded the rivers *Elbe* and *Oder* on both sides, and had a fair opening, not only to the countries above-mentioned, but to *Saxony*, and even the hereditary dominions of the house of *Austria*. The imperial general was apprised of this, and to obstruct the king's progress, resolved laying siege to *Magdeburg*, in hopes of drawing *Gustavus* to a battle; but his majesty, instead of marching to the relief of this city, laid siege to *Landsberg*, and forced the garrison. It was remarkable, that the corps he employed in this siege was so inconsiderable, that he had thoughts of sending to the main army for a reinforcement
f before the prisoners should march out. As they were greatly superior in number, he apprehended they might possibly venture to give him battle in the open field i.

ABOUT this time the Protestant princes of the empire held a diet at *Leipsick*, to which *Gustavus* sent deputies. It was now that he equally displayed the talents of a soldier and a statesman. With the utmost address, and steadiness of conduct, he almost compelled the electors of *Brandenburg* and *Saxony* into a treaty of alliance; and during the negotiation levied contributions sufficient for the maintenance of his army in the marquisate. This important blow being struck, he invested *Gripswald*, where *Perusi*, a knight of the Golden Fleece, commanded. This officer was brave to a degree of chivalry; but disliked by the soldiers on account of his avarice, which, next to the love of military glory, was his predominant passion. *Gustavus* was struck with the beautiful works erected by this officer for the defence of the place, which however proved of little service. *Perusi* made a folly, and was killed, and with him died the spirit of the garrison. The place surrendered, and by

He obliges the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony to embrace his cause.

* LOCEN. l. viii. h Id. ibid. PUFFEND. t. vi. l. vi. i HARTE'S Life of Gustavus, vol. i. PUFFEND. ubi supra.

this means all *Pomerania* was reduced, for which the king ordered solemn thanksgivings to be observed in all the churches of *Sweden*. He then marched to *Gustrow*, to the relief of the dukes of *Mecklenburg*, and soon reinstated them in all their dominions. *Wallenstein* had kept possession of this duchy, and exercised such tyranny, that *Gustavus* was received as the deliverer of the people; and the ceremony of the duke's inauguration performed with all possible magnificence.

COUNT *Tilly* had all this while been employed in the siege of *Magdeburg*. He now left *Pappenheim* before that city, and marched with all the rest of the army into *Thuringia*, to attack the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel* and the princes of the house of *Saxony*, particularly the elector, who, in consequence of his late treaty with *Gustavus*, was regarded as the avowed enemy of the house of *Austria*. The king hearing of this motion marched towards the *Elbe*, encamped at *Werben*, where he was joined by the landgrave of *Hesse*, who was the first and most steady of all his *German* allies. The emperor began now to alter his opinion of *Gustavus*, whom he called in derision a king of snow, that would melt as he approached a warmer climate. Contrary to expectation, he found his army daily increasing, and the *Swedish* monarch at the head of a formidable confederacy of *German* princes. He was forced to acknowledge the intrepidity and policy of *Gustavus*, and he had already experienced the valour of those troops who were now about to give him more fatal proofs. *Tilly* had orders to march into *Saxony*, while *Pappenheim* was committing the most horrible cruelties in *Magdeburg*, which city he reduced after an obstinate struggle. *Gustavus* was invited by the elector, and prepared with all expedition to follow the Imperialists into *Saxony*. He formed the design of recovering *Magdeburg*, but was frustrated by the progress *Tilly* was making in the electorate, and by *Pappenheim's* throwing himself with his whole army into the city, which must necessarily have rendered the siege tedious. Having relinquished this enterprize, in order to gain the command of the river *Havel*, he ordered *Bannier* to attack *Havelsburg*, which he performed with astonishing resolution, the place being forced in the space of a few hours, and the whole garrison taken prisoners. *Werben* was the next object of the king's operations. *Bauditzen* and *Ortemberg* attacked this fortress with undaunted courage, and carried it with considerable loss on both sides, after an obstinate conflict. Nothing indeed seemed impossible to the *Swedish* soldiers, fighting under the eye of a monarch whom they regarded as invincible. These advantages obliged *Tilly* to endeavour checking the progress of the *Swedes*. With this view he detached the vanguard of his army, composed of the flower of the imperial cavalry, within a few miles of the king's camp, which produced an action unfortunate to *Bernstein* the imperial general, and auspicious of farther successes to *Gustavus*. After a brisk skirmish *Bernstein* was defeated and killed, with fifteen hundred of his men; an advantage of the utmost consequence to the king, as it disheartened the enemy, encouraged his own army, and gave him time to recal all his detachments. Nothing could be more judicious than the situation upon which *Gustavus* fixed. He had it in his power to attack count *Tilly*, to prevent the elector of *Saxony* from wavering from his engagements, to retreat or advance to the southward. He was supplied with every necessary by means of the *Elbe*, and the fertile surrounding countries. His circumstances were in every respect superior to that of the enemy, that they fired *Tilly* with indignation, and made him march up to the *Swedish* lines and offer battle. *Gustavus* wisely kept within his works. He perceived that the Imperialists breathed nothing but vengeance: he knew the fire and courage of the general from whom some striking blow was expected, would induce him rather to attack the intrenchments than retire: *Gustavus* therefore carefully maintained this advantage. Every thing fell out agreeable to his conjecture: *Tilly* resolved upon making trial of his fortune against *Gustavus*; he led his troops with great intrepidity against a camp almost impregnably fortified, and continued firing at the same time with the utmost fury, from a battery of thirty-two pieces of cannon, which however produced no other effect than obliging the *Swedish* monarch to draw up his army behind the walls of *Werben*. The Imperialist placed his chief hopes in being able to nail up the enemy's cannon, or set fire to their camp in divers quarters, after which he proposed making his grand attack. With this view he bribed some prisoners, who took his money and carried his design to *Gustavus*. The king turned the circumstance to his own advantage, with that readiness of wit peculiar to him, by ordering fires to be lighted in different parts of his camp, and his soldiers to imitate the noise of a tumultuous disorderly rabble. *Tilly* did not doubt but his stratagem had taken effect; he led his army up to the breach effected by his cannon, where he was received with such a volley of grape shot as cut off the first line, put in disorder whole ranks, and rendered it impracticable to bring back the soldiers to the charge. While they were in this confusion the Imperialists were attacked in the rear by general *Bauditzen*, who sallied out of another quarter of the camp with great resolution, fought with impetuosity,

He marches
towards Sax-
ony.

Tilly is re-
pulsed.

- a and was received by *Tilly* with equal valour and capacity. Ordering his army to halt he brought the artillery to bear, and soon convinced the *Swedes* that he was formidable even in his retreat. The conflict was short; *Bauditz*, in the transports of courage, pushed into the midst of the enemy and was taken prisoner, in despite of his most desperate efforts, and was soon after released by the incredibly furious push made by young *Valdestein*, with a small party, which fought its way back with unparalleled resolution. Here it was that the duke of *Saxe-Weymar* first displayed that courage which burst forth in the full blaze of glory at the death of *Gustavus*. The loss on both sides was considerable. The victory was bloody to the *Swedes*, and the defeat not inglorious to the Imperialists; but the chief advantage deduced by *Gustavus* was the retreat of *Tilly* to *Magdeburg*, and the spirits it diffused into the *Swedish* army, who found themselves equal in valour to the enemy, and their king superior in conduct to their celebrated general. For the space of fifty years *Tilly* was esteemed the greatest officer in *Europe*; a reputation founded upon a rapid course of victories obtained in thirty-six successive battles. The repulse somewhat diminished his high character, faded his laurels, and convinced the world that *Tilly* was neither unrivalled in the art of war, nor invincible. He even acknowledged, according to Mr. *Harte*, that he was excelled by *Gustavus* in the principal points of generalship, the subsisting an army, fortifying a camp, managing the artillery, and that intuitive spirit, which at one glance comprehends the whole design of the enemy, finds the proper resources, and displays instantaneously all the correctness of study and application. Such a testimony from
- b so judicious a rival is the highest praise of *Gustavus*.

- c Soon after this action the queen of *Sweden* arrived in the camp with a reinforcement of eight thousand infantry, after narrowly escaping shipwreck, her vessel having foundered at sea. At the same time, a treaty was concluded with *Charles I.* of *England*, whereby that monarch permitted the marquis of *Hamilton* to raise six thousand men for the service of *Gustavus*. By stipulation, the *English* auxiliaries were to be conducted to the main army by a body of four thousand *Swedes*: they were in every thing to obey the orders of *Gustavus*; but in the king's absence to be under the entire direction of the marquis: and lastly, the whole corps was required to take an oath of fidelity to his *Swedish* majesty. From the spirit of this treaty, it appears, that *Gustavus* desired to be considered not in the light
- d of a suppliant prince, but as the head, protector, and asserter of liberty and religion, oppressed by the pride and bigotry of the house of *Austria*. The marquis soon raised his contingent, and arriving, by orders from *Gustavus*, at *Bremen*, he found it impossible to effect a junction with the *Swedish* army, which made him resolve, without debarking his troops, to steer his course for the *Oder*, and land his forces at *Usedom*. This disconcerted the king's project, and exceedingly irritated him, as his intention was that the auxiliaries should make a diversion in the territory of *Bremen*. To make the best of circumstances he now altered his plan, and disposed the *British* corps to act on the *Oder* instead of the *Weser*. *France* magnified this little army to triple its number. *Germany* was thrown into confusion by so inconsiderable a body as six thousand men; and *Tilly* found himself gruelled in his
- e proceedings. Once he thought of marching in person against the marquis; but that nobleman's departure for *Silesia*, determined him to reinforce the army in that country by a strong detachment, to which we may in some measure attribute the defeat, of which we are about to speak at *Leipsick*.

- f Ever since the late action between the *Swedes* and Imperialists, *Gustavus* kept snug within his intrenchments, where his army was luxuriously provided with every necessary. *Tilly* after his repulse made several efforts to surprise the camp, and draw the king to an engagement; but finding all endeavours fruitless, he bent his march towards *Saxony*, determined either to lay the electorate desolate, or compel the elector to declare in favour of the emperor. Notwithstanding the invitation given *Gustavus*, the elector was actually
- g negotiating a treaty with the house of *Austria*; but he dreaded lest the army under count *Tilly* should prove insufficient to protect him against the resentment of the *Swedish* monarch. On the other hand, the imperial army was no less terrible; and while he was thus balancing which of his engagements to perform, *Tilly* marched into the heart of his country, and laid siege to *Leipsick*. Nothing could be more favourable to *Gustavus* than this measure taken precipitately by the imperial general, by which the elector was in a manner forced to declare in favour of the *Swedes*, merely to preserve his country from utter destruction. The king's policy, as well as the count's rashness, contributed to determine the elector. *Gustavus* appeared all phlegm and indifference with respect to which side he took; *Tilly* was all fire, eagerness, and impetuosity: he would drive, when *Gustavus* seduced; and endeavoured to accomplish by dint of arms, what the other more effectually performed by counsels. Soured by numberless disappointments, which rendered his old age still more peevish, and incensed to see the laurels collected by fifty years faithful services, withered before the intense radiance of *Gustavus's* glory, he resolved to pour out his whole vengeance.

geance. Recalling, with this view, all his detachments, he rushed like a torrent into *Saxony*, and overwhelmed with consternation that unhappy electorate, doomed in all ages to be the theatre of bloodshed, horror, and the most tragic scenes¹.

Treaty with
elector of
Saxony.

A PROCEEDING so contradictory to common sense must appear very inconsistent with the general conduct of the experienced *Tilly*. Some writers for this reason endeavour to throw the blame on the court of *Vienna*, and even expressly affirm, that the count was ordered to ravage *Saxony*, and lay siege to *Leipsick*, unless the elector immediately declared against *Sweden*. No sooner was *Leipsick* invested, than the elector dispatched *Arnheim* to the king's camp, requesting him to march to his relief. Though *Gustavus* was delighted with a proposal, the happy consequences of which he foresaw, yet he received it with an air of dignity, and told the ambassador that nothing more than he had repeatedly predicted to the elector had happened. Had his highness, he said, followed his admonitions, neither *Magdeburg* would have experienced the cruelty of an incensed enemy, nor *Saxony* be reduced to its present wretched situation. He concluded with acquainting *Arnheim*, that he had formed a project of employing his troops to advantage elsewhere, and that honour obliged him to assist the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the princes of *Lower Saxony*. In the end however he concluded a treaty, whereby it was agreed, that the electoral prince of *Saxony* should reside as a hostage in the *Swedish* camp; that the town of *Wittenberg* should be put into his hands; that the elector should furnish his troops with three months pay; that he should produce the traitors of the *Austrian* faction, who had perverted his counsels, and submit their punishment to the king; and lastly, that a treaty offensive and defensive should immediately take place between *Sweden* and *Saxony*. This treaty was immediately ratified by the elector, and a variety of other conditions added; such as, that not only *Wittenberg*, but the whole electorate should be open to the *Swedish* troops, in case of a retreat; that a month's pay should immediately be advanced, and security given for the remainder; that a list of traitors should be given to the king, and full liberty to dispose of them in what manner he thought proper: in a word, *Arnheim* was instructed to acquaint the king, that not only the prince his son, but the elector himself, proposed residing in the *Swedish* camp, as he was determined to embark his life and fortune in the cause of *Gustavus* and of *Sweden*. It was farther added, on the part of the elector, that he would undertake to subsist the *Swedish* army during its residence in his dominions; that he would resign the chief command entirely to the king, and engage his honour not to conclude a peace without the entire consent and approbation of *Gustavus*^m.

Battle at
Leipsick.

In this situation stood affairs, when *Tilly* invested *Leipsick* with an army composed of forty-four thousand veterans. He summoned the governor immediately to surrender, denouncing the same vengeance if he refused that had been poured down upon *Magdeburg*. The governor requested liberty to consult the elector; but this being denied, he quietly obeyed the summons. Next day he capitulated for the castle of *Passenberg*, that might have easily stood a siege sufficiently long for the *Swedish* army to come to its relief. The elector, enraged at the loss of this valuable city, posted to the *Swedish* camp, ordered his army to join the king's with all expedition, and so pressingly insisted upon giving the enemy battle, that *Gustavus* yielded to his eagerness. *Tilly* expected to have attacked the *Saxons* separately; for which purpose he had quitted his advantageous situation before *Leipsick*, and advanced to *Brechtenfeld*. Here *Gustavus* resolved to fight him on equal terms. Accordingly he marched his army within sight of the Imperialists, and there halted to refresh the soldiers. It was expected that *Altringer*, with a strong reinforcement, would in a few days join the count, and this precipitated the king's measures. On the seventh day of *September* he led his troops in the most beautiful order to the field of battle, marching slowly and silently, the *Swedes* forming one column on the right, and the *Saxons* another on the left, each amounting to fifteen thousand men. *Tilly*, disdainful of the assistance of a second line, drew up in one vast front, in hopes possibly of surrounding the flanks of the king's army; but every experienced officer in the field prognosticated the event of the engagement, from the excellency of the *Swedish* disposition. *Gustavus*, distinguished by a green feather in his hat, led on the attack against that wing of the Imperialists conducted by *Pappenheim*; and after a violent conflict drove that brave general back to such a distance, as gained his troops a point of the wind, by which the smoke fell upon the enemy, and considerably embarrassed their proceedings. This extraordinary effort was made in order to get without the reach of a vast battery, with which count *Tilly* played furiously on the *Swedish* flank. Mean time general *Bannier* cut in pieces the troops of *Holstein*, headed by their brave duke, who being closed in between two columns of *Swedes*, received a mortal wound, upon which his soldiers begged quarter. *Pappenheim* was all the while making the most furious attacks on

¹ LOCZEN. vol. i. HARTE, vol. viii.

^m CHEMNIT. Bel. Suec. German l. i.

a the *Swedish* column, in hope of regaining his former situation. Seven times he led on his troops to the charge, and was as often repulsed by the *Swedes*, though unsupported by the *Saxons*, who were soon driven off the field by count *Tilly*. Now the whole Imperial strength was pointed against the *Swedish* left, where general *Horn* commanded; but he sustained the attack with admirable firmness, until he was relieved by *Gustavus*, who would seem to have placed but little confidence in the *Saxons*. Without being at all discomposed at their retreat, he ordered general *Teuffel* with the centre to assist *Horn*; which he performed with such intrepidity, that *Tilly's* prudence, authority, and example, could not prevail on the Imperialists to renew the attack. Here it was that the *Scotch* regiment first practised the method of firing by platoons, to which Mr. *Harte* ascribes the astonishment and confusion b that appeared in the Imperial army. In a word, the enemy were defeated, all except their centre, composed of eighteen regiments of veteran infantry, accustomed to victory, and deemed invincible. The efforts they made to maintain their reputation were glorious. Pierced through, and swept off in whole lines by the artillery, they never shrunk or fell into confusion. Four regiments in particular, after their officers had been killed, formed themselves, and retiring to the skirts of the wood behind, baffled the united efforts of the *Swedish* army, and never demanded quarter, but were to a man cut in pieces. *Tilly* shed tears at the fate of his brave *Walloons*, and at last retreated with a kind of triumph at the head of six hundred men, who were not to be conquered. It was, however, to the darkness of the night, more than their valour, that they owed their safety: had not this cover c seasonably interposed, they must necessarily have been oppressed with numbers, and shared the fate of their brave companions. *Tilly* was once taken prisoner, and refusing to surrender, a *Swedish* officer fired his pistol; but, missing his aim, was shot dead by the duke of *Saxe-Lawenburg*, who had the honour of releasing his general, and preventing the accumulated disgrace of imprisonment to be added to the other misfortunes of this veteran hero. Seven thousand Imperialists were left dead on the field; four thousand were taken prisoners, all were dispersed, a fine train of artillery was lost, and above an hundred standards, ensigns, and other military trophies; but, what was more than all, the emperor's measures were intirely broken, and the projects of the Catholic league wholly disconcerted. The design of *Poland* likewise to break the league, and attack *Prussia*, while *Gustavus* was employed in *Saxony*, vanished into smoke. On the contrary, the *German* Protestant interest took courage, and began to plan the means of totally throwing off the yoke of Imperial bondage. Such were the consequences of this important victory, which raised the military reputation of *Gustavus* to the highest pinnacle of glory, and will transmit him to posterity among the greatest warriors of *Europe*.

It is however the general opinion, that *Gustavus* distinguished more genius in obtaining than judgment in pursuing this victory. Had he advanced to *Vienna* during the consternation of the Imperialists, and before they had time to collect their spirits and forces, it is probable the emperor would have been forced to abandon his capital, and leave his hereditary dominions to the mercy of the conqueror. Instead of this the king attacked *Mus-* c *burg*, and put the garrison, consisting of a thousand men, to the sword; after which he entered the circle of *Franconia*, while the elector of *Saxony* was laying siege to *Leipsic*. Thus *Tilly* was left at liberty to unite his dispersed forces, and again to form a very considerable army, by the junction of the corps under general *Altringer* and *Fugger*. The truth is, *Gustavus* apprehended that *Tilly* might fall upon the *Saxons*, while he was ravaging the *Austrian* hereditary dominions, by which means he might be deprived, not only of an ally, but of the free quarters provided for his troops in case of the necessity of a retreat. It was this that prevented his pursuing the enemy through *Brunswick* to the *Weser*, which it was apprehended would be equally prejudicial to the common cause as an irruption into *Austria*, since it might draw the whole load of the war on the princes of *Lower Saxony*, and f expose to the enemy's fury the Protestants of the higher circle. This circumstance, and the advice of the elector of *Saxony*, determined *Gustavus* to penetrate into *Franconia*, by which means he hoped to gain the affections of all the reformed in *Germany*. His chancellor, *Oxenstiern*, remonstrated against this measure; but the duke of *Weimar* strongly supported it, and at last carried his point.

GUSTAVUS sent certain persons of credit to engage the Protestants of *High Germany* in his interest, and the scheme succeeded; all freely declared in his favour, except the town of *Nuremberg*, which raised a variety of scruples. In *Franconia* the king reduced a number of places, particularly the fortress of *Workburg*, to the relief of which *Tilly* marched, but too late to execute his purpose. He had by that time assembled an army of eighteen g thousand infantry, and eighty-two troops of horse, and was soon after joined by *Charles* duke of *Holstein* with twelve thousand men, so that he again exceeded the *Swedish* army in point of numbers. Disappointed in his intention to relieve *Workburg*, he directed his march towards *Rottenberg*, but had the misfortune to lose four regiments, who were attacked and

Mistake committed by Gustavus.

The progress of the Swedes.

cut in pieces by a *Swedish* detachment. After this advantage it was that the king surprised *Hanau* and *Frankfort* on the *Maine*, turning from thence to the side of the *Palatinate*, at that time possessed by the *Spaniards*. On his entering the country he demanded to know of the governor *De Sylva*, whether he was to regard him as a friend or an enemy? and upon being answered, that his instructions were to assist the elector of *Mentz* against the *Swedes*, he deliberated whether he should not declare war against the *Spaniards*, or only treat them as the allies of the Catholic league, without coming to an open rupture with the court of *Madrid*, which latter opinion prevailed, from an apprehension that the *Swedish* commerce might suffer from the depredations of the *Dunkirkers*. However, he cut in pieces a corps of *Spaniards*, who endeavoured to obstruct his progress, and threw themselves in his way at *Oppenheim*. The *Spaniards* who garrisoned the city *Mentz*, surrendered by capitulation, and were conducted to *Luxemburg*.

So rapid was the progress of *Gustavus*, that the court of *Vienna* sent every where begging assistance, and soliciting the Catholic princes to arm in support of their religion. Yet what most embarrassed the emperor was, the difficulty of finding a general capable of making head against *Gustavus*, whose name became terrible in *Germany*. *Tilly's* good fortune would seem to have forsook him; and his Imperial majesty by no means approved of the proposal made by the *Spaniards* of setting the young king of *Hungary* to oppose so masterly a genius as the *Swedish* monarch, notwithstanding he could bring powerful levies into the field. The general voice favoured *Wallestein*, an old experienced general, greatly beloved by the soldiers, and so rich that he could raise an army at his own expence. But one difficulty remained; it was a question whether that haughty officer would accept of the command of which he had been once deprived. At length this objection was surmounted; *Wallestein*, at the instigation of his friends, was persuaded to accept of the charge for the ensuing campaign, by which time he engaged considerably to augment the army at his own expence. He performed his word, and in a few months drew no less than forty thousand men out of the emperor's hereditary dominions, which may be justly numbered among the unhappy consequences of *Gustavus's* failing to pursue the blow given at *Leipsick*^b.

A. D. 1632.

For the whole winter the *Swedish* army in a manner kept the field, as they were continually sent in strong detachments to reduce certain towns, which might precipitate the operations of the subsequent campaigns; and in the spring a fruitless negotiation was set on foot by the king of *Spain* for obtaining a neutrality for *Bavaria*, and several other Catholic states. Before the summer approached, the *Swedes* had reduced *Crantznaeh*, *Bobenhausen*, and *Kirchberg* on the *Moselle*; they had retaken *Magdeburg* in *Lower Saxony*; *William* duke of *Weimar* had got possession of *Gozlar*, *Northheim*, *Gotingen*, and *Duderstadt*, while the landgrave *William* made great progress in *Westphalia*. *Gustavus Horn*, indeed, had been repulsed with loss before *Bamberg*; but he had his revenge by entirely destroying two regiments of Imperialists. To prevent the loss before *Bamberg* from affecting his troops, the king resolved to give battle to *Tilly*, who was marched into *Bavaria* to keep the *Swedes* from gaining footing in the electorate. He pursued the Imperial general through a vast tract of country, came up with and defeated his rear-guard, and reduced a variety of towns and fortresses on the *Danube*, penetrating as far as *Ulm*. Advancing to the *Leck*, count *Tilly* posted himself in a wood on the opposite side to dispute his passage; and the king endeavoured to dislodge the Imperialists by a terrible regular fire from the mouths of seventy pieces of cannon. The slaughter he made was dreadful: *Tilly* was wounded by a cannon ball in the knee, and died a few days before he must have sustained the disgrace of losing the chief command. On the night following the Imperialists evacuated the post, some retiring to *Ingolstadt*, and others to *Newburg*, leaving the passage free to the *Swedish* monarch. Upon this the king led his whole army into the electorate of *Bavaria*, and put garrisons into *Rain* and *Newburg*, which were abandoned by the Imperialists. *Augsburg* was next reduced with little trouble, and *Gustavus* exacted an oath of fidelity from the inhabitants, not only to himself but to the crown of *Sweden*. What his motives were for so unpopular an act, we cannot conjecture: certain it is, that the measure gave great umbrage to several well-disposed persons of the *Germanic* body, who now began to harbour suspicions that he entertained farther notions than the mere defence of the Protestant interest. From *Augsburg* the *Swedes* marched further with design to lay a bridge over the *Danube*, to chase the *Bavarians* out of their own country, and to get possession of *Ratisbon*; but this design was frustrated by means of two strong forts on the river. One of these indeed surrendered, but the *Swedes* were repulsed before the other; and the king had in the attack a horse killed under him, and the marquis of *Baden* shot by his side. After all his efforts, he was baffled in the design of gaining possession of *Ratisbon*, into which the *Bavarians* had thrown a very numerous garrison.

WHILE the *Swedes* were before *Ingolstadt*, ambassadors arrived in the camp from the king

^b PUFFEND. l. vi. c. vi.

Count Tilly
is killed.

a of Denmark, offering that prince's mediation to terminate the differences between Sweden and the house of Austria. To their proposal Gustavus answered, that no solid peace could be obtained, until the Protestant interest united, and obliged the Catholics to grant such conditions as might secure their future tranquility. Something stronger was necessary to tie them down to their engagements than mere wax and parchment. As the ambassadors had no instructions to propose any thing farther, the negotiation ended as it begun. Gustavus resolved to set bounds to the Austrian ambition, and would listen to no conditions which had not that object in view. Retiring now from Ingolstadt, he intended to let the Bavarians feel the same barbarities which their prince had exercised for some years against the Protestants of the empire; and accordingly laid Morzbourg, Freisingen, and Landsbut in b ashes. The inhabitants of Munich saved their city by their submission; they brought the keys to Gustavus, and he contented himself with seizing upon forty pieces of cannon, which he ordered them to send to Augsburg. As the peasants collected themselves in bodies, and murdered all the stragglers from the Swedish camp, the king ordered their houses to be burnt, and at one time defeated a considerable body of militia, joined to the elector's regular forces.

WHILE Gustavus was employed in the reduction of Bavaria, Wallestein had assembled a vast army. He was intreated by the elector to come to the assistance of his people; but in revenge of the preference he obtained for count Tilly, the general suffered him to remain for some time in the utmost perplexity. Instead of directing his arms to Bavaria, he turned c suddenly towards Bohemia, with a view of drawing the Saxons out of that kingdom, notwithstanding they had for the season but little promoted the common cause, owing to the practices of Arnheim, who was the friend of Wallestein, and the secret enemy of Gustavus. He had been reproached by the king for his cowardice; and though he had not the soul openly to resent the indignity, yet he could never forgive the king's raillery, when he complained of the injury done his reputation. It was this chiefly which fixed him the inveterate enemy of Sweden, and set him on contriving, by every secret artifice, the means of detaching the elector from the Protestant alliance; a project not very easy in the execution, after the important services the king had done Saxony. From these motives he prevented the progress of the Saxon army in Bohemia, and suffered Wallestein to gain an easy victory, in hopes d that the elector, his master, a prince devoted to pleasure, would soon tire of so restless and warlike an ally as Gustavus. Others of the elector's counsellors were likewise in the emperor's interest. They continually sounded in his ears, that the Swedish monarch aspired at the imperial diadem; if he succeeded they alledged, that his highness would find himself in different circumstances than at present, under the government of the house of Austria. The dukes of Weimar, who had strongly insinuated themselves into the king's good graces, would then probably lay claim to the electoral dignity. The elector of Palatine, they said, would doubtless endeavour one day to revenge the injuries done him by the Saxons. It was evident from his conduct at Augsburg, that Gustavus proposed annexing Germany to the crown of Sweden; and it was an affront to an elector, who was at the head of the Protestant league, to be rendered subordinate to a barbarous northern prince. With such arguments did his courtiers rouse the pride, ambition, and terror of this prince, while his Danish majesty laboured, by a different method, to hold the balance even between Gustavus and the emperor. This was no other than forming an alliance with England, Holland, and the circles of the Higher and Lower Saxony^a. Moved by different reasons, and actuated by a variety of contrary motions, the elector was greatly embarrassed; but the disgraceful manner in which his troops had been driven out of Bohemia by Wallestein, confirmed his pacific disposition.

The elector of Saxony sways in his attachment to Gustavus.

PAPPENHEIM's success, as well as the advantage in Bohemia, raised the spirits of the Imperialists. After Gustavus had recalled the dukes of Weimar and Bannier from Lower f Saxony, to join him in Bavaria, Pappenheim reduced and cruelly ravaged great part of the country. He defeated a party of Swedes before Haxten, reduced Eimbeck, and made an irruption into Bremen, as far as Stade, which he now proposed ceding to the king of Denmark, with a view of embroiling him with Gustavus. The proposal to the court of Copenhagen was made with the utmost secrecy. Christian long wanted the opportunity of seizing upon Bremen; and the only difficulty in embracing the offers of the Imperialists arose from the apprehension of breaking with Sweden. To try the temper of the Swedes, a body of troops was sent to Gluckstadt and Friburg, under some specious pretence; but they no sooner arrived than the king of Sweden ordered them to quit the country; and on their expressing some reluctance, the archbishop of Bremen began to enter upon measures to compel them. g The Swedes were directed to assist the archbishop, and even to make an irruption into Holstein, should it be found necessary; upon which Christian perceiving the difficulty of the enterprize, thought proper to apologize to Gustavus, and recal his forces.

^a HARTE, t. ii.

BUT the *Swedish* arms were not altogether successful against the Imperialists. *Pappenheim* defeated the archbishop's cavalry at *Werden*, and surprised a body of *Swedish* infantry before *Stade*. Three *Swedish* regiments were likewise cut off near *Kedingen*; nevertheless *Pappenheim* was forced to retire, and withdraw the garrison from *Stade*, of which the *Swedes* took immediate possession. The *Spaniards* too were successful on the *Upper Rhine*, where, besides a number of other places, they reduced *Spire*. As the prince of *Orange* had made an irruption into *Brabant*, they were recalled to the *Netherlands*, which put a stop to their conquests, and subjected their rear to a defeat from the *Swedes*, who pursued them as far as *Treves*, and took a great number of prisoners. As to *Gustavus*, he found sufficient employment in *Higher Germany*. *Wallestein*, and the elector of *Bavaria*, menaced giving him battle with greatly superior forces. From a victory they proposed nothing less than the intestine suppression of the Protestant interest; and circumstances considered, they had the utmost reason to expect that fortune would be propitious. The *Swedes* were dispersed thro' every quarter of *Germany*; the forces led by *Gustavus* were inconsiderable; they hoped to fall upon him before he could be joined by his detachments; but they did not reflect, that the genius of *Gustavus* was equal in itself to an army, and that his intuitive quickness never suffered him to be at a loss upon the most critical occasions. After the elector had strongly garrisoned *Ratisbon* and *Ingolstadt*, he marched to *Eger* to join *Wallestein*. The king pursued him through the *Upper Palatinate*, in hopes of giving him battle before his armies were united; but the expedition of the *Bavarians* obliged him to return to *Hirsburg*, where he endeavoured to chuse an encampment where he could not be forced, or reduced to the necessity of fighting, with unequal numbers. The situation he fixed upon was in the neighbourhood of *Nuremburg*; the plunder of which place *Wallestein* had promised his troops, as soon as they had dispossessed the *Swedish* garrison. To draw the king from this post, the Imperialist made a motion as if he proposed entering *Saxony*; but *Gustavus* was too well acquainted with his stratagems to be deceived. After boasting that a few days should determine whether the king of *Sweden* or himself were to be the masters of the universe, he changed his purpose of fighting, said he had fought battles enough, and he would now try another method of gaining victories. His design was to starve the king in his camp, oblige him to quit his post, and thus evacuate *Nuremburg*. Flattered with this hope he encamped in an advantageous situation, detaching a great body of cavalry to occupy the necessary posts. In effect, he obliged the *Swedes* to leave off their foragings; but they were plentifully supplied from *Nuremburg*. In this manner the armies lay encamped for several weeks, until the king, being reinforced by fifteen thousand men, drew out his troops and offered battle, which *Wallestein* refused, not caring to leave the fate of the empire to be decided by a single engagement. Finding *Wallestein* was determined against fighting, *Gustavus* raised vast batteries against his camp, which he played with unremitting fury, in order to draw him out of his lines; but failing in his purpose, he resolved to attack his intrenchments sword in hand. Most of his generals in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from this measure; but the king was resolute. He began the attack, supported it with the utmost vigour, relieved one party by another, continued the engagement for several hours, and was at last forced to retire with the loss of two thousand men, without making the least impression. The landgrave of *Hesse*, and other *Germans* in the king's army, complained, that he employed their troops in those desperate attacks, as if their lives was a matter of indifference; and indeed a general murmuring and discontent prevailed in the camp, at a step so rash, precipitate, and fatal, which might justly be deemed the greatest error in the conduct of *Gustavus*; an error arising from the impetuosity of his courage.

Gustavus is repulsed by Wallestein.

THUS stood affairs at *Nuremburg*, while *Pappenheim* was performing great actions in *Lower Saxony*. In divers rencounters and bloody skirmishes, he defeated the allies. The troops of *Hesse* were put to the rout near *Walkmarsen*; the duke of *Lunenburg*, and general *Bauditz*, were forced to abandon the siege of *Callenberg*. Next he relieved *Wolfenbuttle*, reduced *Hildesheim*, and took the route of *Thuringen*, in order to join *Wallestein*. His successes were chiefly owing to the dissensions among the confederates, the rivalry of the *Swedish* generals, and the desire each had of commanding a separate corps, which dividing their strength, rendered them an easy prey. *Bauditz* was among those whose ambition exceeded their prudence. He had acquired reputation as a general of cavalry; but his vanity led him to desire the command of infantry. He had performed excellent service in a subordinate station: this was his proper sphere, and not what he eagerly grasped at, the command of a separate army. The misconduct and treachery of *Arnheim* rendered the confederate arms equally unsuccessful in *Saxony* and *Misnia*. They consisted of sixteen thousand men, a force sufficient to perform great actions; yet was nothing effected besides the reduction of *Glogau*. *Arnheim* held a secret correspondence with *Wallestein*, and removed from the frontiers of *Misnia*, in order to facilitate the intended irruption of the imperial

^b LOCZEN. l. ix.

- a general, and dispose the elector more powerfully to pacific measures. The Spaniards assisted *Arnheim* in his endeavours to detach his master from the *Swedish* interest; but *Gustavus* omitted nothing that could engage the fidelity of that prince. He sent the count-palatine *Salzbach* to *Augustus*, to set before his eyes every object that could captivate his judgment. He insisted upon the necessity of uniting the Protestants, as a proper barrier against the house of *Austria*, and the only measure that could prevent their being enslaved singly. All the power of that ambitious family arose from the discord of the confederates. A resolution to act with unanimity would soon turn the scale in their favour, and enable them to chuse an emperor out of their own number. The count added, that considering the services performed by *Gustavus Adolphus*, in rescuing the princes of the empire from bondage, no one had so good a right to the imperial diadem. The gratitude of the electors, and his own signal merit; the power he had to defend the reformed religion, to curb the insolence of the Catholics, and to enlarge the Protestant interest, confessedly raised the *Swedish* monarch above all rivalship. Nor was the elector of *Brandenburgh* less strenuous in urging the necessity of a general assembly and union of the Protestants. This prince was entirely devoted to *Gustavus*, from the prospect he had of establishing an alliance between their families, by the marriage of the electoral prince to *Christina* princess of *Sweden*. To accomplish this purpose, he laboured with the utmost zeal, from which he hoped to deduce an immediate advantage; namely, that of avoiding certain disputes likely to arise concerning *Pomerania*. However, the elector of *Saxony's* answers were general; nothing to the purpose could be extorted from him, and he declined with great address, touching upon principal business, because he proposed squaring his conduct according to conjunctures^a.

- c THESE negotiations *Gustavus* was carrying on, while he resided at the camp at *Nuremberg*. He resolved now to quit this situation, because he could neither oblige *Wallestein* to evacuate his post or give battle. Before he decamped a strong garrison was thrown into *Nuremberg*, in case of an attack; and then *Gustavus* divided his army into two corps. The command of one he gave to duke *Bernard*, with orders to remain in *Franconia*; the other he led in person towards the *Danube* and *Bavaria*. Immediately *Wallestein* broke up, and bent his course to *Misnia*, with intention to oblige the elector of *Saxony* to detach himself from *Gustavus*, and to draw the *Swedes* out of *Bavaria* to the succour of their ally. Already general *Holken* was committing dreadful ravages in *Voigtland*: this altered the king's intention of protecting the Protestant princes, to which he was strongly advised by *Oxenstiern*. Couriers every minute arrived from *Saxony*, and pressing letters from the elector, requesting his immediate assistance. Without reflecting upon the inconstancy of *Augustus*; he generously flew to his aid; he pitied his misfortunes, while he despised his conduct. He feared lest his consternation would induce him to strike up a peace with the emperor, to the prejudice of *Sweden* and her allies; and he hoped, that being so near might remedy the disorders that prevailed in the states of *Lower Saxony*. Leaving *Gustavus Horn* with an army in *Alsace*, where he had made considerable conquests, and *Birkenfeldt*, count-palatine, in *Bavaria*, he joined count *Bernard*; and marched with incredible diligence to *Misnia*, where the Imperialists were assembling their whole strength. He had recalled the duke of *Lunenbourg* from *Lower Saxony*, and that prince was advanced as far as *Wallemberg* to join him; but hearing that the enemy were encamped at *Weisenfels*, and that *Pappenheim* had been detached with a strong corps, *Gustavus* resolved to attack the Imperialists before they could again effect a junction. With this intention he marched to *Lutzen*, where he fought that memorable battle that robbed *Sweden* of her greatest monarch. He attacked *Wallestein* with incredible fury; the *Swedish* infantry behaved with astonishing valour, broke the Imperialists, in despite of their utmost endeavours to keep firm, and took all their artillery. The cavalry not being able to pass the river so expeditiously as the king thought necessary; he led the way, attended only by the regiment of *Smaaland*, and the duke of *Saxe-Lawenbourg*; he charged with impetuosity, and was killed, as *Puffendorf* alledges, by the treachery of the duke, who, being corrupted by the emperor, shot him in the back, amidst the heat of the action (A).

Battle of
Lutzen.

Gustavus is
killed.

^a LOCCEŒ. l. ix HARTE, ibid. PUFFEND. t. vi. l. vi:

(A) With respect to the king's death there are a variety of different opinions. Some writers positively assert, that the duke of *Saxe-Lawenbourg* was the author: that he had entered himself as a volunteer in the *Swedish* service, under pretence of some affront given him by the emperor; and that *Oxenstiern* cautioned the king against confiding in a prince, whose desertion shewed how little he regarded the laws of honour. *Gustavus*, however, could not conceive, that a prince of his birth and general character, could possibly assume the character of a base assassin: he therefore suffered him constantly to attend his person, out of respect to his rank. It is the opinion of other writers, that having defeated the ene-

my's right wing, the king was posting with all expedition to the other wing, where the *Swedes* were put in confusion. On his way he met a company of Imperial horse, who ran him down, and trampled him under their feet. The most prevailing notion is, that receiving a pistol-bullet in the arm that shattered the bone, he endeavoured to conceal the wound for fear of dispiriting his troops; but overcome with the extremity of the pain, he was retiring from the field, when a soldier, who did not know him, levelled his piece, and killed him on the spot. Amidst such discordant assertions, it is impossible to ascertain the truth. Sufficient it is, that all agree the Imperialists were worsted before the king fell.

THE report of his death soon spread itself over the whole army: the Imperialists now made sure of the victory, but they were deceived. Animated by rage and despair the *Swedes* redoubled their efforts, and determined to perish or revenge their brave monarch. Their attack was furious and irresistible; the Imperialists were broke, defeated, and driven from the field, just as *Pappenheim*, with his fresh corps, came up to their assistance. This for a time stemmed the torrent; the action was renewed, and *Pappenheim* performed miracles, but he could not resist the impetuosity of the *Swedes*. He was mortally wounded, and the Imperialists a second time were defeated and dispersed, with the loss of nine thousand men slain in the field and pursuit. However, the victory was bloody, and indeed fatal to *Sweden* and the Protestant cause, as it was purchased with the life of the magnanimous *Adolphus*, the darling of his subjects, the terror of the house of *Austria*, and the admiration of *Europe*. It would be unnecessary to dwell upon his character; every action of his life displayed the hero, the statesman, and the sovereign; all was noble, sublime, and generous; even the shades of his reputation proceeded from a virtuous ambition, the inseparable attendant on true elevation of soul ^b.

S E C T IX.

Containing the Reign of Christina to her Abdication in the Year 1654.

State of Sweden; of the allies; and of the Imperialists.
A. D. 1633.

SWEDEN was plunged into the deepest affliction by the death of *Gustavus*. In an instant she beheld herself hurled from the summit of glory and power, to the dreadful condition of falling a prey to her neighbours, of being oppressed, ruined, and enslaved. The crown was settled upon a female infant; divisions were likely to arise about the tutelage of the queen; a foreign war exhausted the finances, depopulated the country, and destroyed commerce; and the nation was threatened with all the horrors of a tedious minority. The signal victory of *Lutzen*, and the unfortunate circumstances of the Imperialists, contributed however to support the spirits of the *Swedes*. Duke *Bernard* succeeded *Gustavus* in the command of the army; and he pursued the blow given at *Lutzen* with so much vigilance and address, that before the end of the year the enemy were almost entirely driven out of *Saxony* ^c.

BEFORE we proceed to military operations, it will be necessary to take a view of the situation of both parties after the death of *Gustavus*. Though the Imperialists were baffled in every endeavour, subsequent to the death of the *Swedish* monarch, yet they considered the loss of that prince as a real defeat to the allies, though the consequences of it did not immediately appear. They considered that this great event would breed division in the confederate army: that the *Swedish* peasants, no longer dazzled by the virtues of their monarch, would refuse paying the heavy taxes with which they were loaded, for the support of the war; that the *Swedish* troops perceiving themselves destitute of a head vested with sovereign authority, would relax in their discipline, grow turbulent and mutinous, and at last disperse themselves, wherever inclination, or the hope of plunder directed; and that *Denmark* would gladly seize this opportunity of resenting the distance at which she had long been kept by *Gustavus*. *Wallestein*, however, knew the valour of the *Swedish* troops, and the great abilities of the duke of *Weimar*. He foresaw, that if the issue of the war proved fortunate, yet it would probably be tedious and bloody: he therefore advised the emperor to propose an armistice, in order to settle the preliminaries of a general pacification. Instead of giving ear to this prudent advice, his Imperial majesty, full of hope that the occasion now offered of completing all his designs, made vigorous preparations for continuing the war. The *Spaniards* and the elector of *Bavaria* entered into his sentiments, and new levies were directly set on foot in every quarter.

ON the other hand, the Protestants of *Germany* were all in consternation: they had flattered themselves with the hope of securing their religion and liberty by means of *Gustavus*; they had even been so sanguine as to think of settling the Imperial diadem on the head of a Protestant; but now the foundation of that edifice, which they had reared with so much care and labour, was destroyed; their hopes were disappointed, because they saw no person capable of filling the vast chasm left by *Gustavus*. All the dissensions between the *Swedes* and *Germans* would be renewed; the latter could not think of giving the lead as usual to the former; yet they were sensible of the impossibility of succeeding without their assistance: they even saw unavoidable destruction before them, unless seconded by *Sweden*. Some were for profiting by the *Swedish* troops, keeping them in good humour until their views were accomplished, and then sending them back to their own country. Others pretending that the alliance with *Gustavus* was dissolved by his death, proposed treating separately of their affairs, which was the more necessary as the success which had hitherto attended their affairs was not owing to the power of *Sweden*, but to the personal valour and abilities of *Gustavus*. ^f

^b LOCCEN. l. ix. HARTE, l. ii. sub. fin.

^c Id. ibid. PUFFEND. l. vi. t. vi.

a As to *Denmark*, the policy of that court was very different from what the emperor expected. *Christian*, instead of giving ear to the proposals of the aulic council, flattered himself with the thoughts of reuniting the northern crowns by the marriage of the prince royal with the young queen of *Sweden*. *France* was secretly pleased with the death of *Gustavus*; but cardinal *Richelieu* still desired the continuance of the friendship of *Sweden*, as a proper balance to the power of the house of *Austria*. He knew that the diversion made by the *Swedes* alone, withheld the emperor from attacking *France* with all his forces. Besides, this minister regarded the troubles in the empire as a happy opportunity of extending the *French* dominions from the *Rhine* to the *Moselle*. By these, and a variety of other reasons, the king of *France* was induced to write to *Oxenstiern* and the *Swedish* generals, exhorting them
b steadily to pursue the plan so nobly laid, and hitherto so bravely and vigorously prosecuted, assuring them on his part of all possible assistance. Similar promises were made by *England* and *Holland*; and as to the king of *Poland*, he conceived some hopes of conquering *Sweden*; and he might perhaps have tried his fortune, had he not been harrassed by the *Muscovites*, who obliged him to defend his own dominions. But of all the powers in *Europe*, the *Russians* alone sincerely regretted the loss of *Gustavus*, whose virtues they admired, whose friendship they cultivated, and whose assistance they had reason to expect against the *Poles*, their ancient and inveterate enemy.

SUCH was the situation of *Europe*, with respect to *Sweden*, when *Christina*, at the age of six years, ascended the throne, and was publicly proclaimed. The regency was committed
c to the heads of the five colleges; namely, to the grand bailiff, the marechal, the high admiral, the chancellor, and the treasurer of the crown. The chief direction of affairs was intrusted to the chancellor *Oxenstiern*, whose prudence and great experience had rendered him equally the favourite of his late master and of the nation. *Oxenstiern* was at *Hanau* when he received the news of the king's misfortune. Though overwhelmed with grief, he did not neglect the interest of his country. His greatest apprehensions arose not so much from the power of the enemy as from their zeal and unanimity, and the discordant views and interests of the Protestant allies. The first act of the regency was to fix up placards against king *Sigismund* and his family. All correspondence with the kingdom of *Poland* was prohibited; and exhortatory letters were dispatched to all the governors of provinces,
d and bishops, to use their utmost endeavours in keeping the people in their duty and obedience to the government of *Christina*. Next they made great preparations for supporting the foreign war in which the kingdom was involved. This department, and the whole direction of affairs in *Germany*, was assigned to *Oxenstiern*, who was acquainted with the temper of the people, and the views and policy of the several princes, having resided for some time in quality of ambassador from *Gustavus* to the powers of the circles of the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*. All his prudence, however, was scarce sufficient to surmount the difficulties he had to encounter: the pride and dignity of electors and sovereign princes could not easily stoop to the direction of a private gentleman, a foreigner. The rivalry among
e the generals, most of whom were *Germans*, presented another obstacle: *Oxenstiern* foresaw, and resolved to overcome every thing by dint of vigilance, perseverance, and policy. In the present state of affairs it was next to impossible to preserve all their conquests in *Higher Germany*: to abandon them suddenly would expose the Protestant interest to great danger, dissolve the confederacy, and greatly endanger the safety of the *Swedish* army, by dispiriting the troops, and depriving them of a retreat. *Oxenstiern* proposed the absolute necessity of maintaining the alliance with the four circles of *Suabia*, *Franconia*, and the *Lower* and *Upper Rhine*. To deliberate on proper measures, he convoked an assembly at *Ulm*, which was afterwards transferred to *Heilbron*; and he laboured the more diligently to promote this meeting, because the elector of *Saxony* was endeavouring to get the chief direction of affairs into his own hands, by consent of the Protestant princes. That prince had, indeed,
f exerted fruitless attempts to break up the diet at *Heilbron*; the chancellor penetrated and defeated his designs, during a visit which he made to his electoral highness at *Dresden*. He made proposals to *Augustus*, but could only obtain shuffling answers, though supported by all the weight of the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who remained firm to the engagements contracted with *Gustavus Adolphus*. The elector of *Saxony* complained that *Oxenstiern* assumed too much power in *Germany*; and particularly resented, that a chancellor of *Sweden* should presume to hinder the duke of *Brunswic* from assembling the circle of *Lower Saxony*, under the pretext that the right of convoking was vested in the archbishop of *Magdeburgh*, now subject to the crown of *Sweden*.

Christina proclaimed queen of Sweden.

Oxenstiern conducts affairs with great prudence.

In defiance of all obstructions, *Oxenstiern* went on pursuing the interest of his country, and planning the means of retaining the *Swedish* conquests. His first step was to send back some regiments for the security of the kingdom, to detach the duke of *Lunenburgh* with 14,000 men, to drive the enemy out of *Lower Saxony* and *Westphalia*, and to send duke

^d LOCEN. *ibid.* PUFFEND. *ibid.*

Bernard with the remainder of the army into *Thuringia*, to act in conjunction with *Gustavus Horn*. Old count *Thurn* was appointed to command in *Silesia*, where the face of the *Swedish* affairs had hitherto born an unfavourable aspect. His chief object was to retrieve matters in that duchy, and at the same time to prevent the irruptions of the Imperialists into the *Marche* and *Pomerania*. *Gustavus Horn* had reduced the greater part of *Alsace*, and now entering *Suabia*, he defeated a body of *Bavarian* cavalry, commanded by general *Kempton*, preventing their taking quarters in the territory of *Wirtemberg*, and routing another entire regiment of dragoons, near *Simmeringen*. Nor was *George* duke of *Lunenburg* less successful in *Westphalia*, where he reduced several towns, defeated count *Mansfeld*, and laid siege to *Hamel*. The landgrave *William* over-run the greater part of the diocese of *Munster*; but nothing was transacted in *Silesia*, on account of the divisions which reigned between the *Swedes* and *Saxons*. *Arnheim* assumed a kind of despotic authority, affecting to employ the *Swedes* as auxiliaries; the *Swedes* resented his usage, looked upon themselves as principals, and assumed the lead, as they had done in the life time of their glorious monarch.

OXENSTIERN's prudent conduct managed the diet at *Hailborn* to the best advantage. A league was formed between *Sweden* and the four circles; the chief direction of affairs was intrusted to the chancellor, in quality of plenipotentiary from the queen of *Sweden*; but the assembly thought proper to assist him with a council elected by consent of the allies. *Franckfort* on the *Maine* was pitched upon for the place of his residence, and here he set about the necessary preparations. He had already discovered, that at *Dresden* they laboured to conclude a separate peace, to the exclusion of *Sweden*. This he opposed with all his might; and to fortify himself against all events, he re-established the children of *Frederic* count palatine in the electoral dignity, by which he hoped to secure the friendship of *England*, the states-general of the *United Provinces*, and the whole house of *Palatine*. He entered into treaty with *France*, and kept fair with *Denmark*, though he did not fail to watch narrowly the designs of the court of *Copenhagen*. His prudence quelled a dangerous tumult in the army under duke *Bernard* and *Horn*, supposed to be fomented by the latter, with a design of procuring the sole command; but all his caution could not foresee the disasters that fell out in *Silesia*, owing to the perfidy of *Arnheim*; who furnished *Wallenstein* with an opportunity of surprising and defeating the *Swedes*, and at last of drawing them out of the duchy.

THE loss on this side was ballanced by the advantages gained in another quarter, thro' the diligence of *Bauditz*, who defeated the Imperialists near *Andernach*. The landgrave *William* took *Paderborn* by assault, and *William* duke of *Weimar* repulsed a corps of Imperialists in *Franconia*. *Horn* and other *Swedish* generals made rapid conquests in different places; but the most important was the reduction of *Hamel*, which surrendered at discretion to the duke of *Lunenburg*, after he had defeated a party of 5000 men sent to its relief. In this action the enemy left three thousand men dead on the field of battle, though the victory was gained with no greater loss than three hundred men on the side of the allies. The city of *Osnabrug* was reduced by another body of *Swedes* under *Kniphausen*; and *Horn* made frequent successful invasions into the enemy's country, and would have certainly been in possession of the city of *Constance*, but for want of battering cannon. General *Altringer*, and a body of *Italians* under the duke *de Feria*, entered *Alsace*, with the intention to succour *Philipsburg* besieged by the *Swedes*; but they were baffled by the diligence of *Horn*, who drove them out of the country, pursued them across the *Rhine* to *Suabia*, and harassed their rear so grievously, that they were forced to throw themselves into *Bavaria*. Duke *Bernard* was so fortunate as to take *Ratisbon* by surprize, after which he ravaged *Bavaria*, and reduced *Straubingen* and *Deckendorf*; but he was deterred from pursuing his conquests by intelligence, that *Wallenstein* was on his way from *Bohemia* to attack him. Here the Imperial general had been extremely successful, over-running with astonishing rapidity a great number of towns and cities, insomuch that he might have penetrated to the *Baltic*, had he not been repulsed by the prudent measures taken by duke *Bernard*. Fortune, indeed, crowned with success the endeavours of the allies in every quarter, except in *Bohemia* and *Silesia*. In the latter, the war daily became more burthensome. *Arnheim* and the *Saxons* were grown bold in their treachery; they even almost avowedly kept up a correspondence with the enemy. Besides, *France* drained the country lying between *Basle* and the *Moselle*; *Holland* regarded the *Swedish* conquests with a jealous eye; *England* interposed indeed but little in the affairs of the continent, but the king expressed a partiality to the *Spaniards*. Even the elector of *Brandenburg* could not be relied upon, because he began to despair succeeding in the proposed union, between his son, the electoral prince, and the young queen of *Sweden*. All *Pomerania* declared against the *Swedes*; and a variety of other false friends, or avowed enemies, were now discovered, though the greatest troubles arose from the infidelity of the *Saxons*.

- a AMIDST all these difficulties, hedged in on every side by danger, and even weakened A. D. 1634. and exhausted by victory, *Oxenstiern* laboured to support the protestant interest, and to keep a confederacy, composed of so many members, closely united. One circumstance, however, merely accidental, contributed more to rouse their spirits and animate the *Swedes*, than all the endeavours of the chancellor. *Wallenstein*, by the machinations of his enemies, was disgraced at the Imperial court, deprived of the command of the army, and afterwards assassinated (A). It was expected that this event would have thrown the Imperialists into confusion, but it did not produce all the advantages hoped for by the allies, though it furnished duke *Bernard* with an opportunity of cutting in pieces a complete regiment of infantry. *Horn* was extremely fortunate in the *Upper Suabia*, and the rhingrave had one
- b continued flow of uninterrupted success in *Alsace*, where he defeated a body of Imperialists, and reduced several important places^a.

THESE various turns of fortune in the operations of the field, made no change in the proceeding of the assembly held at *Frankfort*. The chancellor had invited all the protestants to unite closely, in order to procure reasonable conditions of peace. The preliminaries were debated; but the rhingrave appeared too strongly attached to his own particular interest, to pay any regard to the common interest of the league. What occasioned the warmest dispute was, the compensation to be made to *Sweden* for having so freely lavished her blood and treasure for the support of the protestant powers of *Germany*. Some mentioned *Pomerania* as a province that would be extremely agreeable to that nation, on account of its situation with respect to the other territories of the *Swedish* crown in the *Baltic*; but the elector of *Brandenburgh* opposed, with all his interest, the giving a gratuity which must prove extremely prejudicial to him. Every other scheme met with similar objections, and almost the whole summer was consumed in those fruitless deliberations. In the beginning of autumn, the young king of *Hungary*, now at the head of the Imperial army, desirous of signalizing his valour, marched towards *Ratisbon*, and laid siege to that city with numerous forces. Immediately duke *Bernard* and *Horn* entered *Bavaria* to its relief, but too late; the *Swedish* garrison, after a vigorous defence, had surrendered before their arrival. Those two generals had besides the mortification to see their troops extremely harrassed by the enemy, prevented from foraging, and reduced to great necessities by the Imperialists posted

d at *Nordlingen*. This rendered the *Swedes* eager to come to a general action: every general in the army approved of attacking the enemy, except *Gustavus Horn*, who advised waiting for the rhingrave, now on his march with 4000 men, to reinforce the combined army. Even duke *Bernard* was for determining the fortune of the war by a single battle, and he was confirmed in this opinion by the fear of losing *Nordlingen*, which the Imperialists were besieging vigorously. A motion was made to take post on *Arensberg*, an eminence from whence they could easily succour the besieged. To execute this purpose, the duke, who commanded in the van, charged the Imperialists drawn up at the foot of the hill, and repulsed them with considerable loss, pursuing them beyond the eminence of which he was to take possession. *Horn* was for taking his station at *Arensberg*, as proposed in a

e council of war; but he was taxed with cowardice, and the unanimous voice was for pressing the advantage already obtained; at length *Gustavus Horn* unhappily yielded to their impetuosity. Determined to wipe off their reflections, he pushed on, to drive the *Spaniards* from an eminence on which they had fortified themselves the night preceding. From

f break of day till noon the *Swedes* fought with the utmost fury, repeatedly renewing the charge with such obstinacy, as they never upon any former occasion discovered, though all to no purpose. After the battle had raged for eight hours, and the field was covered with carnage, they were forced to abandon the enterprize, and pass through a valley to regain possession of *Arensberg*, where they ought at first to have remained. This design they must certainly have accomplished, had not the left wing, composed of *Germans*, been put in disorder, and the horse driven back on the foot. Then began a horrid slaughter, particularly of the *Swedish* infantry, of whom six thousand were left dead on the spot. A great number fell into the hands of the enemy, and among the prisoners was *Gustavus Horn*, whose valour had never appeared so conspicuous as when it proved unfortunate. All that conduct and courage could suggest he practised; he flew among the troops, reminded them of *Gustavus*, *Leipsic*, and *Lutzen*; they fought like men in despair, but it was impossible to redeem the error, so hard were they pressed by their own cavalry, and the whole weight of the enemy. All their artillery was lost, together with 130 standards, and other trophies, which were taken by the Imperialists; in a word, the defeat was total, and the blow so decisive, that the *Swedes* never afterwards appeared so formidable.

- g *OXENSTIERN*'s constancy was shaken by this sudden and unexpected misfortune; but he soon recovered, and instead of disbanding, applied diligently to repair the loss, by re-

The battle of Nordlingen.

The Swedes defeated.

^a PUFFEND. lib. vi. t. vi. LOCCEN. ibid.

(A) We have not entered into the particulars of this affair, which does not properly belong to the *Swedish* history. *Wallenstein* was said to have been assassinated by three *Scotch* officers, *Gordon*, *Lesley*, and *Butler*, a minute account of which the reader will find in the life of *Gustavus*, by Mr. *Harte*.

cruiting the army, and retaining the allies steady in their fidelity. The latter was the greater difficulty; the assembly at *Hailborn* seemed overwhelmed with consternation, deprived of every faculty, and waiting patiently to receive whatever conditions the conquerors chose to impose. *Oxenstiern* and the *Swedes* were accused as the authors of all their misfortunes, though a little before they were extolled as the sovereigns of *Germany*, and protectors of religion and liberty. The chancellor's chief aim was to gain time, and endeavour by all his address, to engage *France* in the quarrel, though he had hitherto tried to exclude that power from the affairs of the empire. By this means he hoped still to obtain an honourable peace, whereby *Sweden* might retain her conquests along the *Baltic*. With this view he refused, though strongly advised, to withdraw the troops from *Higher Germany*, from an apprehension, that if he evacuated all the places he possessed on that side, it would be difficult to draw *France* into the war, and impossible to keep the Imperialists from falling with their whole strength, upon *Lower Saxony*. Besides, the *Swedish* forces were still considerable, all the corps under duke *George*, *William* landgrave of *Hesse*, *Banier*, and the rhingrave, remaining complete, flushed with success, and, if united into one body, capable still of making head against the forces of the emperor. It was discord alone that rendered the *Swedish* affairs desperate, and the chancellor's schemes hazardous. The elector of *Saxony* was labouring to effect a peace, to the exclusion of *Sweden*. The confederates were slow in their deliberations; the enemy were suffered to penetrate into the heart of *Germany*, and thereby to prevent the junction of the allies; the more distant members of the league paid little regard to the chancellor's remonstrances; their troops, who had escaped from the defeat at *Nordlingen*, completed the misfortune on that occasion, by now growing mutinous for their pay, and refusing to march, until all their arrears were advanced. They were indeed supposed to act in consequence of secret instructions, and this made the disease more dangerous, because it lay deeper.

UNDER these circumstances the chancellor solicited the court of *Versailles*, to order the marshal *de la Force* to advance with his army, in order to afford the dispersed troops of *Sweden* an opportunity of rallying; and to give his request some weight, he offered *Philipsburgh*. The rhingrave too, perceiving the impossibility of preserving all his conquests in *Alsace*, ceded the whole province, except *Benfeld*, to the *French*, and marched with his army towards *Strasburg*. By this means the *Swedish* affairs were entirely ruined in *Higher Germany*, and the country of *Wirtemberg* over-run by the Imperialists. Duke *Bernard*, unable to support his troops in his present quarters, passed the *Rhine*, entered *Veteravia*, and proceeded to *Bergstrass*, where he remained inactive during the season. As to *Banier*, he had done little to retrieve the *Swedish* affairs, though he was at the head of a considerable army in *Bohemia*, from whence he passed into *Thuringia* after the battle of *Nordlingen*, the better to assist the confederates. However, he did not chuse to advance further, lest the enemy should cut off his communication with the *Baltic*. It was better, he thought, to maintain his posts, augment his army, and keep a strict watch over the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*. The conduct of the latter began to grow extremely mysterious, and the former had actually concluded a separate peace with the emperor at *Pirna*, which was afterwards ratified at *Prague*.

It was after this manner that the late defeat had introduced confusion into the *Swedish* affairs, by entirely changing the dispositions of the allies, shaking the constancy of those who had hitherto continued steady, and entirely detaching others who before were wavering. The states of *Sweden* and the chancellor now sought nothing so eagerly as an honourable peace; but the enemy, flushed with success, would hearken to no terms besides entire restitution, which *Sweden* was not yet reduced low enough to grant. Nothing, however, appeared so adviseable, as engaging *France* in the alliance, for which purpose *Oxenstiern* went in person to the court of *Lewis*, and concluded a treaty, that was never observed. His next care was to satisfy, if possible, the demands of the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*. *Augustus* could be yet gained, he imagined, were his pride and avarice sufficiently gratified; but all his endeavours to this purpose proved fruitless. Mean time the Imperialists failed directly before the gale of fortune, surprised *Philipsburgh*, where the *French* had laid up vast magazines, and reduced *Spires*, by which they secured a footing on the opposite side of the *Rhine*. The *Spaniards* surprised *Treves*, the city of *Augsburgh* was forced by famine to capitulate, *Wurtzburg*, *Coburgh*, *Pappenheim*, and other places, fell into the hands of the enemy. The landgrave of *Hesse* was reduced to extremities, duke *Bernard* made no progress; and the elector of *Saxony*, not satisfied with deserting the *Swedes*, joined the Imperialists, attempted to surprise *Halberstadt* and *Magdeburgh*, and establish a footing in *Thuringia*. All men were astonished to see this prince making vast preparations for war, at the very time he had concluded a treaty with the empire: but his motives were now obvious; he intended to assist in compelling the *Swedes* to quit *Germany*, should they refuse voluntarily to renounce their conquests, which had cost the kingdom so much blood and treasure. He

^c LOCEN. *ibid.* PUFFEND. *ibid.*

even

A. D. 1635.
Treaty with
France.

a even gained the elector of *Brandenburgh* to make favourable concessions to him with respect to *Pomerania*.

To encrease the misfortunes of *Sweden*, the neutrality for *Poland* was on the point of expiration; it was expected the *Poles* would immediately invade *Prussia*, to guard against which a powerful army was detached thither, under *la Gardie*; but as it could not be practicable to resist such a number of enemies, the chancellor purchased the friendship of *Poland* for twenty-six years, by ceding *Prussia* to that republic. *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, exerted their utmost influence to procure this cession; the first, in order to enable *Sweden* to continue the war in *Germany*; and the two last for commercial reasons, the *Swedes* having laid heavy duties upon all commodities imported to *Prussia*. Though by this means b the chancellor got rid of a powerful enemy, still he had vast difficulties to encounter. He could place confidence in none of the confederates; the army under *Banier* grew mutinous for want of pay, and he was totally destitute of money. Besides, the elector of *Saxony* was practising every art to seduce the army, and the troops had even presumed to enter upon a negotiation with *Augustus*, who flattered them with magnificent promises. It was likewise discovered, that the *Saxon* was endeavouring to cut off the communication of the *Swedes* with the *Baltic*, to prevent which *Oxenstiern* repaired with all diligence to *Wismar*, while *Banier* led his troops to the duchy of *Brunswic*, leaving a strong garrison in *Magdeburg*. Thus *Augustus* gained possession of both sides the *Elbe*, whereby he was enabled to disturb the *Swedish* general in his new quarters, and even to cut off all his resources. Sensible of the impending danger, *Banier* exerted every quality of a good officer, to extricate himself. Assembling his army, he pushed on to *Altemburgh*, where he defeated the van of the *Saxons*, and pursuing his advantage, detached all his cavalry and a thousand infantry, to attack a body of seven thousand *Saxons*, who crossed the *Elbe* with intention to surprise *Dormitz*. Here the *Swedes* displayed their usual gallantry; they attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that general *Bauditz*, who commanded the *Saxons*, was entirely defeated, with the loss of 1000 men left dead on the field, and 2500 prisoners, most of whom enlisted in the *Swedish* service. The consequences of this victory were important; the *Swedish* troops recovered their vigour, the *Saxons* were cleared out of *Mecklenburg*, driven beyond the *Elbe*, forced to take shelter in *Brandenburgh*, and winter-quarters were established for *Banier's* troops in the *Marche* d.

Banier defeats the Saxons.

NOTWITHSTANDING the affairs of *Sweden* assumed a happier aspect, *Oxenstiern* had still great difficulties to encounter, and the emperor gained an important point in bringing the *Swedes* and *Saxons* to an open rupture. By this means *Higher Germany* was entirely lost, and the crown of *Sweden* deprived of all her allies, except the landgrave of *Hesse*, who was almost overpowered by enemies. *France* was prevented from declaring against the emperor, by the designs she formed upon *Italy* and the *Netherlands*; *Holland* refused being concerned in the *German* war; and as to *England*, that kingdom began now to bleed under the scourge of civil divisions. For these reasons the chancellor refused to ratify the treaty with *France*, because that crown would not perform her engagements; however, he concluded an eventual treaty with *Chaumont*, the *French* ambassador, which was to be extended and enlarged in the space of three months. By this *Oxenstiern* gained time to establish the negotiation on a better footing, and to wait the event of his military operations, which were planned with such vigour as promised success. *Banier* was appointed to act on the *Elbe* with the main army; *Wrangel*, with a strong detachment, was destined to make a diversion on the banks of the *Oder*; and general *Lesley* was detached towards the *Wefer*, to drive the enemy out of *Westphalia*, or at least to preserve a footing in that country. Thus, although the *Swedes* had lost their allies, although their enemies were accumulated, yet they gained one very considerable advantage; it was that of sending their forces wherever they pleased, of pushing their operations with vigour, of levelling their blows against any part of the enemy's strength they thought proper, and of being unencumbered with litigious, false, useless friends, more pernicious to their affairs than open and avowed enemies. f

A. D. 1636.

EARLY in the spring the *Saxons* began certain motions which indicated an intention to cut off *Banier's* communication with *Pomerania*. This he perceived; but, not chusing to hazard a battle, he resolved to baffle their designs by a stratagem. With this view he marched with his infantry to *Werben*, ordering the cavalry to repair with all diligence to *Magdeburgh*, and to seize the bridge to keep the communication between the two corps open. In his march he defeated a body of the enemy, and then posted himself at *Hall*; which obliged the *Saxons* to return to *Wittemberg*. Their intention was to give battle to the *Swedes*, and the armies lay encamped within sight, only divided by the *Sala*; they attempted to pass the river, but were always repulsed. After some time spent in this situation, *Banier* removed his quarters to the opposite side of the river, to canton his troops, and the g

^d PUFFEND. tom. vi. lib. 6.

Saxons went to winter-quarters, where they were beat up, and defeated by the *Swede*, together with a body of Imperialists come to their assistance. *Banier* now in the midst of winter made several brisk motions, which extremely harrassed and perplexed the enemy, but produced no general action. *Kniphausen* beat the Imperialists in *Westphalia* after an obstinate conflict, in which they lost 15 0 of their best soldiers; but unfortunately he was killed in the pursuit, and his troops were oblig'd to repass the *Wefer*. Some advantages likewise were gained by general *Lesly*, in the neighbourhood of *Minden*, where he had assembled a considerable army; in a word, the *Swedish* operations were this year every where more vigorous and fortunate than in the former.

To the successes already mentioned, duke *Bernard* added some others, obtained in *Lorraine* and *Alsace*, over the Imperial general count *Gallas*, whom he attacked and defeated, dispersing his army. But these advantages were ballanced by some losses on the side of *Saxony*. *Magdeburgh*, contrary to the expectation of all men, surrendered to the elector for want of powder, which the garrison had wantonly consumed. *Banier* advanced to the relief of the city; but finding it had surrendered, and that he was too weak to make head against the enemy, he recalled *Lesley* from *Westphalia*, and marched to *Werben*, to facilitate a junction. Hearing that the *Saxons* had made conquests on the farther side of the *Elbe*, he hastened to *Domitz*, to prevent that important place from falling into their hands. This motion obliged the *Saxons* to turn towards *Mecklenburgh*; upon which the *Swede* repassed the *Elbe*, and went to meet *Wrangel*, whom he expected from *Pomerania*. The enemy had seized a very advantageous post in the neighbourhood of *Perleberg*, from whence they hoped gradually to destroy the *Swedish* army, and reduce the duchies of *Mecklenburgh* and *Pomerania*. They doubted not of forcing the *Swedish* garrisons by famine, and flattered themselves, that, when they were reinforced by the Imperialists, they should be in a condition to defeat the whole *Swedish* army, should *Banier* venture to give battle. The *Swede*, however, determined to try his fortune rather than suffer by scarcity in his camp. He advanced towards *Perleberg*, closely blocked up by the enemy; and drove from a convenient post four regiments of *Saxon* cuirassiers, with the loss of 400 men. His army amounted to 9000 horse and 7000 foot; a force greatly inferior to that of the *Saxons*, whose number exceeded 13 battalions and 15000 horse, all encamped in a strong situation. *Banier* endeavoured to draw them to a battle upon equal terms, and with this view attacked *Havelberg* and the fortress of *Werben*. This produced the effect; the enemy marched out of their camp to cover a detachment sent to *Old Brandenburg*, and the *Swede* seizing an eminence, to prevent their return, forced them to engage. As their post was covered by a forest, he marched along the skirts of the wood, to attack them in flank, ordering the other wing to make a circuit to the right, in order to possess a post which must greatly incommode the *Saxons*. The battle began with great fury, and was continued with obstinacy by the *Swedes*, who had almost sunk under the weight of numbers before they could be seconded by the left wing. Ten times they returned to the charge, and at last pushed with such vigour, that the enemy were broke, put in confusion, and defeated. In the pursuit the carnage was terrible; five thousand *Saxons* perished by the sword, three thousand were wounded, and near as many taken, together with one hundred and fifty standards and colours, and several pieces of cannon.

*Banier defeats
the Saxons.*

A. D. 1637.

So signal a victory obtained over an enemy greatly superior, and finely situated, restored the lustre of the *Swedish* arms, and raised *Banier* to the highest pitch of reputation. The consequences of this victory were extremely important; the courage of the *Swedes* recovered; the states of *Higher Germany* entertained hopes they might again be able to re-establish their affairs; *France* and *Holland* seemed to declare more openly in favour of *Sweden*; and the vast designs formed by the king of *Denmark* vanished into smoke. *Banier* was also enabled to repass the *Elbe*, to penetrate into *Thuringia*, and to chase the Imperialists through *Hesse* into *Westphalia*. Thus were all the emperor's vast expectations disappointed. He flattered himself, that the *Saxons* would not only be able to drive the *Swedes* out of *Germany*, but likewise give a dangerous blow to *France*, while count *Gallas* might, with a considerable army, make an irruption into *Burgundy*. The *Saxons* were cut in pieces; and as to *Gallas*, he returned from his expedition with about half his army, the rest having perished by the sword and famine.

DURING the winter some fruitless negotiations were set on foot; but *Oxenstiern* finding there was no prospect of peace, and that the Imperialists and *Saxons* were assembling, to strike some decisive blow early in the spring, he ordered *Banier* to exert his utmost endeavours to disarm the princes of *Lunenburgh*, and the electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Saxony*. *Banier's* numbers were very unequal; yet he did not content himself with acting defensively. Quitting winter quarters early in the season, he fell upon eight regiments of *Saxons*, cantoned at *Eulenburgh*, pursued them to *Torgau*, and there obliged them to surrender at discretion. The officers he dismissed, but the greater part of soldiers enlisted,

^f PUFFEND. uli supra.

a and were incorporated in the *Swedish* regiment. He defeated another party of *Saxons* in the territory of *Henneberg*, after which he proposed investing *Leipsic*; but his design was frustrated by the Imperialists, who penetrated through *Westphalia* into *Thuringia*. This determined him to call in his detachments, and endeavour to prevent the enemy from crossing the *Sala*; but though he was baffled in this attempt, he had the good fortune to defeat 2000 Imperialists near *Pegau*, and destroy several detachments that attempted to obstruct his march.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these advantages and unexpected rapid successes, *Banier* was greatly embarrassed. He assembled his army in the neighbourhood of *Torgau*, where he perceived he must, in a short time, be necessarily hemmed in by the enemy, whose forces were daily augmenting. It added greatly to the perplexity of his situation, that he could neither enter into the *Marche* nor into *Pomerania*, both which were totally destitute of the necessaries for supporting an army. *Westphalia* was at too great a distance, and besides entirely out of the course he proposed. He therefore resolved to wait in his present encampment until he could be joined by *Wrangel*, and enabled to hazard a battle. Every thing that sagacity could foresee, or prudence direct, was effected; but the enemy gradually straitened his quarters, and *Banier* found that he should be forced singly to sustain the whole weight of the Imperialists and their allies. He might indeed have penetrated into *Higher Germany*, and joined duke *Bernard*; but his orders were express, the regency enjoining him to be particularly careful of all that *Sweden* possessed towards the *Baltic*. To ward against the impending danger, he decamped with precipitation from *Torgau*, and directed his course to *Pomerania*. The enemy pursued; but the address and celerity of *Banier* saved his army. In the day he made several motions which deceived the Imperialists, and at night, by forced marches, left them far behind, and uncertain with respect to his destination. Once his rear was attacked; but the *Swedes* behaved with such gallantry, that the enemy were repulsed with great slaughter. At length he got to *Lower Pomerania*, after having escaped the most pressing dangers, and soon obliged count *Gallas* to evacuate the province; but the future misfortunes of *Wrangel* brought the *Swedish* affairs again into the most critical situation.

Critical situation of Banier.

WHEN *Gallas* quitted *Pomerania*, *Wrangel* imagining himself perfectly secure, cantoned his troops and extended his quarters, the better to accommodate his army. While he was thus circumstanced, a *Pomeranian* gentleman gave notice of his situation to *Gallas*, and undertook to guide him, through a secret path, into the province; which he accordingly executed. The Imperialists soon over-ran the country, and the *Swedes* were overwhelmed with terror and consternation. Deprived of all power of reflection by the celerity of the blow, *Wrangel* took no measures of opposition; *Usedom*, *Wollin*, and *Demmin* fell into the enemy's hands, the *Higher Pomerania* was entirely ravaged, and *Gallas* returned to his quarters in *Saxony*, after leaving garrisons in the principal fortresses. The *Swedish* affairs were now again reduced to a deplorable situation; to add to their misfortunes, a new enemy appeared, duke *George* declaring openly for the Imperialists. All their forts on the *Rhine* were likewise abandoned to the enemy, because *France* did not support duke *Bernard*, as he expected, upon crossing that river. To complete their perplexity, the duke of *Pomerania* dying, involved them in a particular quarrel with the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who laid claim to all the dominions of the deceased. Several princes indeed offered their mediation to accomplish a peace; but, as matters were not yet ripe, the *Swedes* tried to draw *France* into a closer alliance, and by this means to obtain better conditions. In the end, the treaty with the *French* king was extended to the space of three years, and a resolution taken to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour.

BANIER was forced to lie quiet during the winter, in expectation of a reinforcement from *Sweden*. The Imperialists profited by his inaction, and seized upon *Gartz*; but they were so afflicted with a pestilential disease that raged in their camp, that an army of 18,000 horse and foot was reduced to half the number. When *Banier* was reinforced, he put the recruits into garrison, and took the field with his veterans, marched to *Gartz*, and took the place by assault. He next penetrated into *Higher Pomerania*, seized upon all the passes, pushed into the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, defeated the Imperialists, and obliged *Gallas* to retire with the loss of 3000 men, killed and taken prisoners. He pursued his good fortune, and so harassed the count, that he obliged him to repass the *Elbe* in great disorder, and take shelter in the hereditary dominions of the house of *Austria*. Fortune once more smiled upon the *Swedes*. *Banier's* successes, though inconsiderable, were nothing to what duke *Bernard* performed. That general had so augmented his army in the protestant cantons of *Switzerland* and in *Franche Compté*, that he was in a condition to act without the assistance of the *French*. He supported himself wholly by his own sagacity and activity; and resolved that all his successes should confessedly flow entirely from his

He defeats count Gallas. A. D. 1638.

Victories obtained by duke Bernard.

^a LOCEN. lib. ix. PUFFEND. tom. vi. lib. 6. MOD. HIST. VOL.

^b Idem. ibid. Mem. de Christine, par Arkenholtz, tom. i. own

own merit. With this view he advanced to the *Rhine*, seized upon *Laffenburgh* and *Seckingen*, and laid siege to *Rheinfeld*. The Imperialists, in conjunction with the troops of *Bavaria*, came to the relief of the besieged; the duke gave them battle, and the victory was disputed; the enemy threw in succours into the town, and the duke chose to raise the siege voluntarily, that he might not weaken his army. However, he gave the enemy battle a second time within a month, entirely defeated them, and obtained so complete a victory, that only one imperial officer above the rank of a captain escaped being killed or taken prisoner. Among the latter were *Savelli* and the famous partizan *John de Weert*. *Bernard* resumed the siege, and not only reduced *Rheinfeld*, but a variety of other important places. Next he marched to *Brisac*, which he blocked up with intention to starve the garrison to submission. General *Gotz* endeavoured with a strong convoy to throw in 1000 waggons of provision, but he was defeated with such slaughter, that out of 12,000 men, only 2500 escaped; the rest were killed or made prisoners. Duke *Charles* of *Lorraine* made a second attempt to relieve this town, of so much consequence to the emperor. He joined the remains of the imperial army, with 4000 men at *Thann*, where he was surprised by duke *Bernard*, and his whole army cut in pieces. A third attempt to relieve *Brisac*, was made by *Gotz*, but it proved as unsuccessful as the former; he was repulsed with great loss; and the garrison, after suffering the utmost extremity of want, was forced to surrender at discretion ^c.

A. D. 1639.

NOTHING could be more seasonable or glorious than this course of victory; the Imperialists were every where defeated on the banks of the *Rhine*, and in the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*; and now the two victorious generals, *Bernard* and *Banier*, concerted attacking the enemy on their own ground, and penetrating to the heart of the *Austrian* dominions. In the month of *January*, *Banier* crossing the *Elbe*, made an irruption into the territories of *Anhalt* and *Halberstadt*. Leaving his infantry and cannon behind, he pushed on with his cavalry, and surprised *Salis*, grand master of the imperial artillery, in the neighbourhood of *Oelmütz*. The conflict was bloody, no less than seven regiments of the enemy being cut in pieces. He next entered *Saxony*, penetrated to the suburbs of *Dresden*, where he defeated four regiments of *Saxons*, obliging a larger corps to take refuge under the cannon of that city. He undertook the siege of *Freyberg*; but quitted the enterprise, on advice that *Hatfield* was posting from *Westphalia* to its relief. This suggested the resolution of marching towards *Zeitz* to join his infantry. While he remained in this post, advice was received ^d that the *Saxons* were encamped near *Chemnitz*, where they waited to be joined by the Imperialists under *Hatfield*. To prevent this junction he attacked them, and after an exceeding bloody action, obtained a complete victory, only a very small number of the enemy escaping. This success was followed by divers others. *Banier* made an irruption into *Bohemia*, where he laid great part of the country under contribution. Then returning he crossed the *Elbe*, and fell upon general *Hofskirk*, encamped with ten regiments of horse and several battalions of foot, near *Brandeburg*. The action was maintained with great obstinacy, both sides fought with the utmost intrepidity; but in the end the Imperialists were forced to yield to the fortune of the *Swedes*, and with the loss of 2000 men, leave him an undisputed victory. He pursued them to the walls of *Prague*, and took *Hofskirk* and *Monteculi* prisoners. To draw the war into *Silesia* and *Moravia*, *Banier* repassed the *Elbe*, and marched towards these countries, but he had not all the success with which he flattered himself. The enemy's forces multiplied daily, and it was impossible for him, with inferior numbers, to extend himself to all the places that required his presence. The protestants had promised him great assistance, but they were over-awed by the enemy. No insurrection appeared in his favour, either in *Silesia* or *Bohemia*, as he expected; yet he was not discouraged. All that could be expected from him in such circumstances, he performed. He defeated a body of imperialists at *Glatz*; three several times he drove the *Saxons* from their camp at *Tirn*, and yet was forced to evacuate the place, because he could not spare a garrison. However, with his little army, he reduced a great number of towns, and obtained ^f a variety of other advantages, when of a sudden his whole hopes were blasted by the immature death of the duke of *Weimar*, who fell a sacrifice to the jealousy and ambition of the *French*, as is asserted by *Puffendorf*, and divers other historians. *Brisac*, where duke *Bernard* had lately acquired so much glory, was now the occasion of his fall. *France* had an eye upon that place; but the duke strenuously opposed their designs, and so closely watched their motions, that it was thought necessary to remove him by poison, the better to accomplish their purposes. This at least is the assertion of *Puffendorf*; and it was the general opinion at the time, that the body of this hero had all the marks of poison ^g.

His death distresses the Swedes.

It was now disputed to whom the army should belong. It had always been called *Weimar's* army, though the troops were levied by *Sweden*, had taken an oath to the crown, and were acting in the same cause with the *Swedish* forces under *Banier*. The duke, however,

^c Loccen. lib. ix.

^d Comment de reb. Succ. lib. xi. sect. 39.

claimed

a claimed the supreme direction, the soldiers obeyed him implicitly, and he supported them by contributions, and at his own expence, without any charge to the crown. Thus he was regarded rather as an ally than a dependent; his friendship was courted by both parties; but he adhered with great constancy to the *Swedes*, from a fixed rivetted aversion to the court of *Vienna*. The *French* monarch and the elector *Palatine* now appeared candidates for the disposal of this army; and the former, after arresting the elector, entered upon engagements with *Erac*, the commanding officer after the duke's death, and disposed of his troops and conquests as he thought proper. No sooner were the *French* in possession of *Brisac*, and the other places reduced in the last campaign by *Bernard*, than they forgot all their great promises to his army, and even strove by every artifice to
b destroy it, lest it might again become formidable.

BESIDES being disappointed of the expected assistance from duke *Bernard*, *Banier* had other difficulties to encounter. The imperial army under *Piccolomini* was prodigiously augmented in the *Netherlands*, and the archduke *Leopold William*, in quality of generalissimo, was assembling his utmost strength to oppose the *Swedes*, or rather to crush them at one blow. The danger was the greater, because there remained no means of making a diversion, and dividing the enemy. Want of forage obliged him to evacuate *Bohemia*, and abandon all the designs formed upon that kingdom. His cavalry was his chief strength, and prudence dictated that he should be cautious of troops, upon which every thing depended. At first he entertained thoughts of penetrating to the *Danube*, but on more
c mature reflection he preferred the route of *Misnia*, in order to have the *Weimar* army and the troops of *Hesse* nearer. Duke *George* of *Lunenburgh* had likewise conceived some disgust at the conduct of the emperor; *Banier* was not without hope he might be able to gain him, and this was a further inducement to approach nearer to his country. Before he quitted *Bohemia*, he fell upon a body of *Croats* of 3000 men, which he cut in pieces. General *Konigsmark* also was fortunate; returning from *Westphalia*, he first defeated the Imperialists at *Gera*; a second time he routed them at *Scholen*, and a third time obtained a complete victory near *Leipsic*. This success infused spirits into the *Swedes*; *Banier* entered *Misnia*, and dispersed his troops along the *Mulda*, having first detached nine regiments under *Wittemberg* to *Voightland*. Here he strongly solicited the allies to join him, and more
d pressingly renewed his instances, upon advice that *Piccolomini* had invaded *Voightland*, and driven *Wittemberg* out of the country. His intreaties succeeded; the *Weimar* army, under the dukes of *Longueville* and *Gubrien*, the *Russians* led by general *Melander*, and the troops of *Lunenburgh*, commanded by general *Klitzing*, joined him at *Erfort*. Now his army was once more equally brilliant and formidable, being composed of twenty-two battalions of infantry and 22,000 horse, all stout men, well mounted and accoutred. Nothing but unanimity was wanting to procure success; all unfortunately claimed a superiority; none chose to be directed by another; each entertained the highest notion of his own merit, and thought to display his judgment by proposing some new plan of operations. *Banier*, in a word, increased his numbers, but he gained little additional strength, as he was not
e allowed to follow the suggestions of his own genius, and to strike those sudden blows which distinguish the master in the military art. After long debates, it was at last agreed, that they should attack the enemy encamped at *Sasfeld*. With this view he seized upon an eminence at a distance, from whence they began a violent cannonading, and then attacked the intrenchments, sword in-hand; but the artillery did little execution, and the Imperialists had made their intrenchments too strong to be easily forced. In this situation both armies continued, until a scarcity prevailed in each camp. There seemed to be a kind of rivalry which army could longest endure the pressure of famine; but on the side of the allies the stay proceeded from irresolution, and divisions among the generals. *Banier*, however, resolved not to expose his troops any longer. He set out through *Thuringia* for *Franconia*, to seize
f upon an advantageous post on the *Maine*; but as he advanced to the *Sala*, he perceived the enemy occupied the opposite side. They were intrenched, and it was impossible for him to force a passage; he, therefore, marched through *Hesse*, where his army suffered greatly by famine. To extricate himself from this difficulty, he proposed fighting the enemy to the landgrave of *Hesse* and the duke of *Lunenburgh*; but finding them averse to this measure, he pretended he would cross the *Wefer* and the *Elbe*, with the *Swedish* army, by which the allies would be left exposed to the mercy of the confederates, and thereby obliged the princes to be more pliant. The Imperialists were endeavouring to penetrate into *Lunenburgh*; *Banier's* diligence baffled their endeavours. He prevented their crossing the *Wefer*, and refreshed his own army in the duchy, which had not yet been
ghausted by hostile armies^a.

A. D. 1640.

Further operations in the field.

ALL this time the Imperialists were pinched with hunger on the opposite side the river, and extremely harrassed by the perpetual alarms given by the *Hessians*, which determined them

^a PUFFEND. *ibid*.

to return to *Franconia*. On their march they were attacked by the army of *Weimar*, and though not actually defeated, they were exceedingly roughly handled. *Banier*, that he might no longer be an expence to his ally, quitted *Lunenburgh*, entered the territory of *Culmbach*, and there remained inactive for the season.

A. D. 1641. EARLY next year, *Banier* made an attempt on *Ratisbon*, while the diet sat there, presided by the emperor. The enterprize carried some appearance of success, as the Imperialists were then dispersed in winter-quarters, and the *Danube* was frozen over. Just as his advanced-guard was ready to cross the river, a sudden change of weather baffled the design, and greatly endangered the *Swedish* army. The ice broke while they were upon it, but fortunately none perished, and such vast pieces floated down with the stream, as rendered it impossible to throw a bridge over. But though he failed in this spirited enterprize, *Banier* did not despair of penetrating into *Bavaria*, and he must have succeeded had not *Gubrien*, with the troops of *Weimar*, separated themselves from him, without regard to their own interest or his remonstrances. Mean time the enemy assembled with great expedition at *Ingolstadt* and *Ratisbon*. They were greatly superior in numbers, and *Banier* was in the utmost danger. To avoid certain ruin, and the total destruction of his army, there remained no other method than returning with all possible activity, through deep broken roads, scarce passable in the rainy season. All his detachments were ordered to follow through the great forest of *Bohemia*; but colonel *Slang*, with three regiments, was overtaken by the enemy, besieged in *Newburgh*, and after a gallant and obstinate defence, by which he saved the *Swedish* army, was taken prisoner with his whole corps. Had the enemy marched directly to *Cham*, instead of suffering themselves to be amused at *Newburgh*, *Banier* must inevitably have lost great part of his infantry and all the artillery; yet, after he escaped this danger, a corps of 10,000 imperial irregulars harassed the skirts of his army, though they never ventured upon an attack. At last the *Swedes*, after a long, fatiguing, and hazardous march, reached *Annaberg*, having traversed the whole forest of *Bohemia*, and passed the river *Eger*. Their rapidity baffled the designs of *Piccolomini*, who had taken a shorter route, in hopes of intercepting them at *Prieznitz*. At the persuasion of *Konigsmark*, the army of *Weimar* again joined *Banier*, by which he was once more enabled to face the enemy. The duke *de Gubrien*, when too late, perceived the error he had committed, in not permitting the war to be carried into the hereditary dominions; but this, though attended with unfortunate consequences, was trifling to what the confederates were now about to suffer. Duke *George* of *Lunenburgh* breathed his last, and with him perished all hope of assistance from that family; and what was still more unfortunate, the active intrepid *Banier* was seized with a dangerous acute fever, at the time his abilities were most wanted. ^f He died soon after upon a march, not without suspicion that both he and the duke of *Lunenburgh* had been poisoned (A).

Banier dies.

THE loss of their brave general was a terrible blow to the *Swedish* army, at a juncture when the troops became mutinous for their pay, and there was no money. The respect which the soldiers and inferior officers entertained for his character, was evinced by the licentious humour they discovered the moment he was laid in the ground. The colonels entered into a kind of league not to obey the four major-generals, and to oblige them to advance their pay. They likewise proposed taking separate commands, and dividing the army into as many corps as it contained regiments; but this scheme was broke by the vigilance of *Wrangel*, *Konigsmark*, *Wittenberg*, and *Pfuhl*, who gained the affections of the soldiers, and persuaded them against measures which would necessarily render them an easy prey to the enemy. In such circumstances it was not possible that the Imperialists could remain inactive. The opportunity was favourable, and *Piccolomini* was too prudent to suffer it to escape. He attacked and cut in pieces a *Swedish* detachment at *Quiedlenberg*, after which he proposed falling upon the main army, but was disappointed by the excellent and expeditious retreat made by the *Swedish* generals. Afterwards a detachment was sent to beat up the quarters of the *Hessians*, notwithstanding the emperor was at that time negotiating a treaty with them and the *Lunenburghers*; but *Wrangel* and *Konigsmark*, having some intimation of the design of the Imperialists, threw themselves in their way, and obtained a complete victory, at the expence of 2000 men to the enemy. This advantage, however, did not retrieve the *Swedish* affairs; they were daily declining for want of a general, and anarchy and confusion threatened the dissolution of a body of men, who had for so many years been the terror of *Germany*, and the admiration of *Christendom*. The emperor by his solicitations, and the *Danish* monarch by the strength of magnificent promises, endeavoured to debauch the minds of the soldiers.

^f PUFFEND. Comment. de reb. Suec. lib. xii. sect. 4. LOCCEN. lib. ix.

(A) *Puffendorf* insinuates, that both drank poison at an entertainment to which they were invited at *Hildesheim*; but the conjecture is supported by no other authority, and it is certain that *Banier's* disorder was a

fever, contracted by the cold and fatigue he sustained in the tedious march through the *Bohemian* forest. Such hints ought never to be dropped from an historian, but upon the clearest presumptions.

Division

- a Division reigned among themselves, and the troops were destitute of money, cloaths, and provisions; it was, therefore, with the utmost difficulty, the generals could prevent their dispersing or deserting in whole regiments to the enemy, until the arrival of the new commander in chief, *Leonard Torstenzon*, from *Sweden*. To give this general credit with the army, he was furnished with a large sum of money, and accompanied by a strong reinforcement. The *Weimar* army, however, separated from the *Swedish* army, and thus the design he had formed of immediately giving battle to the enemy was defeated. Nor were the *Swedes* more fortunate in *Silesia*, though general *Stalbanck* laboured with extreme diligence to put affairs in the best posture. The enemy were incomparably stronger; they laid siege to all the fortresses possessed by the *Swedes*, and reduced them gradually, without scarce any resistance from the army in the field; *Stalbanck* being forced to retire to the marche of *Brandenburgh*, where happily for him he found shelter under the wing of the young elector, who had determined to observe a neutrality with the crown of *Sweden* g.

Torstenzon is sent to command the Swedish army.

In the winter, a negotiation between the court of *Vienna*, and the princes of the house of *Lunenburgh*, was set on foot at *Gotzlar*, and greatly forwarded by the inactivity of *Torstenzon*, who was forced to remain idle the whole preceding autumn, on account of his inferiority, and a dangerous gout, which confined him to his chamber. A report was spread of his death, which encouraged the imperialists to begin a long march, through roads scarce passable, in hopes of surprizing the *Swedish* army without a leader, and in the utmost confusion. They were further induced to this attempt by a traiterous correspondence they maintained with certain *Swedish* officers, particularly with colonel *Seckendorf*, who was discovered, seized, and executed publicly at the head of the army. The criminal pleaded his intention of drawing the enemy into an ambuscade; but it was answered, that he ought to have apprised the general of his design, in order that the army might be put in a proper posture, and the necessary measures taken. It was too plain, indeed, that he was guilty, and his papers proved that he had been corrupted. Upon this discovery, *Torstenzon* advanced to *Arnsee*, and occupied a post that could not be forced: upon which the Imperialists finding they could execute nothing, crossed and proceeded to *Tangermonde*. They made a feint, as if they proposed falling into the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, and attacking the maritime towns; but *Torstenzon*, penetrating their real design, was not to be moved from his advantageous situation. In a word, they suffered equally by this harassing march, as if they had fought a bloody battle. Upon the enemy's retreat, *Torstenzon*, by a fine manœuvre, which shewed him no unworthy successor of *Banier*, fell upon *Silesia*, joined *Stalbanck*, who had been driven out of the country, reduced great *Glogau* with uncommon vigour and celerity, took a great number of other important places, and then laid siege to *Schweidnitz*. The duke of *Saxe-Lawenburgh* endeavouring, at the head of all his cavalry, to throw in succours, was defeated with the loss of 3000 men killed in the field and the pursuit, which continued for the space of five leagues. The duke himself was taken prisoner, and died a few days after, of the wounds he received in the engagement, and chagrin at his disappointment. With him perished all the vast designs which he had formed, at the suggestion of *Arnheim*, of driving the *Swedes* out of the empire.

His conquests.

- e In consequence of the duke's defeat, *Schweidnitz* surrendered at discretion, and *Torstenzon* sending a detachment to invest *Neisse*, marched with the main army to pursue his blow, and compel the imperialists to evacuate *Silesia*. This he effectually performed, obliging them to retire precipitately over barren mountains, harassed by his light troops, and almost famished for want of provision, by which he entirely ruined the wretched remains of this lately victorious army. Resolved to carry all before him, he rushed like a torrent into *Moravia*, and in five days reduced the strong town of *Olmütz*, which in our memory has sustained a siege for as many weeks, though invested by the finest army under one of the most experienced generals in *Europe*. *Litta* and *Newstadt* met with the same fortune, a sure footing was established in the province, upon which the *Swedes* returned suddenly to *Silesia*, where they reduced *Oppelen*, *Brieg*, and laid siege to *Breslau*. Here the garrison made so vigorous a defence, that the imperialists, under the conduct of the archduke *Leopold*, had time to assemble and march to their relief. *Torstenzon* was greatly inferior in point of numbers, he dreaded the consequences of a defeat, avoided battle with great address, and raised the siege, but with so formidable a countenance, that the enemy did not presume to molest his retreat, or oppose his encamping on a fine situation, at the confluence of the *Neisse* and the *Oder*. The enemy embraced this opportunity of laying siege to great *Glogau*; but after having spent several days before that place, and losing a great number of men, they were forced to abandon the enterprize upon the junction of *Wrangel* and *Torstenzon*, by which the *Swedish* army was put in a condition to offer battle. It was now that *Torstenzon* projected the scheme of penetrating into *Bohemia*, and

g PUFFEN. Comment. de reb. Succ. lib. xii. sect. 4. LOCCEN. lib. ix.

wintering in that kingdom; a design that was frustrated by the vigilance of the enemy, though he had taken every measure that human prudence and foresight could direct. However, he was so fortunate as to reduce *Zittau*, where for the first time a cartel was established for the exchange of prisoners, by which the *Swedish* army was considerably augmented^a.

The Swedes
obtain a second
victory at
Leipfic.

PERCEIVING with regret that he could neither force his way into *Bohemia*, nor draw the enemy into a battle, *Torstenfon* descended along the *Elbe*, crossed the river at *Torgau*, and directed his march to *Leipfic*, with intention to invest that important city, and at the same time make a diversion in favour of *Konigsmark*, whom he had sent to *Lower Saxony*. Immediately the archduke and *Piccolomini* assembled all their forces, and set out for *Saxony*, to the relief of *Leipfic*. On their approach, the *Swede* drew his army out of the intrenchments upon that very plain where *Gustavus Adolphus* had a few years before obtained a celebrated victory. The very sight of a spot so glorious to the *Swedes*, animated them with a double portion of courage, and made them eager to engage with greatly disproportioned forces. Nor were the imperialists backward to come to blows, as they knew that *Torstenfon* would soon be reinforced with the *Weimar* army, and the troops under *Gubrien*. A furious cannonading announced the battle, both sides plying their artillery with equal dexterity and vigour. One single bullet had almost proved fatal to *Sweden*, and insured a defeat: it carried away the furniture of *Torstenfon's* horse, killed the count *Palatin's* horse, pierced general *Rabenau* through the body, and swept off the head of the celebrated counsellor *Crabbe*, besides carrying away the leg of a private soldier. The *Swedish* right wing, led on by *Wittemberg* and *Stalbanck*, began the attack, and pushed it with such impetuosity, that the enemy were put in disorder, and rallied with the utmost difficulty by the archduke in person. On the other side, the left gave way to the irresistible weight of the enemy, who poured down with the whole strength of the right wing and center; but the *Swedish* infantry pushing into the chasm left between the wings of the imperialists, soon retrieved the face of affairs, and broke the enemy, surrounded their flank, made terrible slaughter, and gained a complete victory. The imperialists retreated in great confusion; they left 5000 men dead on the field, among whom were several officers of distinction, near 3000 were wounded, and an equal number taken prisoners; but the fatigue the *Swedes* had undergone, the great number of their wounded, and the swiftness of the enemies flight, prevented their pursuing their advantage. This victory was not obtained without bloodshed; it cost the *Swedes* the lives of near 2000 brave soldiers, among whom was included the intrepid *Lilienbock*, grand master of the artillery^b.

THE important victory of *Leipfic* was succeeded by the immediate surrender of that city, where *Torstenfon* refreshed his army, before he undertook the intended expedition to *Bohemia*. Having given his troops sufficient breathing, he proceeded to *Freyburg*, in hopes that place, in which the enemy had amassed large magazines, would surrender in a few days; however, the siege cost him several weeks, and the obstinacy of the garrison obliged him at last to abandon the enterprize, and put his army into quarters. Mean time the *Weimar* troops and the *Hessians* had greatly signalized themselves, having gained a glorious victory at *Kempen*, over *Lamboi*, and reduced almost the whole countries of *Juliers*, and *Cologne* before the autumn; about which time *Gubrien*, with the *Weimar* army, returned to winter in *Franconia*.

A. D. 1643.

As soon as the season permitted *Torstenfon* to take the field, his first operations were directed against *Freyburg*; the siege of which place he resumed with redoubled vigour; but he was a second time baffled by the arrival of *Piccolomini*, after having reduced the garrison to extreme necessity. The *Swede* was desirous of coming to a battle; but this the imperial general avoided, contenting himself with obliging *Torstenfon* to quit an enterprize, upon which he had spent so much time and blood. Thus disappointed, *Torstenfon* rapidly directed his course towards *Bohemia*, where *Gallas* had just been vested with the command of the imperial forces, in quality of generalissimo, which gave great satisfaction, as he entertained a mean opinion of that officer's capacity and popularity. *Gallas* proposed obstructing the passage of the *Swedish* army into *Moravia*; but *Torstenfon*, glad of the opportunity of shewing his contempt of so unequal a competitor, pursued his march within sight of the imperialists; who seemed confounded and overawed at his courage. A detachment of three *Swedish* regiments, however, were defeated, through the negligence of the commander; a loss which *Torstenfon* soon after revenged, by the entire overthrow of a body of imperial cavalry, which occupied a strong post at *Buchiem*. While he was thus employed in *Moravia*, he was ordered by the regency to march with all possible secrecy and expedition into *Holstein*, in consequence of a rupture between the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. This obliged him to lay aside his whole plan of operations, and to bend his course towards *Silesia*, after having provided *Olmütz*, *Newstadt*, and *Eulenburg*, with every necessary to withstand a siege.

^a PUFF. Comment de reb. Suec. lib. xvii.

^b LOCSEN. lib. ix.

- a ALL Europe stood astonished at this irruption into *Holstein*. In general the proceeding was condemned, as rash and desperate. It was matter of surprise, that *Sweden*, already exhausted by a tedious war, and ready to sink under the weight of her enemies, should encrease their number, by a measure which did not seem supported by equity any more than sound policy; but the truth was, the regency were compelled to the necessity of resenting the conduct of his *Danish* majesty, who, under the character of mediator, took every method of embroiling the affairs of *Sweden*. Under the pretext of negotiating a peace, he endeavoured to deprive them of the fruits of all their victories in *Germany*; he had put the grossest affront on the queen dowager; he established certain rights at *Ruden* extremely prejudicial to the *Swedish* commerce, by loading with duties all merchandise exported from *Sweden* to *Pomerania*. The regency remonstrated to the court of *Copenhagen*; but they received only vague and frequently sarcastic answers: they therefore determined to have recourse to arms in defeating the designs of a partial mediator, who sought nothing so earnestly as the reduction of the power and glory of *Sweden* (A). The great difficulty was, to take their measures so secretly, that they should not be discovered by the *Danes* soon enough to make the necessary preparations. Such indeed was the privacy, the closeness, and integrity observed upon this occasion, that notwithstanding the affair was several days debated in full council, not the smallest intimation of it came to the ears of the *Danish*, the *French*, the *English*, or the *Dutch* ambassadors. The design was, to evacuate *Pomerania*, if necessary, and to recompense this loss at the expence of *Denmark*.
- b The regency hoped now to curb the *Danish* monarch, and oblige him to observe an exact neutrality, provided the winter proved favourable; and probably the scheme must have succeeded, but for certain unavoidable accidents, beyond the reach of human foresight. The ice was too weak to support the weight of the *Swedish* forces; and the king of *Denmark*, notwithstanding his grey hairs, displayed all the activity and vigour of a young monarch, joined to the prudence of an experienced warrior and politician. At first *Torsten-son* carried all before him in *Holstein* and *Jutland*; the *Danes* were frequently defeated; a body of 5000 infantry was surrounded, and forced to lay down their arms; and a variety of cities, towns, and fortresses, were reduced. *Gustavus Horn*, at the same time, made an irruption into *Schonen* with 14,000 men, where his conquests were extremely rapid. The *Swedish* fleet, likewise, ravaged the islands held by the crown of *Denmark* in the *Baltic*, and every circumstance promised success to the designs of the regency. At last the two fleets met; the battle was obstinate, and both sides claimed victory, though without obtaining any real superiority. The *Swedes* were forced to abandon *Femeren*, and the old king *Christian* received a hurt in the eye. Another battle fought toward the end of the season proved more decisive. *Wrangel*, in conjunction with the *Dutch* admiral, attacked the *Danish* fleet, and out of six destroyed four men of war ^k.
- c The regency hoped now to curb the *Danish* monarch, and oblige him to observe an exact neutrality, provided the winter proved favourable; and probably the scheme must have succeeded, but for certain unavoidable accidents, beyond the reach of human foresight. The ice was too weak to support the weight of the *Swedish* forces; and the king of *Denmark*, notwithstanding his grey hairs, displayed all the activity and vigour of a young monarch, joined to the prudence of an experienced warrior and politician. At first *Torsten-son* carried all before him in *Holstein* and *Jutland*; the *Danes* were frequently defeated; a body of 5000 infantry was surrounded, and forced to lay down their arms; and a variety of cities, towns, and fortresses, were reduced. *Gustavus Horn*, at the same time, made an irruption into *Schonen* with 14,000 men, where his conquests were extremely rapid. The *Swedish* fleet, likewise, ravaged the islands held by the crown of *Denmark* in the *Baltic*, and every circumstance promised success to the designs of the regency. At last the two fleets met; the battle was obstinate, and both sides claimed victory, though without obtaining any real superiority. The *Swedes* were forced to abandon *Femeren*, and the old king *Christian* received a hurt in the eye. Another battle fought toward the end of the season proved more decisive. *Wrangel*, in conjunction with the *Dutch* admiral, attacked the *Danish* fleet, and out of six destroyed four men of war ^k.
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War with Denmark.

A. D. 1644.

Naval engagements.

- MEAN time general *Horn* had great success in *Schonen*, where he reduced *Landskroon*. He then penetrated into the provinces of *Halland* and *Bleking*, defeated the *Danes* in divers rencounters, took *Labolm* by assault, returned suddenly to *Schonen*, and laid siege to *Malmö* with all his forces. As to *Torsten-son*, though he was under the necessity of leaving the greatest part of his army in *Holstein* and *Jutland*, yet he did not neglect the affairs of *Germany*. After providing the chief fortresses with every thing necessary, he dispatched general *Douglas* to *Pomerania*, and *Gustavus Otten Steenboek* to *Westphalia*, with considerable forces. *Königsmark* had distinguished himself the preceding year upon a variety of occasions. Having penetrated into *Misnia* and *Franconia*, he laid the whole country under contribution quite to the *Rhine*; and then opening his way through *Thuringia* into *Lower Saxony*, he surprised *Halberstadt*, and reduced *Sladen* and *Asterwick*. Thence he flew to the protection of *Pomerania*, invaded by the *Polish* general *Crakau*, with a body of 4000 horse and dragoons. *Königsmark* soon drove him out of the province, and recovered all the places he had taken. But amidst these successes, the affairs of *Sweden* sustained a severe blow from the ruin of the *Weimar* army, which, after gaining several advantages, was at last attacked in the territory of *Dettingen* by the *Bavarians*, and so totally defeated, that of 15,000 men, scarce half that number saved themselves in the *Upper Alsace*.
- e *Malmö* with all his forces. As to *Torsten-son*, though he was under the necessity of leaving the greatest part of his army in *Holstein* and *Jutland*, yet he did not neglect the affairs of *Germany*. After providing the chief fortresses with every thing necessary, he dispatched general *Douglas* to *Pomerania*, and *Gustavus Otten Steenboek* to *Westphalia*, with considerable forces. *Königsmark* had distinguished himself the preceding year upon a variety of occasions. Having penetrated into *Misnia* and *Franconia*, he laid the whole country under contribution quite to the *Rhine*; and then opening his way through *Thuringia* into *Lower Saxony*, he surprised *Halberstadt*, and reduced *Sladen* and *Asterwick*. Thence he flew to the protection of *Pomerania*, invaded by the *Polish* general *Crakau*, with a body of 4000 horse and dragoons. *Königsmark* soon drove him out of the province, and recovered all the places he had taken. But amidst these successes, the affairs of *Sweden* sustained a severe blow from the ruin of the *Weimar* army, which, after gaining several advantages, was at last attacked in the territory of *Dettingen* by the *Bavarians*, and so totally defeated, that of 15,000 men, scarce half that number saved themselves in the *Upper Alsace*.
- f Now *Königsmark* had instructions to give all his attention to the affairs of the *Higher* and *Lower Saxony*. In consequence of these orders, he seized on *Färden*, a town belonging to the archbishop of *Bremen*, because he perceived that the prelate was biassed in favour of the court of *Denmark*. Such was the spirit of *Sweden*, that she never scrupled attacking those princes openly, whom she believed secretly attached to her enemies. Hedged in on every side, and now destitute of allies, unless *France* and *Holland* might be

^k Idem ibid. PUFFEND. tom. vi. lib. vi. ARKENHOLTZ. vie de *Christine*, tom. i.

(A) The reader will see the origin of this war more fully explained in the History of *Denmark*. The causes there assigned are somewhat different; each nation endeavoured to throw the blame upon the other; but the most impartial historians of other countries attribute the war to the jealousies of *Denmark*, and the spirit of *Sweden*. Such little inconsistencies are easily reconciled; when it is considered, that we deduce the history of every people from their own writers.

deemed her allies, she boldly forced those powers to an open rupture whose clandestine a practices there was reason to suspect. The emperor, the elector of *Saxony*, the kings of *Poland* and *Denmark*, were all united against her; yet with scanty revenues, and a handful of soldiers, did she face all her enemies; and at last extricate herself by a peace, that might be reckoned not inglorious, had she had only one of those powers to combat.

THE Imperialists took occasion of the rupture between the northern crowns, to attempt blocking up the *Swedish* army in *Holstein* and *Jutland*, for which purpose *Gallas* marched thither with a considerable army. They likewise hoped, that general *Hatfeld*, assisted by the archbishop of *Bremen*, would be an over-match for *Königsmark*; but the vigilance of the *Swedish* general defeated all their designs. While *Gallas* was waiting to be joined by the *Danes* at *Odesloe*, *Torsten*son marched up to his camp, and offered battle. Finding the b imperialist was resolved not to engage, he contrived means to draw him from his advantageous situation, attacked and defeated his rear with considerable slaughter. By this means the junction of the *Danes* and *Germans* was prevented, and the latter forced to return to *Lawenberg*. Though the *Swedish* general might now have attacked the *Danes* with success, he chose to pursue *Gallas*, in order to give satisfaction to the court of *France*, who complained that she was saddled with the whole burthen of the war since the *Swedish* expedition into *Holstein*. Passing the *Elbe*, he followed him with all diligence towards *Bernburgh*, reduced the fortress, and pointing its cannon against the Imperialists, frequently obliged them to change their situation. He could not bring c them to a battle, but he held the enemy in a manner besieged, and reduced them to so great a necessity, that numbers of men and horses daily perished by famine. There was no outlet, or possible means to escape, except to *Magdeburgh*, which might be attempted, with some appearance of success, under cover of a dark night. Upon this *Gallas* determined, while *Torsten*son was in pursuit of his cavalry detached as far as *Aschersleben* to forage. The project succeeded; his advanced guard reached *Magdeburgh* before *Torsten*son's return from the expedition to *Aschersleben*; but all his foragers, wounded, cannon, and baggage, fell a prey to the *Swedes*. He remained with the infantry at *Magdeburgh*, and detached the *Saxon* cavalry, that had lately joined him, to make a diversion in *Silesia*; but they were met on the road, and cut in pieces by *Torsten*son. Upon the whole, this expedition was extremely unfortunate to the Imperialists, as it cost them all their cavalry, d and great numbers of their infantry; the whole amounting to half the numerous army which *Gallas* led out of *Bohemia*. Yet, with all these successes, nothing could have saved the *Swedish* affairs in *Germany*, but the powerful diversion made by the *French* in those famous campaigns, which render immortal the names of *Conde* and *Turenne*.

A. D. 1645.

THE new year was ushered in by a rapid conquest made by *Wrangel* in *Holstein* and *Jutland* in the depth of winter; nor was *Königsmark* less successful on the other side of the *Elbe*. After reducing *Altenland*, and some other places in *Bremen*, he laid siege to *Stade*, and in two days forced the garrison to capitulate. The *Swedes* too made some progress on the frontiers of *Norway*, and got possession of the island of *Borkholm*. *Gustavus Horn* was preparing to attack *Malmö* a second time, when happily a negotiation was set on e foot at *Bronsebro*, under the mediation of *France* and *Holland*, and a peace at length concluded between the two northern princes. By this treaty his *Danish* majesty ceded to *Sweden*, in perpetuity, the provinces of *Jemtland* and *Harndalen*, with the islands of *Gotland* and *Oesel*; he likewise sequestered in the hands of the *Swedes*, the province of *Halland*, as security for his conduct for the space of twenty-six years. Thus did the vigilance, activity, and spirit of the *Swedes*, triumph over all opposition, and reduce a nation, formerly their conquerors, to sign a glorious and advantageous peace, at a time when they seemed to be fully employed in the *German* affairs.

As the friendship of the *Dutch* became now suspected, it was happy for the *Swedes* they had got rid of so dangerous a war, before the republic had time to accept of the liberal f offers of his *Danish* majesty. They were now at liberty to pay their whole attention to their quarrel with the emperor; and accordingly *Torsten*son was taking measures for carrying the war into the bowels of the empire, and the heart of the *Austrian* hereditary dominions. By this he proposed ruining the new levies, and approaching within such a distance of *Ragotzi*, as to act in concert with that prince, who was making a powerful diversion in *Hungary* and *Transylvania*. In order to secure his retreat, and cut off all danger from behind, the *Swedish* general concluded a truce with the elector of *Saxony*, whereby the court of *Vienna* was deprived of an extreme useful ally. However, *Hatfeld* assembled a considerable army to oppose the *Swedes*, and the emperor came in person to *Prague*, to animate his troops by his presence. The two armies came in sight at *Jancowitz*, and both gene- g rals resolved to hazard an engagement. The Imperialists were encouraged by their superiority, by the emperor's exhortations, and the desire of disabling the enemy from penetrating into *Austria*. *Torsten*son was actuated by other considerations. His army suffered greatly by the severity of the climate, he wished to place his troops in better quarters, and doubted not but he should carry all before him, could he destroy this last stake of the court of *Vienna*. As the situation was mountainous and woody, it was impossible to draw

The Swedes
gain a victory
at Jancowitz.

a up the troops regularly; however, both armies joined battle, and fought with great intrepidity. The impetuosity of the *Swedes* broke and defeated the left wing of the imperialists, led by general *Goetz*, who was killed. They rallied, however, behind a wood, and made a stout resistance, but were a second time put in confusion, and driven off the field. In the center the battle continued obstinate for the space of two hours, neither side yielding an inch; but the *Swedish* victorious left wing joining the center, soon turned the scale, broke the imperialists, made prodigious slaughter, and gained a complete victory. The enemy left 4000 dead on the field, among whom were mareschal *Hatfield*, with a great number of officers of distinction, and near 5000 were taken prisoners. Never was artillery better conducted than on this occasion. The *Swedes* had planted cannon upon every eminence, and
b swept whole lines with their grape-shot; to which, in particular, the enemy ascribed their defeat¹.

A PATH being now opened into *Austria* and *Moravia*, the *Swedish* general, without loss of time, penetrated to the latter through *Bohemia*. He reduced *Iglau* and *Znaim*, with all the surrounding fortresses, and then marching to *Crems* on the *Danube*, obliged the garrison of that place to capitulate. The want of boats prevented his crossing the river; he therefore resolved to join *Ragotzi*, and on his way took *Cronenburgh*, and a variety of other towns and castles beyond the *Danube*. After his junction with *Ragotzi*, *Torsten*son hoped to find a passage over the *Danube*, between *Vienna* and *Presburgh*, by which he should be absolute master of both sides the river; but he lost much time in the siege of *Brinn*, a
c place which was desperately defended by one *Souches*, a *Swedish* officer, who had deserted some years before. Since the junction with *Ragotzi* was effected, the combined army was very formidable in numbers. The prince had 25,000 men, but so ill-disciplined and provided, that they served only to ruin the *Swedish* quarters, and lay desolate every country through which they passed. But he was soon eased of this troublesome ally, by a peace which *Ragotzi* concluded with the emperor. Having all his demands granted, he bid farewell to the *Swedish* general, and returned with his whole army to *Hungary*. *Ragotzi*'s departure, and a pestilential disease which prevailed in the camp, obliged *Torsten*son to raise the siege of *Brinn*, after he had consumed much valuable time before a place, the reduction of which could not produce any considerable advantage. In fact, his
d stay here served no purpose, but to give the enemy leisure to assemble; which they did in such numbers, as obliged the *Swedes* again to offer them battle. With this view he marched to *Stekerau*; but on his arrival, found that the archduke was gone with the bulk of his army to *Suabia*, to the succour of the elector of *Bavaria*, lately defeated by *Turenne*. *Leopold*'s march was so rapid, that it was not possible to overtake him, and he had left the passages over the *Danube* well guarded before his departure. This, and the epidemical disease that raged in his army, convinced *Torsten*son of the necessity of providing winter-quarters before his march should be obstructed by the depth of the roads; but that *Austria* might not be entirely debarred from the *Swedes*, he left strong garrisons in all the towns he had conquered, and kept open a communication between *Cronenburgh*, *Crems*, and
e other places on the *Danube*, and *Olmütz* and *Glogau*. Now he directed his march to *Bohemia*, cantoned his army along the *Eger*, and detached *Konigsmark* into *Moravia*, to provide quarters, and every other necessary^m.

HITHERTO *Torsten*son had conducted the *Swedish* affairs in *Germany* with great ability, success, and reputation; but an inveterate gout, with which he was tortured, now obliged him to resign the command, and retire to *Leipsic*, where he expected to meet
f *Wrangel* with a considerable reinforcement from *Holstein*. *Wrangel* now presided in quality of generalissimo. His army was composed of 15,000 horse and eight thousand foot, all approved select veterans, inured to action, hardened in the field, and ambitious of increasing the glory of *Sweden*, and their own reputation. The garrisons were besides complete, and *Konigsmark* had with him a considerable flying camp. Opposed to this force were 13,000 imperial horse, 11,000 foot, together with eighteen regiments of *Bavarian* infantry, and twelve regiments of cavalry. The intention of the enemy was to fall upon *Wrangel* before he could be joined by the flying camp, or the *Bavarians* should be called away by the opening of the campaign on the *Rhine*; but *Wrangel*, persuaded that he ought not to hazard a battle with an enemy so much superior, quitted *Bohemia*, advanced to *Misnia*, and quartered his army along the *Sala*. He then meditated a junction with the
g *French* forces under the viscount *Turenne*, marched with this view through *Thuringia* towards the *Weser*, took several towns in his march, penetrated into *Hesse*, and posted himself in the neighbourhood of *Wetzlar*. Here he expected to meet *Turenne*, as had been concerted; but the *French* general having encountered some disappointments, failed in promise, and left *Wrangel* exposed to the most imminent perils, and the danger of being oppressed by the whole weight of the imperial and *Bavarian* army. The enemy were in full march to

*Torsten*son resigns the command to *Wrangel*. A. D. 1646.

Wrangel conducts the affairs of *Sweden* with great ability and success.

¹ PUFFEND. Comment. de reb. Suec. lib. xvii.

^m Univers. Hist. tom. vi. lib. vi. LOCEN. lib. ix.

attack him, and had conceived the most sanguine hope of victory, because the victorious *Torsten* no longer fought at the head of the *Swedish* veterans; but they soon experienced that *Gustavus Adolphus* had bred under him more than one warrior. They advanced, and encamped on an eminence, at the distance of half a league from the *Swedish* army. Next day a sharp skirmish happened between the *Swedes* and *Bavarians*, in which the latter were defeated, after a bloody conflict, in which they lost a great number of soldiers and officers of some distinction. This cooled the ardor of the enemy, and obliged them to lay aside the design of fighting *Wrangel* for another more cautious and prudent, that of starving him in his intrenchments. Here too they were disappointed; the *Swede* had taken his measures with so much sagacity, that his camp flowed with plenty, while the enemy pined under the pressure of extreme famine. They were in consequence obliged to retire, after 4000 men had perished by hunger, pestilence, and the sword, and by this means the junction with *Turenne* was effected.

Now the confederate generals offered battle; but the challenge being refused, they cut off the communication of the imperialists with *Francfort*, *Hanau*, and the *Mein*, by which they were greatly distressed. Next they cut in pieces a body of 500 horse, detached to dispute their passage over the *Nidda*, and destroyed all their magazines on that river. Reduced to extreme necessity, the imperialists decamped silently in the night, and retired with the utmost precipitation to the river *Laine*, whither the confederate generals did not think proper to pursue them, as the country was destitute of forage and provisions. They therefore marched to the *Danube*, and near *Donawert* defeated a body of the enemy's cavalry. They crossed the *Lech*, reduced *Stain*, and presented themselves before *Augsburgh*, a city of the utmost consequence to keep *Bavaria* and *Suabia* in subjection. At first, the inhabitants offered to receive a *Swedish* garrison; but a reinforcement of two regiments arriving, they retracted their proposals, and prepared for a vigorous defence. Nothing was omitted on the side of the confederate generals, who carried on their approaches with the utmost address and intrepidity. The city was on the point of surrendering, when the imperialists found means to throw in powerful succours, which determined *Turenne* and *Wrangel* to raise the siege, and march to *Laugingen*, to secure the passage of the *Danube*. *Wrangel* proposed entering *Bavaria*; but this the *French* general declined, upon account of a truce that was now negotiating with the elector. The truce was concluded, towards the commencement of the ensuing year, much against the inclination of the *Swedish* regency; but *France* urged the measure, and they were obliged to comply, rather than come to a rupture with so necessary an ally. At *Ulm* articles were signed, whereby the elector ceded *Memmingen* and *Uberlingen* to the *Swedes*, and received as an equivalent, the towns of *Rain*, *Donawert*, *Wemdingen*, and *Mundelheim*^a.

A. D. 1647. *WRANGEL* now detached himself from the *French* general, and marched to *Franconia*, where he soon reduced *Scheinfurt*, a place conveniently situated to preserve a communication between *Westphalia* and *Higher Germany*. *Wittemberg* was detached the preceding year to *Silesia*, to balance the conquests of the Imperialists along the *Danube*, where they retook most of the places which had yielded to *Wrangel*, during his residence in that quarter. The *Swedish* detachment was now recalled, because *Turenne* with his army was ordered to march to the *Netherlands*. As soon as the troops were sufficiently refreshed, *Wrangel* laid siege to *Eger*, after having first defeated three regiments of Imperialists, that lay carelessly encamped before the town. The garrison, consisting of four hundred veterans, made a brave resistance, and the imperial general *Holtzapfel* was taking every possible measure to relieve them; but the vigilance of *Wrangel* baffled every attempt, and the town was obliged to capitulate, when *Holtzapfel* was advanced within three miles, with intention to hazard a battle. Disappointed in the design of relieving *Eger*, the Imperialists encamped on an eminence in the neighbourhood of the town, a river only dividing them from the *Swedish* army. The emperor came in person to encourage the troops, and had near been taken prisoner. *Helm Wrangel* with a detachment suddenly attacked the camp, and penetrated the emperor's tent, killing with his own hand the centinels at the door. Had he been properly supported, his project must have succeeded; but the enemy rallying, separated the advanced party from the rear, and obliged them to fight their way back, which they performed with astonishing valour, and great slaughter on both sides.

WRANGEL determined not to abandon his present situation, until he had fully repaired the fortification of *Eger*, and put the town in a posture of defence. The Imperialists were equally resolved to maintain their ground; but they laboured under such difficulties as soon obliged them to relinquish their design, after they had lost 6000 men by the sword, and by famine and sickness. Upon this motion the *Swede* led his army to *Bohemia*; and to prevent his advancing far into that kingdom, *Holtzapfel* again put his troops in motion, and had the good fortune to surprise and defeat a detachment of five *Swedish* regiments.

^a LOCEN. et PUFFEND. ibid.

a Soon after another skirmish happened between the cavalry of both armies, in which the Imperialists were worsted, though they claimed the victory, because they chanced to carry off a few standards. Another action fell out a short time after, in which three regiments of imperial dragoons were cut to pieces, in the face of the whole imperial army. For several days the two armies lay encamped close by each other, without being separated by a river or any other passage, and mutually guarded only by the works they had erected to prevent being surprised. A battle was hourly expected, but the want of forage obliged the enemy to decamp, and remove to a greater distance; thus, by dint of conduct and perseverance, the *Swedes* had the honour of obliging the enemy to decamp three successive times in one year, and in the heart of their own country.

b At last the emperor, having prevailed on the duke of *Bavaria* to break the truce, expected nothing less than the total destruction of the *Swedish* army, because he doubted not but the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* would follow the example of *Bavaria*, and the *French* be induced to desert their allies, rather than draw upon themselves such a crowd of enemies. Circumstances indeed were so strangely altered of a sudden, by the conduct of the *Bavarians*, that *Wrangel* thought it advisable to retire to a place of security until he could be joined by the detachment under *Königsmark*, and the *Hessians*. With this design he marched to *Misnia* and *Thuringia*, detaching *Wittenberg* to make a diversion in *Silesia*. He was pursued by the enemy; but his measures were conducted with so much prudence, that, though greatly superior, they could obtain no advantages. The design of revenging c himself upon the *Hessians* had indeed carried *Holtzapfel* to desolate that country, when he might have been more usefully employed against the *Swedish* army. All the exploits performed by the *Bavarians* since the breach of the truce, consisted in the reduction of *Memmingen*, and two other inconsiderable places, after which both armies retired to winter-quarters.

EARLY in the spring *Wrangel* took the field, with intention to surprise the enemy in their A. D. 1648. cantonments; but they were apprised of his design, and assembled their army. He was now joined to *Turenne*, whose orders were extremely limited, so that the spring was consumed in fruitless disputes. At last *Wrangel* prevailed on *Turenne* to draw nearer *Bavaria*. In their march they fell in with a detachment of *Bavarian* cavalry, which they defeated and dispersed, after killing 2000 men on the field. Next they advanced to *Freylingen*, d obliging the enemy to retire beyond the *Iser*, and reducing *Landsbut*. Nothing could exceed the terror of the *Bavarians*, who saw their country exposed to the confederate generals, without an officer of ability to head their armies, and check the progress of the enemy. The duke retired to *Salsburg*, seeking protection from those very inhabitants he had lately oppressed. He left all the country lying between the river *Lech* and *Inn*, exposed to the ravages of the *Swedes*, who had reason to be incensed at his conduct; but they could not profit by the opportunity, on account of the prodigious swelling of the river, which overflowed its banks, and rendered a passage impracticable. At length *Piccolomini* arrived from the *Netherlands*, to take upon him the command of the Imperial and *Bavarian* army, and the spirits of the soldiers were revived by the presence of so celebrated a general. The e measures indeed upon which he immediately entered were vigorous; he forced *Turenne* and *Wrangel* to evacuate the situation which they had long maintained, pursued them towards *Landau*, and encamped within a short distance of their entrenchments. Several skirmishes passed, in which neither side could claim any advantage; and at last both armies encamped within a league of *Memmingen*, and of each other. *Wrangel* had his eye upon the country between the *Lech* and the *Inn*, where he knew his army would be well supplied; and *Piccolomini* detached *de Weert* to oppose his entrance. This produced a rencounter between the advanced parties of the two armies, in which the *Swedes* were repulsed, and roughly handled. They, however, laid siege to *Landsperg*; but provisions failing, *Wrangel* crossed the *Lech* in the month of *September*, in his way to *Suabia*. *Turenne* ravaged *Bavaria* without remorse, and laid desolate all those places that refused paying contributions. f The intention of the *Swedish* general was to penetrate into the *Higher Palatinate*, to join *Charles Gustavus*, count palatine, appointed generalissimo of the *Swedish* forces; but before he could execute this design, he received advice, that a peace was concluded, in consequence of which all hostilities ceased.

BEFORE we enter upon the particulars of the peace concluded at *Westphalia*, it will be necessary to relate succinctly the reasons of appointing *Charles Gustavus* to the supreme command, and the military operations of this prince, since his arrival in *Germany*. *Charles Gustavus* had served with great reputation under the celebrated *Torsten*, by whom he was taught the art of war. On that general's resignation, he returned to *Sweden*, where he assiduously cultivated the queen's regard, and at last so established himself in her esteem, g that he ventured to pay his addresses, and propose marriage. *Christina* was averse to the scheme of dividing her authority; however, she condescended to promise *Gustavus*, that if

* PUFFEND. Hist. univ. tom. vi. lib. 6.

† Comment. rer. Suec. lib. xiv.

Charles Gustavus is appointed generalissimo.

she ever consented to lose her liberty, she would give him the preference. She had already determined, by some means, to raise *Gustavus* to the throne, though as yet her royal pleasure was not publicly declared. It was necessary to impress a high opinion of his merit on the minds of the people; to effect which a fitter opportunity could not offer, than serving in *Germany*, where he might have frequent opportunities to signalize his valour, a quality admired above all others by the *Swedes*. With this view he was appointed to the chief command, vested with the character of generalissimo, and sent with a reinforcement of 7000 *Swedes* and *Finlanders*, provided with all the necessaries of a campaign. Since his arrival in *Germany*, *Gustavus* tried every method to effect a junction with the main army; but, unable to effect his purpose, he resolved to penetrate into *Bohemia*, and lay siege to *Prague*, by which he hoped to divide the Imperialists. The city was attacked with great vigour, and the garrison made a gallant defence; but would in the end have been forced to surrender, had *Gustavus* persisted. This, however, was not his intention; as it would probably have been attended with the ruin of the army. The besieged were numerous and obstinate, the fortifications were strong, the rainy season had commenced, and the chief design of investing *Prague* was already accomplished, that of disengaging *Wrangel* from the greater part of the imperial forces. These reasons determined *Gustavus*, count palatine, to raise the siege, after he had vigorously pursued it for three weeks, and to canton his troops in winter-quarters in *Bohemia*.

Congresses at Osnabrug and Munster.

For the space of three years negotiations of peace had been in agitation. The Imperialists, disappointed in their expectations of driving the *Swedes* out of *Germany*, and intimidated by the rapid conquests of *Banier*, made the first overtures: but they insisted upon one condition; it was, that the *Swedes* would execute a separate peace, and engage not to interpose in the affairs of any of the *German* princes; their assent to which proposition would insure them of any terms they thought proper to make for themselves. It would be tedious and useless to trace the progress of this affair through all its intricacies and changes; sufficient it is, that the interests of *Germany* and *Sweden* came at last to be debated among the other articles of a general pacification, at the conferences at *Osnabrug* and *Munster*. The parties agreed to treat expressly at two different places, to avoid disputes about precedence, and also differences which might arise on account of religion. The *Swedes* in particular declined any communication with the pope's nuncio. For this reason the *Swedish* plenipotentiaries, the imperial ambassadors, and the representatives of the protestant *German* princes, assembled at *Osnabrug*; while another congress was held at *Munster* by the *French*, *Spanish*, and Catholic ambassadors. Here it was that the court of *Vienna* employed every engine of state, to sow dissension between *France* and *Sweden*; but all her arts proved fruitless. There was no expedient omitted that was likely to produce disputes between *Sweden* and the Protestant states of *Germany*; however, every finesse was happily baffled by the abilities of her *Swedish* majesty's ministers, and the vigour of her generals. The duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, all the *Upper Pomerania*, part of the *Lower*, the city of *Wismar*, and the isle of *Rugen*, were assigned to *Sweden*, together with a gratification of five millions of crowns to the army: nor was it less glorious to the *Swedish* nation, that she contributed chiefly to settle upon its ancient principles the *Germanic* constitution, and to remove all cause of those implacable disputes which had for so many years torn the empire, and wrested their dominions and titles from a variety of princes.

NOTWITHSTANDING the honour and advantage attending the peace, the *Swedish* ministry are blamed for accepting terms too precipitately, and setting at no price the many advantages they possessed and commanded; advantages in exchange for which they might have stipulated any terms for themselves and their allies. *Sweden* maintained above an hundred garrisons in *Germany*, and many places in the very heart of the hereditary dominions of the house of *Austria*; she could lay under contribution the whole country from the *Baltic* to the lake of *Constance*; she kept up, chiefly at the enemy's expence, a fine veteran army of near 70,000 men, every soldier of which was almost qualified by experience to be a general: under these circumstances she might, by continuing the war another campaign, have penetrated beyond the *Danube*, got possession of *Austria*, and brought the emperor to the most humiliating concessions. This, it is pretended, was the scheme of *Oxenstiern*, the most able statesman about *Christina*; yet had the queen strong reasons for desiring to terminate a quarrel, which had often brought *Sweden* into the lowest abyss of distress, and the issue of which must ever remain uncertain. *Holland*, abandoning her allies, made peace with *Spain*, and *France* began to be distracted with civil dissensions. Hence *Sweden* must support the whole burthen, and run the hazard of losing all her toil, blood, treasure, and expectations, by one general defeat. Besides, *Christina* affected philosophic repose; she panted after science, and persuaded herself, that the arts of which she declared herself the patroness, could never flourish but under the shade of public tranquillity. She determined, however, not to withdraw her troops, until she perceived that the principal articles of the treaty had been executed. The court of *Vienna* endeavoured to prevail on *Gustavus* to quit the

a the *Austrian* dominions; but his answer was, that he could rely more upon the influence of his troops, than upon the strongest seals and obligations, since the engagements of princes were deemed binding no longer than they had the power to enforce them". The event justified his suspicions. A particular congress met at *Nuremburg*, to direct the execution of the treaty of *Munster*; and after it had sate a whole year, found it a matter of the utmost difficulty to remove and adjust all differences. It is probable indeed that had not *Sweden* rendered herself formidable, by maintaining an army ready to take the field upon the first notice, the engagements contracted by the plenipotentiaries would have been little regarded.

CHRISTINA had no sooner established the repose of her kingdom, than she determined to secure and strengthen the succession. The voice of the people strongly recommended *Gustavus*, count palatine, to the honour of sharing the sovereign power by a marriage with the queen. The states foresaw the inconveniencies that would ensue, should *Christina* or *Gustavus* declare either against marriage, or against a mutual alliance. Yet no arguments could induce this princess to participate her authority. She resolved, while she reigned, to maintain an undivided sovereignty; but she shewed her regard for her subjects, by taking the most effectual measures for settling the succession upon the most solid basis. She had always declined the addresses of *Gustavus*, and the solicitations of the states in his favour. That prince, during his absence in *Germany*, had permission to correspond with the queen, and he converted this opportunity to his own purposes, and used the occasion to promote his own interest in the queen's affections. *Arckenholtz* relates, that he declared in one of his letters, that if her majesty persisted in her refusal, he was determined to decline the honour she proposed of nominating him her immediate successor, and for ever to banish himself from *Sweden**. This, however, would seem to be only the language of gallantry; it is certain, that, when he found the queen resolute, no arguments were necessary to persuade him, that he ought to accept the honour of being second to her in rank and power, since he could not attain his wish of being equal.

In the month of *February* the queen declared her intention, in a formal speech to the senate. She acquainted her people with the repeated remonstrances which had been presented to her on the subject of marriage; but alledged, that there were certain duties required in the nuptial ceremony, with which she could not prevail on herself to comply (A). She commended the affection and providence of her senate, but said, she would take a method which would as effectually secure the succession, without disturbing her own repose, as what they proposed. Her cousin, prince *Charles Gustavus*, possessed all the qualities which they could possibly require in her representative; and if they thought him worthy of sharing her bed, they could not justly think him unworthy of succeeding to her crown. She concluded with exhorting the senate to join their influence with her's, to render the proposition acceptable to the states of the kingdom. Upon their endeavours to dissuade her from this resolution, *Christina* replied, with some warmth, that she was not insensible to the designs of certain persons among them, who, knowing her firm determination against marriage, and that she was the last of the royal line, hoped to encrease their own influence, by leaving the crown elective after her death. She was not ignorant, she said, that others had projected new schemes of government, all of which tended more to private than to public benefit. It is even alledged, that she threw out some insinuations against the chancellor *Oxenstiern*, who had praised and described a republican constitution in the queen's presence. For above a year this important affair had been agitated; at last it passed through all the usual forms, upon the count palatine's return from *Germany*. *Gustavus* was nominated immediate successor to the queen, and this appointment was ratified by *Christina* and the states of *Sweden*. The title of highness was given him, a revenue assigned for the support of his court and dignity, and the states were for making over to him some principality; but the queen opposed the proposal, and alledged, it was one of the maxims of the royal cabinet, never to assign lands to the hereditary prince. *Gustavus* thanked the queen and the states for the honour done him, and swore to observe all the articles proposed, of which the subsequent were the most important. That he should pay the most implicit obedience to the queen, and always regard her as his lawful sovereign. That as her majesty promised on her part to offer no violence to the rights of the hereditary prince, so he, on his part, obliged himself to undertake nothing of consequence to the administration or the public, without the knowledge and consent of the queen and senate, and her express permission and instructions. That he should form no pretensions to a separate principality, since the queen and the states had determined that the *Swedish*

Charles Gustavus appointed heir to the crown.

* PUFFEND. tom. vi. lib. 6. Mercur. vera Hist. tom. ix. p. 325. * ARCKENHOLTZ. tom. i. p. 165.

(A) A variety of conjectures have been offered to explain *Christina's* meaning. Some writers attribute it to the coldness of her constitution; some to a natural defect; and one, in particular, to her pride; she declaring she could not submit to be treated as the peasant tilled his field: an expression that indicates more pride than delicacy (1).

(1) *Chanut. Mem. tom. ii. p. 353.*

dominions should suffer no kind of partition, division, or dismemberment. That while a he continued in the station of hereditary prince, he should be disqualified from accepting any titles, honours, or preferments, from foreigners, which should require his attendance abroad, and call him out of *Sweden*. That he should consult the queen and the states with respect to marriage; that he should contract no alliances without their participation; that the princess upon whom he fixed his choice, should be of the faith prescribed by the confession of *Augsburgh*, and that his children should be bred in the same religion. That on his accession he should govern agreeable to the laws of the realm, maintain the reformed religion, and the constitution in church and state, agreeable to the diet at *Augsburgh*, and the council at *Upsal*.

Christiana
crowned.

To conclude this important business, the assembly of the states ordered the ceremony of *Christina's* coronation to be performed with the utmost pomp and solemnity. Custom prescribed that the *Swedish* sovereigns should be crowned at *Upsal*; but this city appearing too small for the celebration, and the prodigious magnificence intended, the states allowed the procession to be made at *Stockholm*; whence the superstitious drew unfavourable presages to *Christina*, from an observation, that the princes crowned in any other city than *Upsal*, had never enjoyed the diadem to the end of their lives. Already, indeed, the queen had given some intimations of her disgust, and of her intention to devolve the administration on the hereditary prince. She had discovered an early passion for study, reflection, and retirement. Having experienced all that human grandeur could give, she wished for philosophical tranquility, and was seduced by the flattery of the learned into notions very contrary to the natural dictates of the female heart. *Christina* began to affect a contempt of pomp, power, grandeur, and all the magnificence of dress and splendor of a court. To be thought wise and learned was her chief passion, though she forfeited her title to superior wisdom, by counterfeiting inclinations which she did not possess, and laying a constant restraint on her natural sentiments. Poets, painters, and philosophers, became her greatest favourites. She affected to correspond with the most celebrated scholars of *Europe*, and purchased the paintings of *Titian* at an extravagant price, only to shew that she wanted taste; they were clipped and mangled to fit the pannels of her gallery. In a word, vanity was the foible of *Christina*; it had already been gratified with respect to power and grandeur, and it now burst into a new channel. She aspired at being the sovereign of the learned, and dictating d in the lyceum, as she had done in the senate.

She proposes
to abdicate the
throne.

A. D. 1652.

M. *Puffendorf* suspects, that a quarrel with the nobility and the other members of the state had first inspired the queen with the idea of transferring the crown to her successor. The ancient nobility, who regarded all the highest employments as their birth-right, beheld with indignation that *Christina* bestowed them indiscriminately on her favourites. On the contrary, the people, accustomed to frugality, temperance, and modesty, were disgusted with the luxury and magnificence of the court, and they murmured, that the more they were oppressed by taxes, the more profligate their superiors became. They even complained of the queen's ill-placed liberality, despised science and the arts, ridiculed the passion of the sovereign for the conversation of learned drones, for books, pictures, statues, e and trifles, and were heartily disposed to break out into open rebellion, had their spirits been irritated by any additional impost. From the tranquility with which *Christina* regarded this menacing storm, it was suspected she had in reserve some expedient for extricating herself out of the difficulty: none appeared more plausible than that of committing the reins of government into the hands of the hereditary prince, and the ensuing diet fully explained her intentions. She had given suspicion, and indeed a sufficient foundation for conjecture, as early as the year 1649, by the preparations making to visit the islands of *Gothland* and *Oeland*, in one of which, it was imagined, she proposed fixing her retreat. *Oxenstiern*, who had never been her favourite, was now caressed; whence it was inferred, f that at her abdication she would live in friendship with all her subjects, and though she resigned the crown, would still maintain her empire in the hearts of the *Swedes*. The sieur *Chanut*, the *French* envoy, had intimated this resolution to his court, before it was thought of in *Sweden*; and this has afforded a handle to prattling obscure writers, to throw unmerited and scandalous reflections upon the queen's virtue.

As to *Charles Gustavus*, the nearer he approached the summit of his expectations, the greater caution he used. He manifested no inclination to reign, and seemed assiduous only about shewing a perfect obedience to the queen's pleasure. To avoid meddling in state-affairs, he seldom visited the court, kept close with the army, and prejudiced his health by his debaucheries, which he committed in order to gain the affections of his officers. When *Christina* acquainted him with her intentions, he seemed astonished, and asked if her majesty meant to put his ambition to the test. He foresaw the difficulties he would have to encounter on his first accession; the people discontented, the treasury empty, a revenue to be assigned for the queen's maintenance, and certain unadjusted disputes with the king of

Y. ARCKENHOLTZ, tom. i. p. 341. *PUFFEND.* tom. vi. sub. cit.

- a *Poland*, who had not yet acknowledged *Christina* as queen of *Sweden*, and would probably make the same objections to her successor. These, with a train of other inconveniences *Gustavus* anticipated in his own mind; but the remedies were more doubtful. To levy new taxes would at least be unpopular in the first dawn of his reign; it might even excite an insurrection, and to redeem the crown-lands alienated so liberally by *Christina* to her favourites, might on the other hand discontent the nobility. From these considerations it was that *Gustavus* used his utmost influence to prevail on *Christina*; not to resign her authority in the present situation of affairs, when every change in the government would only serve to accumulate difficulties. He spoke to the grand mareschal and the chancellor, requested they would join their interest to his, in remonstrating to the queen the danger
- b of carrying her purpose into execution; in a word, he did every thing that could evince his loyalty, his patriotism, and his perfect satisfaction with his present condition. The mareschal and chancellor, accompanied by the principal senators, requested her majesty to take the prince's arguments into consideration; the *French* ambassador spoke to her with the utmost freedom on this head, and made use of such powerful reasoning, as seemed to stagger her resolution: but she had now so long persisted, that she imagined she could not retract with a good grace. Her pride, her honour, and her philosophy, were all concerned. These turned the scale in favour of her first determination; and *Christina* gave for a reason, that as she herself had determined against marriage, it was necessary that the hereditary prince should think of strengthening the succession, and securing the repose of *Sweden*, by an alliance with some prince, who would sooner be induced to give him her hand, when she saw him in possession of the crown. After several months had passed in constant endeavours to turn *Christina* from her whimsical project of laying down her sovereignty, the senate, the chief favourites of the queen, the principal members of the state, headed by the chancellor, waited upon her with the utmost solemnity; and as a last effort, supplicated in so pathetic a manner, that she consented to postpone her design. *Oxenstiern* made a speech, which drew tears from the queen and the whole assembly: *Christina* yielded, without stipulating any other condition, than that she should never be pressed to marry.

*She lays aside
her design of
resigning.*

- CHRISTINA* had no sooner yielded to the earnest wishes of her people, than the subject of the hereditary prince's alliance with the house of *Mecklenburgh* was dropped. *Gustavus*
- d did not despair of gaining the queen's affections; he hoped, as she had relaxed in a point upon which she seemed obstinately bent, that she might one day be induced to complete the happiness of her people. An unfortunate accident, which fell out a few days after the queen had given her promise, almost blighted all the fruits of that regard which *Christina* had shewn for the good of *Sweden*. Attended by admiral *Fleming*, she went to see a new fleet just launched, and talking carelessly to him, standing on a board laid from the shore to the side of the ship, her foot slipped, she plunged into the sea, and must inevitably have been drowned, but for the diligence of the bystanders. On this occasion she displayed the generosity and heroism of a daughter of the great *Gustavus*, without discovering the least emotion or female timidity: she agreeably ridiculed the admiral upon having pulled her
- e after him into the sea, dined in public, and ever after delighted to recite the accident.

- UNTIL the year 1654, nothing memorable occurred in *Sweden*. The people were felicitating themselves with the hope of a closer union between the queen and the hereditary prince; they were beginning to taste the blessings of repose, and to cherish the pleasing prospect of a long series of domestic happiness, when *Christina* suddenly resumed the thoughts of resigning, and excited fresh matter of disquiet in *Sweden*. Her intention was spread over the kingdom almost instantaneously; and though the queen was not universally beloved, the extraordinary resolution she had formed, greatly exalted her character, and affected the *Swedes*, like a sudden explosion of thunder. All were struck dumb with her firmness, no one attempting to dissuade her from a purpose upon which they perceived she
- f was determined. The senate assembled at *Upsal*, heard *Christina* declare her design with silent astonishment; they only ventured to reply, that they were in expectation her promises to continue the government would have been of longer duration.

*She resumes
her intentions.*

- WHILE the senate was deliberating upon the measures which would be necessary in consequence of the queen's resignation, *Christina* dispatched count *Fleming* and *Sternweck* to the hereditary prince, to treat with him on the revenues to be assigned for the support of her dignity after her abdication. The prince renewed his solicitations to divert her intention; but finding that all his arguments produced no effect, it was proposed, that 200,000 rix-dollars should be annually paid her majesty at certain installments, and that *Gottenburg*, *Pomerania*, the islands of *Oeland* and *Gotbland*, should be appropriated, so as to render this revenue certain and unalienable. Great objections were made to dismembering *Gottenburg*
- g from the crown-revenue, as it was the only port which *Sweden* possessed towards the ocean; nor did the senate approve of *Christina*'s demand, that *Wolgast* and the other territories of *Pomerania* should be ceded to her in full right and sovereignty, with power to sell and dispose of them as she might think proper. These points, however, were at length adjusted to mutual satisfaction; upon which the queen turned her eyes to the security of the succession, in case the hereditary prince should die without issue. She disliked the person and conduct of

*Abdicates the
throne.*

21st May.

Quits Swe-
den.

Adolphus, brother to the hereditary prince; it was her design, therefore, to cut him off^a from all expectation, and settle the reversion of the crown in the family of the count *de Tot*, who was allied to the royal blood, and himself a great favourite of *Christina*. She found that the people universally opposed her design; and, therefore, prudently declined it, resolving to content herself with conferring upon him the title of duke, a dignity hitherto borne only by the children of the kings in *Sweden*. To qualify these extraordinary honours, she made the same offer to the chancellor *Oxenstiern*; but they wisely declined titles, which they knew would serve no other purpose than to excite the envy of all the nobility of *Sweden*, and their conduct obliged the queen to relinquish her scheme of making the count *Tot* the first grandee in the kingdom^z.

SHE now assembled the states at *Upsal*, and in an eloquent speech recapitulated all the transactions of her reign, and the numberless instances of her care and affection for her people; she specified all the measures she had taken to prevent any inconveniences resulting to the kingdom from her determination, and concluded with fixing upon the 16th of *June*, as the day in which she proposed resigning her crown and sovereignty to prince *Charles Gustavus* (A). When the day arrived, which she expected with as much eagerness as other princesses have wished for their coronation, she was astonished to find that the states proposed to fix her residence in *Sweden*. This would have effectually destroyed the intention of her abdication. It was her design to be at liberty to live where she pleased, and retire to countries where the sciences had made greater progress, and where the Catholic religion, which she had lately embraced, was established. This difficulty, however, she removed, by a promise of returning as soon as she had confirmed her health by a short residence at the *Sparw*. She then divested herself of all her authority, resigned the crown to her cousin, and dismissed the assembly with a pathetic oration, which drew tears from all the hearers. A few days after she quitted the kingdom; and, instead of proceeding to the *Sparw*, went directly to *Rome*, where she chiefly resided for the remainder of her life.

SUCH was the extraordinary manner in which *Christina* resigned her crown, at the age of twenty seven years, after a reign equally glorious to her government and to *Sweden*, during which she had foiled the whole power of the house of *Austria*, broke those chains forged to enslave the liberties of *Germany*, and hold in bondage the Protestant religion. Never was the reputation of *Sweden* elevated to such a pitch of fame as under *Christina*. The valour^d of the nation was universally acknowledged; *Germany* and *Denmark* could produce fatal instances of the military skill of this people. The reward of all the *Swedish* victories was an extension of territory, and of influence in the scale of *Europe*. In other countries, the arts languished during tedious bloody wars: under *Christina* they flourished by the force of her own example; and the view with which she cultivated them, was more from vanity than taste, but equally profitable to her people. Upon the whole, *Christina* was a princess of extraordinary qualities, quick, penetrating, eloquent, and spirited, endowed with talents truly masculine, but tinged with the weakness of her sex, whim, caprice, vanity, and inconstancy (B). Protestant writers have been too severe on her character, because she was an apostate from their faith, and Catholics have triumphed too much in the conversion of a princess so eminent and distinguished for her philosophy, learning, and sound understanding^e.

S E C T. IX.

Whercin the Swedish History is deduced to the Accession of Charles XII. in 1697, comprehending the Reigns of Charles X. and XI.

Charles X.
A. D. 1655.

ON the same day that *Christina* resigned her sovereignty, the hereditary prince, *Charles Gustavus*, was solemnly crowned at *Upsal*. On his first accession, he encountered several difficulties which he exerted his utmost address to remove. The treasury was quite exhausted, great part of the revenue was applied for the support of *Christina*'s household, the people were oppressed with taxes, and the *Swedish* nation, now disarmed for several years, began to lose its credit among foreigners, and that reputation acquired, and only

^z PUFFEND. *ibid.* ARKEN. tom. i. *icid.* ^a Vid. *auft. citat. ibid.*

(A) The day preceding *Christina*'s abdication, she offered an unprecedented affront to the *Portuguese* resident, ordering a paper to be read to him without the consent of her council or senate, whereby she disavowed the duke of *Braganza*'s title to the crown of *Portugal*, and consequently his envoy's authority. She ordered the minister to quit her dominions, and by this violence equally astonished all her people and the court of *Portugal*. The senate, however, sent privately to the resident, acquainting him, that as the queen's power would soon be at an end, he might depend on the countenance of the succeeding government.

(B) As it is a history of *Sweden*, and not the lives of the sovereigns that we profess to write, it would be unnecessary to enter upon the intrigues carried on by *Christina*, to recover the authority which she had so wantonly resigned. Certain, however, it is, that finding the world did not pay all the homage she expected to so extraordinary an act of humility, her ambition revived, and, unable to obtain the *Swedish* crown, she became a candidate for the throne of *Poland*. The reader may find the particulars fully related by *Arckenboeltz* and other biographers.

a to be maintained by the sword. To remedy these evils, *Charles Gustavus* assembled the states, proposed re-uniting to the crown all the lands which had been alienated by grants to favourites during the late reign, strongly recommended the necessity of putting the kingdom in a state of defence, and of repealing the duty on salt renewed in consequence of a war between the *Poles* and *Russians*, barbarous nations, who paid little regard to the rights of nations, and determined equity wholly by power. However, as there was no particular cause of complaint against any of the neighbouring powers, and that the king's designs had no other object than to restore the reputation of the *Swedish* arms, by engaging in some war, it was long debated whether hostilities should commence on the side of *Denmark*, of *Russia*, or of *Poland*. The two former were engaged by actual treaties with *Sweden*; to declare war, therefore, against either, would be highly injurious to the faith and honour of the nation. There was some appearance of a pretext for declaring against *Poland*, because that crown had always declined adjusting the differences with *Sweden*, and had besides broke through divers articles of the truce. When *Casimir*, king of *Poland*, had sent *Canafill* in quality of envoy to *Upsal*, with instructions to protest against *Christina's* abdication, and the cession of the crown to *Charles Gustavus*, *Canafill* made remonstrances to the archbishop, the clergy, and the other orders of the state, which afforded a seasonable and fair opportunity for coming to a rupture. His *Swedish* majesty accordingly declared against the *Polish* minister's conduct, ordered him to quit the kingdom, and expressed his astonishment, not only at questioning his right, but that the king of *Poland* did not immediately send plenipotentiaries to terminate the differences between the two crowns. Nothing indeed could be more unjust than the measures entered upon by *Sweden*, determined at all events to restore the credit of her arms, by a war with *Poland*, under pretence that she questioned the title of a powerful monarch, at the very time she was engaged in actual hostilities against the *Russians* and *Cossacks*.

BEFORE either party came to an open declaration, several ambassies went from *Poland* to *Stockholm*, under pretence of negotiating a peace; but some point of ceremony always disappointed them of an audience of the king, and they returned without their errand. As soon as every thing was in readiness for taking the field, general *Wittemberg* received orders to make an irruption into *Poland*, on the side of *Pomerania*. He obeyed, and advanced d to *Templeburgh*, where he found the *Polish* army, amounting to 15,000 men, ready to oppose his progress. Next day, however, the *Poles* desired to negotiate the matter; a conference was set on foot, and before it broke up the enemies army entirely dispersed itself, many of the *Polish* soldiers enlisting in the *Swedish* service. In consequence, the vaivo des of *Posnania* and *Calis* submitted and took an oath of fidelity to *Charles Gustavus*. They were terrified into this measure by the approach of his *Swedish* majesty, who had now in person entered *Poland* with a numerous army. Dread and dismay accompanied his march, all submitted to his power, and every thing plied beneath his yoke. He prudently treated the *Poles* with the greatest lenity, gained their affections, joined *Wittemberg*, and then set out with his whole army in quest of *Casimir*. The *Polish* king was encamped at *Calo*, e from whence he dispatched *Prizinski*, with proposals of peace; but *Charles* made no other answer to the minister, than that he would speak to his master upon the subject of his embassy. In effect, he pursued his march without obstruction, all the towns and cities throwing open their gates as he approached, and offering to supply him with all manner of necessities. The *Swedish* army was advancing to *Cracow*, when *Casimir* resolved to hazard a battle rather than see his capital fall, without resistance, into the hands of the enemy. His army amounted only to 10,000 men, troops who had never stood fire: they engaged, made a feeble resistance, and then fled precipitately with the loss of 1000 men, killed and taken prisoners^a.

SOME days after this victory, *Charles* a second time defeated the *Poles*, on the banks of f the river *Donacia*, about eight leagues from *Cracow*; and *Casimir* finding no place of security in his own dominions, fled with his family, and took refuge at *Oppelen* in *Silesia*. The *Swedes* invested *Cracow*, and the city was defended with the utmost valour by *Stephen Czarnecki*, though after prodigious carnage he was forced to capitulate. By the reduction of the capital, *Charles* might be deemed in possession of the kingdom of *Poland*. None of the other cities presumed to make the least shew of resistance, and the militia of the country scrupled not taking an oath of allegiance to king *Charles*, as their own sovereign had abandoned his people. Their example was followed by the vaivodes and governors of provinces in *Great* and *Little Poland*, *Podolia*, and *Volhinia*, who all sent deputations to the *Swedish* monarch at *Warsaw*, with offers of their fidelity and submission. Had written obligations, g seals and solemn oaths been sufficient to keep the *Polanders* in subjection, *Charles Gustavus* might be said to have conquered a kingdom, of extent and power equal to his own, in the space of three months. Matters indeed were carried to such a length, that making an offer

Charles invades and conquers Poland.

^a PUFFEND. lib. 7.

of the crown to *Charles* was the general subject of conversation in *Poland*; but it soon appeared that the *Poles* had only yielded to necessity, without any serious intention of abandoning their sovereign. a

He excites the
jealousy of several
powers.

A. D. 1656.

CHARLES had now drawn upon himself a new enemy; the elector of *Brandenburgh*, a prince no less politic and ambitious than the *Swedish* monarch. While the *Swedes* were employed in *Poland*, the elector invaded the royal and ducal *Prussia*, and reduced the most considerable towns with little opposition. *Charles* took umbrage at his progress, marched against him, defeated the electoral forces in divers slight encounters, advanced to *Königsberg*, and constrained the *German* prince to acknowledge that ducal *Prussia* was a fief of *Sweden*, for which he promised to do homage. Such a rapid course of conquest alarmed all *Europe*. The pope feared lest the *Poles* might withdraw themselves from the religious obedience of the holy see, and embrace the doctrines of *Luther* and *Calvin*. The emperor dreaded the vicinity of the *Swedish* monarch; he apprehended if he established a firm footing in *Poland*, he might one day, by that means, give a mortal blow to the house of *Austria*. The republick of the *United Provinces* began to tremble for their commerce, fearing that if the *Swedes* became masters of *Prussia*, and particularly of *Dantzick*, they would be deprived of the great trade they carried on in grain. His *Danish* majesty could not avoid being disturbed with such sudden conquests made by a neighbouring power, the rival and the bitterest enemy of *Denmark*. He doubted not but the next attempt of *Charles* would be against his dominions. Lastly, the *Russians*, though at war with *Poland*, beheld with jealousy the aggrandisement of *Sweden*; and the czar was particularly incensed at the claim which the *Swedish* monarch laid to *Lithuania*, of which the *Russians* had already begun the reduction. All these different powers sought the means of re-establishing the affairs of *Poland*, and of chasing the *Swedes* entirely out of that kingdom and *Prussia*, while *Charles* remained without a single ally or resource, except what he drew from his own courage, and the valour and fidelity of his subjects. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that fortune shifted sides, and terminated the war in a manner very different from what the first appearances promised. Valour tutored by conduct was not alone sufficient to insure success; it was necessary that some degree of equality in strength should be observed, and that money, the sources of war, could have been provided. b

The Poles re-
volt, and
drive the
Swedes out of
the kingdom.

THE *Poles* no sooner observed a prospect of succour, than they began to recover from the panic into which they were thrown by the sudden invasion of the kingdom. King *Casimir* returned from *Silesia*, while the king of *Sweden* was engaged in *Prussia*. It was no difficult matter to persuade the *Poles* to break an oath which they had taken out of fear, and to renounce all allegiance to a prince whom they considered as a heretic, a stranger, and an usurper. Priests gave absolution, and the pontiff dispensed indulgences to this simple ignorant people; the revolt was general, and those very troops and generals who had almost voluntarily acknowledged the sovereignty of *Gustavus*, now ranged themselves under the banners of *Casimir*. In all the little villages the *Swedish* soldiers were massacred; and in the province of *Lithuania*, where a great number of *Swedish* troops were quartered, scarce one escaped the sword. *Charles* immediately marched from *Prussia* to chastise the *Poles*, and revenge the cruel death of his brave soldiers. In his march towards the capital, he encountered and defeated general *Czarnieski*, who commanded a corps of 12,000 men; above half the *Polish* army was cut in pieces or taken. This, however, did not hinder all the *Poles*, incorporated with the *Swedish* regiments, to desert to *Casimir*, by which his numbers were considerably augmented. As this campaign was made in the depth of a severe winter, the *Swedish* army was in a short time reduced to a most deplorable situation. In the march to *Jarislau* the troops sustained the united pressure of hunger, cold, fatigue, and disease; to which we may add the attacks of the peasants, who murdered and stripped all the stragglers. Besides, *Czarnieski* had set a fresh army on foot, with which he grievously harassed the *Swedish* rear, and gave perpetual alarms by means of his light cavalry. c

At length *Charles*, after surmounting incredible hardships, arrived off *Jarislau*; but finding it was impossible to subsist his troops, he again begun his march towards *Prussia*. The *Poles* thought to surround him near *Sandomir*; and a report had already prevailed, that the *Swedes* were cut in pieces, and that *Charles* was killed in the engagement. In fact, he was in the most imminent danger, cooped up in an angle formed by the confluence of two great rivers, his passage over which was opposed by forces more numerous than his own: this spirited king however surmounted every difficulty; he forced a passage, repulsed the *Lithuanians*, and opened a way to *Warsaw*, from whence he pursued his march to *Prussia*. This retreat was not accomplished without some loss. The margrave of *Baden*, who commanded a body of 4000 *Swedes*, was surprised and defeated by the *Poles* at *Warka*; a loss which was in a short time compensated by a complete victory, which *Adolphus* the king's brother and general *Wrangel* obtained over *Czarnieski*, while the king was employed in mea- d

^b Id. ibid. Revol. de Pologne, par M. le Abbe des FONTAINES, p. 293.

a sures for laying siege to *Dantzick*. This design he was forced to lay aside on account of the interposition of the *Dutch*, who arrived before the city with a squadron of twenty-eight men of war, offered their mediation, and dropped hints of their resolution of opposing *Charles*, unless a proper regard was paid to their interest. In consequence a negotiation was set on foot, and very advantageous terms were granted to the *Hollanders*. However, as the *Poles* had received a strong reinforcement of *Tartars*, *Charles* did not think it sufficient that he had bought off the *Dutch*; it was necessary to gain the elector of *Brandenburg*, in order that he might be at liberty to turn the whole strength of *Sweden* against *Casimir*; but the elector procrastinated matters, and drew out the negotiation to such a length, that *Warsaw* was forced to capitulate, after it had been for three weeks besieged by the whole *Polish* army.

b At last, not only a treaty of peace was concluded, but an alliance contracted between the king and the elector, whereby the intire sovereignty of *Prussia* was ceded to the latter, on condition that he should assist *Charles Gustavus* in the reduction of *Poland*. Accordingly those two princes marched in concert against the enemy, encamped in a strong situation in the neighbourhood of *Warsaw*, the camp being fronted by the *Vistula*. The allies began the attack, and pursued it with such vigour and obstinacy, that the *Poles* were driven from their intrenchments, intirely defeated, prodigious carnage made, and a great number of prisoners taken. So brilliant a victory greatly heightened the lustre of the *Swedish* monarch's glory; but it did not produce all the expected advantages, because the elector acted but coldly and remissly on this occasion, barely executing the articles of the treaty.

c The *Poles* and *Tartars* laboured to break the alliance; with which view they made an irruption into *Ducal Prussia*, where they defeated the electoral army near *Licca*, taking prince *Radzivil* and several officers of distinction prisoners.

THIS defeat was soon revenged by the *Swedish* general *Steinboek*, who attacked the same *Polish* army at *Philippowa*, and overthrowing it with so great slaughter, as obliged the *Poles* to quit the field for that season. On this occasion prince *Radzivil* was rescued out of the hands of the enemy; and general *Wellemborg*, who had been arrested on the reduction of *Warsaw*, contrary to an express article of the capitulation, was exchanged for certain *Polish* noblemen taken in this battle. Even this important advantage could not keep the elector steady in the interest of *Sweden*. Better terms than those stipulated in the late treaty were

d therefore granted, in order to preserve this only ally, at a period when *Muscovy* and the greatest powers in *Europe* were arming against *Sweden*. The *Russians* had already actually commenced hostilities in the provinces of *Carelia*, *Ingermania*, and *Livonia*; but they were every where defeated by the *Swedes*. At last, fortune began to desert the *Swedes* in *Livonia*; two important fortresses fell into the hands of the enemy, and they were now preparing to invest *Riga*. For the space of seven months had they battered the walls of this town, without once venturing to pass the ditch and storm the practicable breaches. The besieged, under the conduct of *Magnus de la Gardie* and *Simon Helmsfeld*, had defended themselves with great intrepidity; they had cut off several thousands of the enemy in divers vigorous sallies. At last they ventured to attack the *Russian* camp; they pierced the intrenchments, put the whole army in disorder, made terrible slaughter, intirely defeated the enemy, and obliged them to raise the siege with the utmost precipitation.

MEAN time *Charles* was not discouraged by the number of his enemies; he knew the superiority of his own troops over the *Poles* and *Russians*, in point of discipline and valour. The very report of his approach frequently put whole armies to flight. This was the case with general *Czarnieski*, who was approaching *Dantzick*; but on advice that *Charles* had advanced to oppose him, retired to *Poland* with the utmost precipitation, and in such hurry and disorder, as subjected his cavalry to a defeat from a small party of *Swedes* under colonel *Aschenberg*. The *Poles*, finding they were unable to face the *Swedes* in the field, and to stand the issue of a general engagement, contented themselves with harraffing the enemy, alarming them in their march, and cutting off their foragers and convoys. This obliged *Charles* to alter his system, and to employ irregulars, who should fight the *Poles* in their own manner. With this view he concluded a treaty with *Ragotski*, prince of *Transylvania*, whereby certain provinces of *Poland*, contiguous to his dominions, were assigned to that ally. In consequence of this treaty the confederates entered *Lithuania*; but not being able to bring the *Poles* to an engagement, the expedition terminated in the reduction of a single fortress. Perceiving that nothing considerable could be effected in *Poland*, *Charles* returned with the *Swedish* army to *Prussia* ^a.

It was now that *Leopold*, the young king of *Hungary*, resolved to declare in favour of *Poland*, and exert his utmost endeavours to break all the ambitious schemes of the *Swedish* monarch and *Ragotski*. Before he declared himself he joined the *Dutch* in soliciting the king of *Denmark* to come to a rupture with *Sweden*. When the resolution of attacking *Poland* was first taken in *Sweden*, some of the senators had given it as their opinion, that *Denmark* should have been deprived of the power of hurting the kingdom during the absence of the

^a Revol. de Polog. ibid. PURFEND. l. vii.

king and army in a distant country. But as the *Danish* monarch had given no cause for attacking his dominions, *Charles Gustavus* preferred the most generous and just method of securing his friendship by treaties mutually advantageous to both nations. As these treaties proposed to exclude the *Hollanders* from the trade and navigation of the *Baltick*, it drew upon the king the resentment of the republic, and gave birth to those warm remonstrances made by the *Dutch* deputies at the court of *Copenhagen*. *Charles* sought every opportunity of cultivating the friendship of a neighbouring power so capable of giving him great disturbance; but he soon perceived that the *Danes* declined engaging in any measures which might tie them up from attacking *Sweden*. The *Dutch*, he saw, were well received, the conferences to establish a treaty of alliance procrastinated; new demands every day made upon *Sweden*, and the price of the *Danish* friendship rated so high, that he could no longer doubt their design was to suffer him to enfeeble himself with the *Polish* war, and then to attack him, languid and exhausted. *Wrangel* advised the king to anticipate the schemes of the *Danish* monarch, and fall upon him before his levies were complete: but *Charles* resolved not to be the aggressor, imagining perhaps, that his moderation would induce the powers, who had guaranteed the treaty of *Westphalia*, to take part in his quarrel. He likewise might possibly think it sufficient to be engaged in one unjust war, undertaken merely from motives of policy and ambition.

The king of Denmark declares against Sweden.

It was not long before what *Charles* had foreseen happened. The king of *Denmark* declared open war, giving for a reason, that the *Swedes* had deprived him of the duchy of *Bremen* in the last reign, notwithstanding he had maintained an exact neutrality during the war in *Germany* (A). We have already seen the falsity of this allegation; but it could only be effectually refuted by the sword. *Charles*, on advice that the *Danes* had invaded *Bremen*, and taken *Bremerwerde* and other places, marched with all possible expedition to *Stetin*, leaving the affairs of *Prussia* and *Poland* in the hands of his brother duke *Adolphus*. Before he took this measure he had concerted matters with *Ragotski*, and given him a plan of operations, which had it been duly followed, must have brought the war with *Poland* to a speedy and fortunate issue; but *Ragotski*, offended with the king's departure to oppose a fresh enemy, became negligent, followed different measures than those recommended by *Charles*, and suffered himself to be surprised, and his army to be cut in pieces by the *Poles* and *Tartars*. To fill the measure of his misfortunes, the *Turks* made an irruption into *Transylvania*, under pretence that *Ragotski*, as a vassal of the *Porte*, had no right to invade *Poland* without authority from the Grand Seignior: the prince gave them battle and perished in the action, whereby his *Swedish* majesty lost the sole ally upon whom he could have any kind of dependence.

The Danes defeated in Bremen and Holstein.

MEAN time, *Charles-Gustavus* having traversed *Pomerania* and the duchy of *Mecklenburg*, fell upon *Holstein*, while general *Wrangel* with another corps entered the duchy of *Bremen*. Nothing could exceed the vigour and intrepidity with which this general pursued his measures. In the space of fifteen days he retook all the towns which the enemy had reduced, attacked, defeated, and drove the *Danish* army out of the country, after having killed 3000 of their best soldiers. Nor were the enemy more fortunate in *Holstein*: here the king carried all before him, taking several fortresses, reducing *Itzehoe* into ashes, defeating a corps of *Danes* in the open field, and laying siege to *Fredericks-Udda*, into which the enemy had thrown a strong garrison. The conduct of this siege the king left to *Wrangel*, retiring himself to *Wismar*, to observe the situation of affairs in *Poland*. *Wrangel* imagining that to besiege this place in form might consume the whole season, and expose his army to the rigours of the winter, resolved to attack it sword in hand, which he executed with such astonishing gallantry, that in the space of two hours he became master of a numerous garrison and exceeding strong fortifications^b.

Sea-fight.

ON the frontiers of the kingdom the *Swedes* were less successful: they had lost one battle near *Guaro* in the province of *Halland*; but the enemy deduced no considerable advantage from their victory. At sea the fleets met, and maintained a hot engagement for two days, at the end of which both sides claimed the victory. *Puffendorf*, and some other historians, partial to *Sweden*, positively affirm, that the *Danes* sheered off in disorder; but they confess that the *Swedes* profited nothing by their victory, which they attribute to the misconduct of certain officers of inferior station.

The house of Austria declares against Charles.

As to *Poland* the *Swedish* affairs were still more unprosperous: The house of *Austria* had now declared for *Casimir*, a German army had already entered *Poland*, and obliged the *Swedish* garrison in *Cracow* to surrender that capital, though *Wartz* the governor had defended

^b DES ROCHES Hist. Den. t. iv. PUFFEND. l. vii.

(A) In the history of *Denmark* we have seen a variety of reasons specified for the rupture between the two northern crowns. Among others, his *Danish* majesty demanded restitution of certain territories in *Norway*, violently withheld from him by the king of *Sweden*.

He likewise required satisfaction for the protection afforded by *Charles* to the count *Ulfeldt*, a *Danish* refugee; and indeed to the resentment of this nobleman the war is chiefly ascribed (1)

(1) Hist. of Denmark.

a it with great intrepidity, and made dreadful carnage among the besiegers. General *Czar-neski* had likewise entered *Pomerania*, where he desolated the country with all the fury of a barbarian determined to revenge his late disgraces upon the innocent peasants, whom he put to the sword, without pity or remorse. Dreading, however, the approach of the *Swedish* army, he retired with precipitation, before his expedition had answered any other purpose than that of transmitting his name to posterity as a monster of cruelty.

b *CHARLES*, finding himself environed by enemies, and his strength divided to oppose the troops of *Austria*, *Brandenburg*, *Poland*, *Russia*, and *Denmark*, determined upon striking some spirited blow which should induce the latter to listen to terms of pacification. With this view he formed an enterprize upon the island of *Funen*, the success of which would be of the utmost consequence, though the greatest difficulty attended the execution. Providence indeed seemed to second his designs; a sudden frost came on uncommonly early in the season, the sea which separates the *Danish* islands was frozen, and the *Swedish* monarch enabled to transport his forces without the expence of shipping. *Charles* did not fail to improve the opportunity. He instantly set his army in motion, passed over to *Funen* upon the ice, and surprized a body of four thousand *Danish* soldiers, and five hundred peasants, whom he cut in pieces. Having in a few days reduced the whole island, he passed from thence to *Langland*, next to *Laaland*, then to *Falstre*, all of which he conquered, and lastly to *Zealand*, the great object of his operations. The unexpected arrival of the *Swedish* army intirely disconcerted the *Danes*: they were seized with a panic, deprived of all fortitude and presence of mind, and were giving themselves up to despair, when *Charles* gave them c to understand that he would hearken to equitable terms of accommodation. He was nevertheless strongly advised to lay siege to *Copenhagen*, at that time badly fortified, and overwhelmed with consternation; but *Charles*, reflecting that the capital could be of little service towards the reduction of *Denmark*, while *Cronenburg* and other strong fortresses were in the hands of the enemy; that the conquest of these places must equally diminish his army, and afford his other enemies time to penetrate into the *Swedish* dominions, determined upon peace, and immediately set on foot a negotiation for that purpose. It cannot be imagined that the king of *Denmark*, in his present situation, would be very difficult about the terms; it was his business to sheath the sword at any expence, especially as he secretly determined again to draw it as soon as opportunity served. *Charles*, however, contented himself d with the cession of those provinces to which the crown of *Sweden* had always laid claim. Accordingly, by the treaty of *Roschild*, concluded on the twelfth of *March*, the provinces of *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking*; *Lyster* and *Huven*; the isle of *Borkholm*; the bailliages of *Babus* and *Drontheim* in *Norway*; and a free passage through the *Sound*, were the rewards of the *Swedish* king's gallant conduct. The treaty was ratified at a personal interview between the two princes, which passed at *Fredericksburg*, where they gave each other exterior marks of reciprocal esteem; after which *Charles-Gustavus* set out for *Gottenburg*, to assemble the states of *Sweden*. His army was quartered in the *Danish* dominions for the remainder of the season, in order to recover by repose and good living, the disorders contracted e in consequence of the excessive fatigue and hardships of a winter campaign.

His *Swedish* majesty had now room to hope that he had rid himself of one troublesome enemy; and that the *Danes*, so unsuccessful in their last attempt, would have no great inclination again to try the fortune of war. Nevertheless, he was disappointed: *Denmark* soon entered into a league with other powers to check the progress of the *Swedish* arms, and revenge the late indignity she sustained. The measures which the *Danish* monarch had taken, and the pains he was at to persuade the count *de Guldenlew* to quit the *Swedish* service, left *Charles* no room to doubt but his intention was to attack him, as soon as he found the *Swedes* deeply engaged either against the emperor in *Germany*, king *Casimir* in *Poland*, or the *Russians* in *Livonia*. He therefore resolved to anticipate designs which might prove f of fatal consequence, and again to attack *Denmark* unprepared, and before she had sufficiently provided for her security. He thought it adviseable that *Denmark*, rather than his own dominions, should become the theatre of war: for which reason he ordered his fleet to the coast of *Holstein*, where he embarked his troops with all possible expedition. He spread a report that his intention was to lay siege to *Dantzick*; but he set sail strait for *Zealand*, and appeared very unexpectedly before *Copenhagen*. Had he immediately given the assault, before the inhabitants had recovered from their first surprize, it is probable he would have carried the city, without the trouble of a siege or blockade; but as he landed at the distance of seventeen miles from the capital, the *Danes* had time to recruit their spirits, and to take the measures necessary for their defence. In effect, they behaved with admirable courage, fought with incredible intrepidity, and defeated the *Swedes*, in every attempt made to take the city by assault. The siege was spun out to a great length, and the besieged reduced to extremities, when at last a powerful *Dutch* fleet arrived in the *Sound*, laden with ammunition and provision for their succour. He gave battle to the *Hollanders*;

Peace with
Denmark.
A. D. 1658.

War renewed
with Den-
mark.

Copenhagen
besieged.

^a Hist. Dan. t. iv.

but admiral *Opdam*, in despite of all his endeavours, pushed into the harbour of *Copenhagen*, and relieved the city, just as it was on the point of surrendering. This obliged *Charles* to convert the siege into a blockade, and to intrench his army at the entrance of the *Sound*, in which situation it remained until the end of the war. Mean time general *Wrangel* had been dispatched with a body of forces to lay siege to *Cronenburg*, the strongest fortrefs in the *Danish* dominions, which he took, after a siege of three weeks, by such a series of gallant actions, intrepidity, and vigour, as raised his reputation beyond that of any officer of this period in the *Swedish* service.

NOTWITHSTANDING the whole strength of *Sweden* was employed in *Denmark*, the *Poles* made no considerable advantage of the respite that they obtained. All they effected was penetrating into *Livonia*, laying siege to *Cebzon*, in which they were foiled, and, in concert with the *Austrians*, reducing *Thorn*. A new enemy now appeared, and had no sooner declared himself than he was crushed. The duke of *Courland* had, under the pretext of a neutrality, done many ill offices to *Sweden*: the king therefore directed general *Douglas* to attack the fortrefs of *Mittau*, which he executed with such address, that the place was taken, and the duke carried off prisoner to *Riga*; from whence he was sent to *Novogorod*, where he remained during the war. With such vigour did the *Swedes* combat and humble their numerous enemies.

A. D. 1659. WHILE *Charles* kept all *Denmark* in a manner blocked up, the enemies of *Sweden* continued closely linked together, and determined, in their resolution, to clip those soaring wings which endangered the liberty of all the northern nations, and disturbed the repose of *Europe*. Even *France* and *England* appeared partial to the enemies of *Sweden*, and ready to declare in their favour, as far as could be judged from a treaty called the *Concert of the Hague*, or a kind of agreement between *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, to reconcile the two northern monarchies. To frustrate the effects of this agreement, *Charles* made an attempt in the night to surprise *Copenhagen*; but the scheme was baffled by the strength and vigour of the besieged, who greatly exceeded in number his whole army. He then laboured to establish a firm footing in the *Danish* islands; for which purpose he made himself master of *Langland*, *Mona*, *Falstre*, and *Laaland*. He persisted in his resolution, notwithstanding the arrival of an *English* and *Dutch* fleet in the *Sound*; and was encouraged in his perseverance by the news of a truce concluded between his general and the *Russians*, of the defeat of the *Poles* before *Riga*, and because he chose rather to die sword in hand than be awed or intimidated into measures contrary to his inclination.

NOTWITHSTANDING the defeat before *Riga*, the *Poles* found means to drive the king's forces out of *Courland*, and to gain possession of *Grandentz* in *Prussia*. At the same time the *Austrians*, in concert with the electoral forces of *Brandenburg*, penetrated into *Holstein* and *Jutland*; and were preparing to invade *Funen*; but were repulsed by the brave *Wrangel*. Their loss on this occasion was so considerable, and the conduct of the *Swedes* so remarkably spirited, that, convinced they could gain nothing by persisting in the attempt to reduce the island, they returned to *Pomerania*, and laid siege to *Stetin* with all their forces. Here they were not more successful: after great loss of time, and an infinity of soldiers, the allies were at length forced to relinquish the siege, and break up camp in great disorder.

The Swedes
defeated.

A. D. 1660.

A WAR merely defensive, as this might justly be deemed, however successful, contributed nothing towards the completion of the ambitious hopes of *Charles Gustavus*. He therefore made another attempt on *Copenhagen*; but it terminated in the same manner as the preceding. He was more unfortunate in another quarter. The *Dutch* fleet transported the allied troops to *Funen*, where they attacked the *Swedes* under count *Saltzbach* with such superior numbers, that, after an obstinate defence, he was forced to retire with scarce half his army to *Nyburg*, the other half having perished in the field of battle. A few days after the *Swedes*, who had taken shelter at *Nyburg*, were forced to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion; by which the king lost the service of four thousand of the best soldiers in his whole army. The loss and disgrace affected him sensibly; but did not weaken his courage, nor damp that spirit of enterprize for which this prince was celebrated. He was preparing to take his revenge, and had assembled the states at *Gottenburg* to deliberate on the means of pushing the war with redoubled vigour, when he was attacked by a fever, which was epidemical and fatal in the camp. After a few days illness, he died on the 23d of *February*, having reigned not more than six years; during which he obtained the reputation of a bold, busy, warlike, undaunted, and rash monarch, whose ambition stirred up the greatest powers of *Europe* against him, whose ardour after glory engaged him in the most unjust quarrels, and whose inventive fruitful genius would probably have triumphed over all difficulties, and obliged the six powerful nations with which he was then at war to grant honourable terms of pacification, had he lived a few years longer.

THE death of *Charles Gustavus*, who was the soul and invigorating principle of *Sweden*;

a the minority that ensued; the distressed situation of the kingdom, ready to sink under a Charles XI.
 ruinous fruitless war; made it absolutely necessary that measures should be immediately
 taken for restoring the public tranquility. The regency, as it had been settled in the de-
 ceased monarch's will, underwent some alterations. The queen-dowager was left in pos-
 session of all the power and honours assigned her by the king; but the office of grand
 marechal was taken from duke *Adolphus*, and conferred on *Kayge*, the oldest general in
 Sweden; and after his death, which happened in 1669, was given to *Charles-Gustavus*
Wrangel, who was succeeded in the office by *Steinboek*. The states and the regency unani-
 mously agreed, that the first step was to get rid of the war upon any terms, that were not
 in a very extraordinary manner injurious to the honour and interest of Sweden; and their
 b views were the more easily accomplished, as the death of *Charles Gustavus* considerably di-
 minished the jealousy the northern powers had conceived of the designs formed by Sweden.
 Could *Schonen*, *Bleking*, *Halland*, and *Babus* be retained, no other conditions could prove
 unfavourable in the present conjuncture. Accordingly a treaty of peace with Poland was
 set on foot, and prosecuted with such diligence, that it was signed and finally concluded at
 c *Oliva* by the third day of May. In this treaty were comprehended the emperor and the
 elector of *Bavaria*: *John Casimir* renounced his pretensions to the crown of Sweden, and the
 republic of Poland ceded her pretended right to *Livonia*. Treaty of
Oliva.

THE peace with Denmark met with greater difficulties, and the conferences were fre-
 quently on the point of being broke off. King *Frederick* refused to declare himself, until
 c Sweden should make explicit proposals, under pretence that he was attacked in the midst of
 profound peace, and at a time when he thought himself perfectly secure on the faith of so-
 lemn treaties; but the Swedish commissaries having protested, that their sole view was to
 restore the repose of the North, the mediators found means to adjust all differences. Con-
 ferences were appointed in tents, erected for the commissaries, between the Swedish camp and
Copenhagen. By the 21st of June the treaty was signed, upon much the same conditions as
 the late treaty of *Roschild*; only that *Bornholm* and *Drontheim* were now ceded to Denmark,
 while a certain equivalent in *Schonen* remained with Sweden. Soon after the disputes with
Holland were terminated by a treaty, and peace with the *Russians* was concluded at *Cardis*.
 d Thus the tranquility of Sweden was once more restored, in a manner that cannot be deem-
 ed dishonourable, considering the number and power of her enemies, the length of the
 war, and the distressed situation in which the kingdom was left by the sudden death of the
 monarch, and the prospect of a tedious minority.

SWEDEN was now regarded as a power of considerable importance in the scale of Eu- A. D. 1667.
 rope. The regency interposed in the war between England and Holland, and their media-
 tion greatly contributed to the peace concluded at *Breda*. Some years after his Swedish ma-
 jesty composed one of the members of the triple alliance, formed for the security of the
Netherlands, and to retrench the growing power and clip the soaring wings of *Lewis XIV*.
 At last, however, perceiving the storm which threatened Europe on the invasion of the A. D. 1672.
 United Provinces, Charles closed in with the designs of Lewis, as the method he judged
 c would most effectually bring about a general pacification. The treaty between France and
 Sweden professed nothing more than the preservation of the treaties of *Westphalia*; though
 it was obvious that each of the parties entertained other designs, and projected the exten-
 sion of their several dominions. It must however be confessed, that Sweden gave signal
 proofs of moderation, as soon as it was perceived that the French king would have pushed
 his ambition to the utter extinction of the Dutch republic. The king then offered his me-
 diation to terminate all differences, before he should be reduced to the necessity of applying
 force. Matters were brought to such a length, that conferences were appointed at *Cologne*;
 and the negotiation was in a fair way of arriving at a happy issue, when the emperor dis-
 concerted the whole by ordering the cardinal *Furstenberg*, plenipotentiary from the elector
 f of *Cologne*, to be arrested at the congress. Charles, incensed at this proceeding, attached
 himself more closely to France, and by that means involved Sweden in a fresh quarrel with
 the elector of *Brandenburg*.

THE manner in which the Swedish monarch began this war was very particular. He A. D. 1674.
 ordered his troops to enter *Brandenburg*; but rigorously to abstain from all violence, and
 whatever could be construed into an act of hostility. By this means he hoped to oblige the
 elector to listen to terms of accommodation, and detach him from the grand alliance form-
 ing against Lewis. Soon after he published a manifesto in justification of his conduct, re-
 futing therein all the calumnies asserted by the elector, with respect to the depredations
 committed by the Swedish forces. Here too he complained of the unjust seizure of divers Swedish
 g ships by privateers licensed by the elector, previous to any declaration of war, without remon-
 strating any grievances, and contrary to a treaty subsisting, and the established laws of nations.
 b.

WHEN this manifesto appeared, *Wrangel* detached two thousand men to seize the passage
 of *Loekmeit*: here the first hostilities were commenced. The *Brandenburgers* made an ob-

a BAR. Hist. de Allem. t. x.

b PUFFEND. Hist. lib. vii. VOLT. Siecle, t. i.

A. D. 1675.

The Swedes
are every
where defeat-
ed.

stinate resistance; but were at last forced to give way, and suffer the *Swedes* to pursue their march to *Middlemere*, where they reduced *Bernau*, *Britsen*, and some other places. Notwithstanding *Wrangel* fell sick, and was forced to quit the army, the *Swedes* pursued their conquests under general *Mardenfeldt*, and possessed themselves almost without opposition of all the towns and fortresses in *Brandenburgh*. At length the elector arrived to the relief of his dominions, retook several important towns, fell upon the rear of the *Swedish* army, and cut it in pieces. In the end, the two armies came to a general engagement near *Febr-Bellin*, in which, after a bloody contest, the *Swedes* were forced to retreat, but in such good order, that the elector did not venture to pursue. He, notwithstanding, improved the advantage with so much address, that the *Swedes* were forced to evacuate all their conquests; and, what proved of worse consequence, they were deprived of the assistance of certain powers who were ready to declare for them, had they not been discouraged by the declining situation of their affairs. Instead of being reinforced by alliances, the king of *Denmark*, the United Provinces, the duke of *Lunenbourg*, and the bishop of *Munster*, all seized the opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on *Sweden*, and bringing down to their own level a power that had lately towered it over all her neighbours, and given law to the northern hemisphere. It was likewise probable that *Russia* would have joined in this confederacy, had not the death of the czar happily delivered *Sweden* from so formidable an accession to her enemies. *Charles* could only oppose to this powerful combination the feeble aid of the elector of *Bavaria*, with whom he concluded a treaty offensive and defensive; for as to *France*, her armies had full employment in the *Netherlands*, and on the *Rhine*.

THE bishop of *Munster* was the first of the allies who sent an army into the field. In concert with the *Brandenburghers*, his troops reduced *Verden*, which soon became a bone of contention, and broke the confederacy against *Sweden*. The war, however, went still on with vigour in *Pomerania*; where the *Danes*, Imperialists, and *Brandenburghers*, assisted by a *Dutch* squadron, all attacked the *Swedes* in different places. After divers other conquests, the electoral forces took *Wollin* by assault, and put the garrison and governor, count *Schwerin*, to the sword. Thence they passed to the isle of *Usedom*, and soon reduced *Wolgast*; while the *Danes* gained possession of *Damgarten*, and were laying siege to *Wismar*. Though this town was strong by nature and art, it soon surrendered for want of provision, notwithstanding some writers tax the governor with cowardice.

A. D. 1676.

THE rigour of the season could not deter the *Swedes* from keeping the field, in hopes of recovering, by a winter campaign, what they had lost during the summer. They passed to the isle of *Usedom*, invested *Wolgast*, and were forced, after a tedious siege, to relinquish the enterprize. Nor were the king's affairs more fortunate in *Bremen*, where the enemy laid siege to *Stade*, and reduced the brave garrison to extreme necessity. But what gave the most violent shock to *Sweden* was the defeat of the fleet, in an engagement with the combined squadrons of *Denmark* and *Holland* near *Bornholm*; and afterwards in a more decisive action off *Oeland*, in which the *Swedish* admiral was blown up, and the vice-admiral, with several other officers of distinction, and five ships, were taken. In consequence of this victory, *Tromp* the *Dutch* admiral reduced *Udsted*, which fortress the governor abandoned, after having made a vigorous defence. His *Danish* majesty likewise, now master of the northern seas, embarked eighteen thousand men, and landed at *Helsingburg*, to which place he laid siege in form. The garrison, amounting only to two hundred and fifty men, evacuated the town, and retired to the citadel, which they bravely defended for the space of a week; at the end of which, a breach being made, they surrendered at discretion.

It was now that the *Swedish* monarch took into his own hands the reins of government, and resolved to reign without the assistance of a regency. He was induced to this determination by the factions which prevailed in the senate and regency. He declared his intention by taking upon him the command of the army, which he joined in person, with a view of opposing the irruption made by the *Danes* into *Schonen*. His forces, however, proved too weak to face the enemy: *Charles* was forced to evacuate *Schonen*, with the mortification of being baffled in his first attempt, and leaving a fine province to be desolated by hostile armies. On the king's retreat to *Christianstadt*, the *Danes* besieged *Landscroon*, and reduced the garrison in a few days to the necessity of capitulating (*August* 13), after which they directed their march to *Christianstadt*. This town, though strong by nature, and bravely defended, yielded at last to the obstinacy of the besiegers, who took it by assault, and put five hundred of the garrison to the sword.

Charles's good
fortune re-
turns.

ALL these disgraces served only to whet the ardour and stimulate the courage of the young monarch, who first turned the scale of fortune by defeating the *Danish* general *Dun-camp* near *Helmstadt*, and so intirely ruining his army, that of four thousand men not above three hundred escaped. This advantage was succeeded by the obstinate battle of *Lunden*, in which both the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* claimed the victory. That *Charles* prevailed appears from his keeping the field of battle, obliging the enemy to raise the siege of *Malmoe*, and his *Danish* majesty to retire to *Copenhagen*.

THE

a THE same fortune did not accompany the *Swedish* arms in *Pomerania*, the defence of which province was committed to count *Königsmark*. At first this general was extremely successful: he had gained a variety of inconsiderable advantages, which were soon obliterated by a series of disgraces, losses, and misfortunes. In a word, there remained only *Stetin*, *Stralsund*, and *Gripsholm*, in possession of the *Swedes*; and to the former of these the elector of *Brandenburg* laid siege with all his forces. After he had in vain consumed the whole autumn before this town, he was at last obliged to convert the siege into a blockade, and return for the winter to *Berlin*. Amidst all the rigours of a severe season, the electoral army remained encamped before this city, using every possible expedient to reduce it to extremity. *Vander Hoot*, who was governor, performed every thing that could be expected from an active, skilful, and resolute commander. He made frequent sallies, drove the besiegers from their posts, and was in a fair way of obliging them to raise the blockade, when he received a mortal wound. When he found his end approaching, he assembled the principal officers and burghers round his bed, and exhorted them to behave like brave men, deserving the king's confidence, to defend the place to the last extremity; he appointed *Wolfzen* for his successor, and then breathed his last. The new governor copied exactly the example of his predecessor; he made a great number of vigorous sallies, harassed the besiegers, but not having the necessary authority over the townsmen, reduced to extreme misery, the populace revolted, and obliged him to deliberate on the means of obtaining an honourable capitulation (*Jan. 1.*). By this time a garrison of three thousand was reduced to three hundred and twenty effective men: however, this slender corps obtained all the honours of war, and marched out, drums beating, colours flying, a small train of artillery, and lighted matches, and was conducted to *Livonia*.

SINCE the battle of *Lunden* the *Swedes* remained masters of the field in that country. A. D. 1678. They reduced *Helsingburg*, obliged *Christianhaven* to capitulate, and were laying siege to *Christianstadt*; but his *Danish* majesty marching with a powerful army to the relief of this last place, they broke up camp and relinquished the enterprize. Nor was the *Swedish* fleet more successful than the preceding year. Admiral *Zeeblad* quitting *Gottenburg* with eighteen sail of the line, in order to join the main fleet, was attacked and defeated, with the loss of six ships, by the *Danish* admiral. This advantage encouraged *Frederick* to invest *Malmö*, a city that was obstinately defended and attacked (*June 18*). On the sixth of *July* the *Danes* gave a general assault. They mounted the ramparts sword in hand, carried two bastions, and were opening a way for the cavalry, when the draw-bridge broke down with the prodigious weight of the soldiers who crowded upon it, put the *Danes* in confusion, inspired the besieged with fresh courage, and destroyed all the hopes of the besiegers, who were driven from the walls with prodigious slaughter; upon which they raised the siege a second time.

Four days after the *Swedish* fleet fell upon the *Danes* near the isle of *Mona*, and, after having almost grasped victory, was defeated, with the loss of seven ships. When the engagement began, the *Swedes* had the weather-gage; but the *Danish* admiral found means to deprive them of this advantage, and to break their line, to which the defeat is ascribed. To complete the misfortune, the *Dutch* squadron, which had already entered the *Sound* to assist the *Danes*, cut off the *Swedish* admiral's passage to *Gottenburg*, and blocked him up at *Malmö*, where he remained in the utmost distress.

It was but a few days after this sea-engagement that the battle of *Landscroon* was fought, in which both the *Swedish* and *Danish* monarchs commanded in person, each performing every duty of a soldier and general. The *Swedish* right broke the left of the *Danes*; but *Charles* was forced to draw off his troops to succour the left wing, which was put in confusion by the enemy. By this means the battle was again renewed with the most obstinate fury, from ten in the forenoon until six in the evening, when the excessive heat of the sun and fatigue of the combatants obliged both parties to retire to their camp, as if by mutual consent. The *Swedish* writers however alledge, that the king of *Denmark* retired to *Landscroon*, leaving king *Charles* master of the field, of thirty-two pieces of cannon, some mortars, and a great number of loaded waggons.

THE scene of blood was not confined to the ocean, to *Schonen*, and *Pomerania*; *Norway* likewise was the theatre of some considerable actions. At *Oldeval* a battle was fought, sword in hand, because the heavy rains would not admit of the use of fire-arms. Here the *Swedes* were defeated (*Sept. 7*), the infantry being cut in pieces, and the cavalry escaping only by means of the swiftness of their horses. To crown the misfortunes of *Sweden*, the *Danes* made a descent on the islands of *Oeland*, *Smaaland*, *Unno*, and *Kuno*, some of which they laid desolate; while the electoral troops and Imperialists reduced count *Königsmark* to the utmost distress in the neighbourhood of *Stralsund*. At length, however, by dint of vigilance, he found an opportunity of attacking them to so much advantage, that he retrieved his affairs by a complete victory; after which he ravaged the duchy of *Mecklenburg*.

^a PUFFEND. lib. vii.

ALL this while the *Swedes* were besieging *Christianstadt*, from which the *Danes* hoped to draw their attention by an attempt on *Gottcnburg*, by descents in the neighbourhood of *Stockholm* to alarm that capital, and by investing *Babus*; but none of these diversions answered the intention. The king adhered closely to his purpose, and continued the siege with the utmost vigour, notwithstanding he every moment expected to be attacked in his camp by the whole strength of *Denmark*. Success was the reward of his perseverance: the garrison capitulated on the fourteenth of *August*, and *Charles* had the satisfaction of becoming master of this important fortress in spite of the spirited defence of the besieged, and the utmost endeavours of the *Danish* army, headed by their monarch. However, this conquest was not made without some retribution on the side of the enemy. *Helsingburg* fell into their hands, and might be said to be the price of *Christianstadt*, though by no means of equal value.

The Swedes
evacuate Po-
merania.

THOUGH *Konigsmark* had lately obtained some advantages in *Pomerania*, he could not prevent the elector of *Brandenburg* from laying siege to *Stralsund*, and reducing it, after a brisk siege, which continued from the middle of the month of *September* to the end of *October*. *Gripswald* followed the fate of *Stralsund*, and surrendered on the fifteenth of *November*, by which the *Swedes* were absolutely dispossessed of every town and fortress in *Pomerania*. But *Sweden* wanted something more to fill the measure of her distresses. The fleet which transported the army from *Pomerania* to *Sweden* was shipwrecked in the night on the coast of *Bornholm*, by which near two thousand men perished in the waters, and the remainder were pillaged and taken prisoners by the *Danes*, notwithstanding they had passports from king *Frederick*. Some ascribe this misfortune to the ignorance of the admiral; others to the treachery of the elector of *Brandenburg*: at this distance of time it is difficult to ascertain the truth; though we must observe, in justice to the elector's memory, that nothing ever appeared to prove this imputation; and that the wretched remains of the shipwreck all declared, with one voice, that the misfortune proceeded from the admiral's unacquaintance with the coast.

A. D. 1679.

DURING these transactions in the North, the *Dutch* signed a peace with *Lewis XIV.* The emperor had done the same, whereby *Lewis* stipulated, that his allies the *Swedes* should be put in possession of all they retained after the treaty of *Westphalia*. He laboured likewise to effect a reconciliation between the courts of *Vienna* and *Stockholm*, proposing the treaty of *Westphalia* as the basis of the negotiations; and that all acts, decrees, and edicts, declaring *Sweden* an enemy to the empire, should be revoked. Thus the king of *Denmark* and elector of *Brandenburg*, perceiving they were actually to be deserted by all their allies, and exposed to the whole united strength of *France* and *Sweden*, made overtures of a separate peace with *Lewis*; but that monarch refused to listen to any propositions in which *Sweden* was not included. The *Swedes*, perceiving their affairs in a better posture since the treaty with the emperor and the republic of *Holland*, and supported by so powerful an ally as *Lewis*, determined to relax in nothing, but to keep up to the rigour of the proposals they had given to the courts of *Copenhagen* and *Berlin*. This necessarily prolonged the negotiation; and the armistice being at last expired, the *French* troops in *Cleves* and *Juliers* put themselves in motion to cross the *Rhine*, fall upon the electorate, and oblige the *Brandenburghers* to sue for a renewal of the cessation of arms. The truce was granted; but it produced no effect, as the elector of *Brandenburg* seemed determined only to conclude peace with *France*, after which he should be able to treat upon a better footing with *Sweden*. In the end, the marshal *Crequi* defeated the electoral forces under general *Spaar*, and obliged the elector to precipitate the negotiation. The treaty, in consequence, was signed at *St. Germain*, the basis being laid in the peace of *Westphalia*. *Sweden* ceded certain territories beyond the *Oder* to the elector of *Brandenburg*; and he, in return, promised not to assist *Denmark*, directly or indirectly; a condition which the court of *France* obtained from all her enemies.

Peace with
Denmark.

DENMARK was left now singly to combat a power which had fully employed her forces, at a time when they were assisted by numerous and formidable allies. *Frederick* was immediately sensible of the necessity of terminating the war. With this view he sent directions to his resident in *France* to sign a peace, upon the conditions already proposed by *Lewis* for the intire satisfaction of *Sweden*. By the fourth article of this treaty *Frederick* declared, that *Sweden* should be restored to all she possessed at the commencement of the war. Thus *Charles*, after a series of losses and defeats, found means to extricate himself with honour from a quarrel begun in his childhood, and obstinately maintained since his accession to the throne against a combination of the most respectable powers of *Christendom*.

THE treaty of peace with *Denmark* paved the way to a treaty of marriage between the king and the princess *Ulrica-Eleonora*, daughter of *Frederick III.* On the thirteenth of *May* the princess arrived at *Elseneur*, and next day was received at *Helsingburg* by the queen-

A. D. 1680.
The king mar-
ries.

PUFFEND. lib. vii. Hist. Dan. tom. iv.

mother

a mother of Sweden. The sixteenth she set out for *Schotterup*, where the nuptial ceremony was privately performed, the king having met her there in a hunting-dress. As the kingdom had suffered greatly by the late war, *Charles* convoked the states to deliberate on the means of restoring matters to their former situation, and establishing the revenue upon a proper footing. The assembly was opened with a speech by *Oxenstiern*, prime minister; in which he recapitulated the chief occurrences of the war, the state of the nation, and of the finances, concluding with the king's demands, which he reduced to four articles. These respected the external security of the kingdom by foreign alliances, its intrinsic importance by means of respectable fleets and armies, the reformation of all abuses which had crept into the administration, and the due adjustment of taxes and impositions necessarily laid upon the subject in consequence of a tedious war. After warm debates, the resolution was taken of maintaining the fleet in the same situation as in the year 1669. For the support of the army two taxes were ordered to be levied on the peasants the subsequent year, and in the next year following. They were besides ordered to board the soldiers at a certain price, for the two ensuing years; and it was left to the king's pleasure to maintain a certain number of troops at the expence of the factories, the society of hunters, and other public bodies and corporations. It was deemed great condescension in the nobility that they agreed to advance a sum of money towards the relief of the peasants; yet the payment was so inconsiderable, that it was obvious they wanted rather to screen themselves against the public odium, than minister to the necessities of the government. Another resolution of the states was to re-annex to the crown all the lordships and lands, feudal and allodial, which had been dismembered from it since the year 1609, together with all the royal palaces alienated since the year 1655. Several other decrees extremely favourable to the crown passed; and the clergy voluntarily offered a fifth of their revenue to the king, provided they might pay it in kine, or brass-money.

A. D. 1631.

It was now that the states likewise determined to make a small alteration in the constitution. The authority which the senate assumed gave umbrage to the king, and to the different orders of men and degrees in the kingdom. The senators claimed to themselves a middle rank, between the king and the states. They assumed a right of mediating between both, of reminding the king of the obligations he owed the people, and the subjects of the duty which they owed their sovereign. The states appointed a committee to examine whether the authority assumed by the senate was founded on the laws of the realm, and perfectly constitutional. The report of the committee was, that the king was bound to govern by the advice of the senate; nevertheless, no law of the constitution allowed of their claim to the middle rank they asserted. Upon this report the king declared, by an edict, that the laws should remain in their full vigour; that he would govern by the advice of the senate; but that he should be judge of what affairs were proper to be communicated to this body. In a word, the senators were forbid taking the title of counsellors of the kingdom: they were only called counsellors to the king; and the sovereign rendered himself in a manner independent, by retaining the power of consulting them only on such points as he thought proper. These changes gave birth to a new department of state, called the *grand commission*, which assumed a right to inquire into all transactions of the ministry, and to punish the usurpations and exactions of the senators.

As soon as the states broke up, the king determined to proceed to the queen's coronation, which was celebrated at *Stockholm* with all possible magnificence. Soon after the states were again assembled, which occasioned much speculation; as, for a great number of years, it had been usual to assemble them only once in four years, except upon very extraordinary occasions. In the speech made by the chancellor, he acquainted the states, that notwithstanding the king was sensible of the expence resulting from frequent meetings of the states, yet he thought it absolutely necessary to concert measures with his faithful subjects for the safety of the kingdom, and the preservation of its present happy tranquillity. His majesty had nothing more at heart, he said, than the felicity of the kingdom, and that a strict union should subsist between the two northern crowns. With this view he had renewed the ancient treaties with *Denmark*. He had likewise, for the greater security of the kingdom, not only renewed the old treaties with *France*, but contracted new, for the execution of the treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimeguen*. That, for the convenience and advancement of commerce, he had done the same with the states-general of the United Provinces, and the emperor was desirous of becoming a party. In a word, he recapitulated whatever respected the king's conduct with regard to foreign transactions. He next proceeded to domestic affairs, and particularly the ordonnances of the last assembly, which occasioned warm disputes between the nobility and the other orders of the states. The deputies of the burghers and peasants however passed an act, declaring the *grand commission* to have punctually performed the duty required by the establishment of the board; requesting that the sums le-

A. D. 1682:
The king ac-
quires absolute
power.

vied by taxes might be employed in the payment of public debts; that a commission should be issued to liquidate arrears, and to reduce the tax of eight *per cent.* on estates to six *per cent.* A number of other articles were likewise inserted, to prevent the embezzlement of public money among favourites of the nobility, and the alienation of the crown-lands.

A. D. 1683. WITH one voice the nobility cried out against this act; but, without paying any regard to their opposition, the deputies of the burghers and peasants began to add, that the king had power to put the kingdom in such a situation as he thought most conducive to its interest and security. The conduct of *Charles* was artful: he pretended to hold a middle course between the violence of both parties: he instigated the deputies of the lower order to what they did; yet with seeming reluctance he publicly approved of the acts they had passed. By the article which had given him power, of his own authority, to alter the constitution, and to put the government in what hands he thought proper, he was in fact made absolute and despotic; but the commons did not appear to have foreseen the consequences. They acted merely out of opposition to the nobility: they were desirous of humbling them, and bringing them nearer to their own level: they effected their purpose; but they likewise went beyond it, when they enlarged the royal prerogative.

The nominal value of money raised. IT was in the year 1685 that the extraordinary expedient was projected of liquidating the public debts, by raising the value of money, without increasing its intrinsic value; an expedient since practised, as a refinement in policy, in other countries, though it partakes but little of common honesty, and generally brings discredit upon government. At this time the creditors of the crown lost above nine millions of crowns by this single measure: the revenue, indeed, was cleared thereby; but thousands of the most industrious families were involved in irremediable destruction.

NEXT followed a regulation, or rather an ordonnance, in the church; whereby the king forbid the exercise of any religion, except the *Lutheran*, within the *Swedish* dominions. A. D. 1687. However, at the solicitation of the *Dutch*, *Charles* relaxed somewhat from the rigour of this law, having afterwards permitted Protestants in general, the followers of *Calvin* as well as *Luther*, publicly to profess their doctrines.

SINCE the accession of the princess of *Denmark* to the throne of *Sweden*, the two northern crowns had lived in the utmost harmony. This proceeded chiefly from the influence of the queen of *Sweden* with the kings her husband and father, and the necessity of respiring for a time after the fatigue of a ruinous long war. There were, indeed, some points of contending interest still subsisting; but the resolute prudence of the monarchs kept them steady in pacific measures, and determined them to avoid whatever had a tendency to renew the antient animosity of the two nations. The difference between his *Danish* majesty and the duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*, had, indeed, almost broke through all the prudential pacific maxims of *Charles* and *Frederick*: happily, however, a conference, set on foot at *Altena*, warded off the storm, re-established the tranquility of the North, and gave birth to a fresh treaty between *Sweden* and *Denmark*.

WHILE *Sweden* cultivated peace with all her neighbours, there were not wanting causes of domestic discontent. The new establishment called the *grand commission*, the derogation from the power of the senate, the liquidation of the crown debts, the iniquitous encrease of the nominal value of the coin, the reduction of the estates all over the kingdom: these, with a variety of other new measures, gave disgust to all the nobility, to all the crown creditors, and to the commercial interest. In *Livonia* they were highly resented, and the nobility sent repeated petitions and remonstrances to court, by the hands of deputies, who had orders to insist upon their privileges confirmed by repeated acts of the king's royal predecessors. The deputies could obtain nothing, and therefore returned to *Werden*, where the diet was assembled. On their report the body of nobility resolved to draw up a stronger remonstrance than any of the former, to be presented to the king by captain *Patkul*, one of the five deputies, who had already distinguished himself for his boldness, and attachment to liberty. The remonstrance breathed the true spirit of freedom; *Patkul* enforced it with the manly eloquence of a rough intrepid spirit, fired with the love of liberty and dread of despotism. In the end, however, he became the victim of the court's resentment, and of his own zeal for the privileges of the nobility. An accusation was drawn up against the remonstrants, and particularly *Patkul*. In vain did the whole body of nobility interpose: the process went on, without any regard to their defence, and they were convicted of high treason. The load of punishment and ignominy fell upon *Patkul*. He was sentenced to have his right hand cut off; to be deprived of his life, honours, and estates; to have the latter confiscated to the crown, and his papers burnt by the hands of the common executioner. The counsellor *Cronersten* lost his employment, and several other persons of distinction were imprisoned for six years, but pardoned on their submission; and the secretary to the nobles of *Livonia* was condemned to spend eight days in close confinement; living on

a bread and water. Neither *Patkul* nor his colleagues could avail themselves of the decision of the university of *Leipsick*, which formally declared the accusation unjust: he was forced to fly his country, to avoid the execution of his rigorous sentence, only that it might recur with redoubled vengeance in the subsequent reign. We have already touched upon his misfortunes.

b We have already recited the generous endeavours of his *Swedish* majesty to establish the peace of *Europe*. To his mediation was in a great measure owing the congress at *Ryswick*; but while he was labouring to effect a general pacification, he was seized with a disorder, which cut him off in the forty-second year of his age. *Charles* died with the reputation of a moderate, peaceable, and politic prince; notwithstanding the unhappy war in which *France* involved him before he attained the age of manhood, and the vast extension of the royal prerogative, seem to contradict his character. He certainly cultivated peace during the remaining part of his reign, gave a seasonable check to the insolence of the nobility, put his army and fleet in a respectable posture, cherished commerce, threw off the shackles in which *Sweden* had for many years been kept by the court of *France*, claimed the independency of his court, and renounced an alliance, the very basis of which was contrary to the interest of his people. Upon the whole, *Charles XI.* was a wise and respectable monarch, whose failings were absorbed in the lustre of that glory acquired by a series of politic spirited conduct for the ten last years of his government.

April 15,
A. D. 1697.

S E C T. XI.

Containing the Particulars of the War with Denmark, Russia, and Poland.

c **C**HARLES XII. the son and successor of the deceased monarch, was a minor at the death of his father, and left under the tuition of his grandmother, the queen-dowager *Eleonora*, the same wise princess who had governed the kingdom during the late king's minority (A). To her were joined five senators in the regency, until the young king should arrive at the legal age for taking upon himself the government. Upon his accession *Charles* was fifteen: he found a throne secured, and respected abroad; a crown more extended in prerogative than any *Swedish* monarch had ever before enjoyed; subjects poor, but loyal, hardy, brave, and frugal; a treasury well managed, and the whole administration in the hands of honest and able ministers. He was the absolute undisturbed master of *Sweden*, *Finland*, *Livonia*, *Carelia*, and *Ingria*, the towns of *Wismar* and *Wiburg*, the duchy of *Bremen* and *Verden*, great part of *Pomerania*, and the isle of *Rugen*, secured to his crown by the treaties of *Munster*, *Oliva*, and now by that of *Ryswick*, executed soon after the accession of *Charles*. By the last will of *Charles XI.* the young king's majority was put off to the age of eighteen; but he soon found means to lay aside this clause of his father's testament, and remove from the regency the queen-dowager, whose ambition and ability made her hope that she should long enjoy the sweets of power under her grandson. Count *Piper* and *Axel Sparre* were the persons employed to accomplish this revolution in the administration. Both were bold, spirited, artful, and ambitious of distinguishing themselves in the young monarch's favour. The counsellors of the regency were easily seduced by their arguments to come over to the scheme concerted, and thereby to recommend themselves to the king's esteem. In a body they proposed to the queen, that *Charles* should take into his own hands the reins of administration. She was startled at the proposal; but not caring to deny her consent, agreed that it might be referred to the states. Here all were unanimous: the queen found that opposition would be fruitless; she therefore resigned with a good grace, and *Charles* had the whole power devolved upon him, within three days after he had first expressed his inclinations to reign alone.

Charles XII.

(A) The princess *Ulrica-Eleonora*, wife of *Charles XI.* and mother of *Charles XII.* died at *Carelsberg* about three years before the king's death, whither she had been conveyed for the recovery of her health. She was a princess of excellent understanding, piety, charity, and great munificence. Her last request was that she might be buried without pomp or splendor, and that the savings of a magnificent funeral might be applied to the relief of the poor. The king, however, determined otherwise, ordering the last obsequies to be performed with the utmost solemnity. It is reported of this queen, that when *Charles XI.* had stripped great part of his subjects of their wealth by the new chamber of liquidation; and that great numbers of citizens,

gentlemen, farmers, tradesmen, widows, and orphans, had filled the streets of *Stockholm* with their complaints, and pierced the palace-gates with their grievances, *Eleonora* assisted the distressed with all she had in her possession. She gave them her money; her jewels, her furniture, and even her cloaths. When she had given all, she threw herself, melted into tears, at the feet of the king her husband, beseeching him to have pity on his subject. *Charles's* answer was by no means consonant to the idea given of him by historians. It was the reply of a tyrant: "Madam, says he, we have taken you to bring us children, not to give us advice." The expression of an insolent mind, an unfeeling callous heart (1).

(1) *Volt. la Vie de C. XII. p. 11.*

THE crown was scarce fixed upon the head of this youthful monarch before a storm began to gather in the North, that pointed at his destruction; to repel which required the utmost exertion of his courage and policy. Three powerful princes hoped to profit by his inexperience, and at least wrest from *Sweden* all her acquisitions since the accession of the famous *Gustavus Adolphus*. The mean opinion which not only the court of *Stockholm*, but foreign ambassadors entertained of *Charles's* capacity, raised the expectation of the kings of *Denmark* and *Poland*, and *Peter* czar of *Muscovy*, afterwards the bitterest and most formidable enemy of *Sweden*. King *Augustus* of *Poland*, a prince equally famous for his incredible strength of body and the intrepidity and liberality of his mind, formed designs on *Livonia* at the instigation of *Patkul*, who had taken refuge at his court. The king of *Denmark*, regardless of the treaty of *Altena*, of which *Sweden* was guarantee, revived the disputes with the duke of *Holstein*; and the czar of *Muscovy*, *Peter*, afterwards justly surnamed the *Great*, the founder and legislator of a vast empire, the civilizer of a nation of savages, himself a barbarian in his manners, a politician, and a hero, thirsted after the conquest of *Ingria*, a province which had formerly been annexed to the *Russian* dominions. A. D. 1699. The first appearances of hostilities were observed on the side of *Holstein*. *Frederick* IV. was preparing to attack the young duke, who claimed the king of *Sweden's* protection. *Charles* marched a considerable body of forces to his succour; but, before the arrival of the *Swedes*, *Holstein* was ravaged, the castle of *Gottorp* taken, and close siege laid to *Tonningen* by the king of *Denmark* in person, assisted by the troops of *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, *Welfenbuttle*, and *Hesse-Cassel*. *England* and *Holland*, as guarantees, in concert with *Sweden*, of the treaty of *Altena*, joined *Charles* against this confederacy, and sent fleets to the *Baltick*. First, however, they tried the method of negotiation; and proposed, that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from *Holstein*, and the affairs of the duchy restored upon the antient footing. *Charles* and the duke accepted the proposals; but they were haughtily rejected by the *Danish* monarch, who too much relied upon the alliance of *Russia*, *Poland*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenburg*, while he despised the youth and inexperience of the king of *Sweden*.

By this time almost all the towns of *Holstein-Gottorp* had submitted to the duke of *Wurtemberg*, at the head of the *Danish* army. That general hoped that *Tonningen* would yield to the terror of a bombardment; but he was deceived. The inhabitants seemed animated, by the imminence of the danger, to a more strenuous defence of their liberty; and king *Frederick* found it necessary to accelerate the siege by his personal appearance in the camp. He ordered the town to be stormed; and had the mortification to see his troops driven headlong from the walls by a handful of *Swedes*, led on by general *Banier*. This determined him to raise the siege: some writers, however, attribute this measure to the influence of the *French* ambassador. Possibly the true reason was the necessity which *Frederick* was under of marching to the relief of his capital, then invested by the *Swedish* monarch.

CHARLES, having intrusted the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of a council, chosen out of the senate, set out on the eighth of *May* from his capital, never more to return thither, embarked at *Carlsroon*, and joined the fleet of the allies. Making a descent with the whole on the island of *Zealand*, he defeated a body of cavalry that opposed his landing, marched towards the capital, and was preparing to lay siege to *Copenhagen* by sea and land, when the *Danish* monarch, then in *Holstein*, beheld with astonishment and terror the celerity of *Charles's* motions, and the danger of his capital and kingdom. He saw the *Baltick* covered with a hostile navy, a young conqueror in the heart of his dominions, his capital ready to surrender, his people overwhelmed with consternation, and his whole kingdom a scene of dread and confusion. His embarrassed circumstances obliged him to sue for peace: he saw the necessity of doing justice to the duke of *Holstein*, or of having *Copenhagen* laid in ashes. The former was his choice: a negotiation was begun at *Bramsteede*, continued at *Travendal*, and finally concluded in the space of eleven days, on much the same conditions as the treaty of *Altena*. Thus *Charles*, whose youth and inexperience exposed him to the machinations of all his neighbours, finished in six weeks a war by his vigorous conduct, reduced the most powerful of his enemies to submission, and at eighteen years of age became the terror of the North, and the admiration of all *Europe*.

Peace with
Denmark.

BEING now at liberty to turn his arms against the other princes who had conspired his ruin, the young *Swedish* monarch was leading his troops against *Augustus* of *Poland* who was laying siege to *Riga*, the capital of *Livonia*, when advice arrived that the czar of *Muscovy* had invested *Narva* with one hundred thousand men. *Charles* has been falsely charged with beginning this war: the czar first commenced hostilities, and his declaration evinces, that ambition, and the hope of profiting by the situation of *Sweden*, were the motives of his conduct. Perhaps the strongest reasons that appear in his declaration of war are, that sufficient honours had not been paid him when he passed incognito to *Riga*, and that pro-

a visions had been sold at an exorbitant price to his ambassadors. In the depth of winter, when the *Baltick* was scarce navigable, *Charles* embarked at *Carlskroon*, and landed at *Per-naw* in *Livonia* with part of his forces, the rest being ordered to *Revel*. His army did not exceed twenty thousand men; but he had every advantage besides numbers over the *Russians*. The czar and the duke *de Croy*, a *German*, were the only soldiers among the besiegers: their example was to civilize and instruct a vast multitude of untutored barbarians. The nobility of *Russia* had been accustomed to march at the head of a tumultuous crowd of slaves. *Peter* wisely fell upon the only method of establishing discipline and subordination: he began himself with the meanest employments in the army, and beat a drum before he wielded a truncheon. *Charles*, on the contrary, set out a general at the head of the best disciplined troops in *Europe*. He marched towards *Narva*, and found that the czar had thrown every possible obstruction in his way. Thirty thousand men were posted on the road in a defile, to oppose his passage: this corps was supported by another composed of twenty thousand *Sireletz*s, and posted some leagues nearer *Narva*. The czar himself was set out to hasten the march of a reinforcement he expected of forty thousand men, with which he intended attacking the *Swedes* in flank and rear; but the rapidity, the fortune, and the valour of king *Charles* baffled every endeavour. With four thousand horse, and an equal number of foot, he advanced in person, ordering the army to follow with all convenient expedition. With no more than eight thousand men he attacked the *Russian* armies, one after another, and defeated them, pushing his way to the czar's camp before *Narva*, which he found fortified in a manner that ought to have removed the contempt he always entertained of *Peter*'s capacity. Lines of circumvallation and contravallation had been formed, and fortified by redoubts, and one hundred and fifty pieces of brass cannon placed in front; but these arts of defence *Charles* regarded as the precautions of fear. He scarce gave his troops, fatigued with a long march, and three successive engagements, time to rest before he issued orders for attacking a fortified camp, defended by eighty thousand men, with a body not exceeding a tenth of that number. One of his officers having remonstrated to him on the rashness of the attempt, "What, says *Charles*, do you doubt whether the king of *Sweden* with eight thousand men shall not beat the czar of *Muscovy* with eighty thousand?" The czar, however, was not present; he was then assembling another army.

ON the 13th of *November* the *Swedes* began battering the *Russian* intrenchments; and, having effected a breach, advanced with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, pouring in their fire quite in the face of the enemy, and sustaining the shock of the whole weight of the *Russian* army with admirable constancy and intrepidity. For half an hour the engagement was obstinate, and victory doubtful. The enemy stood the *Swedish* fire without yielding an inch; and the king, to distract them, made an attack on another quarter of the camp. Here likewise he was received more warmly than he expected. Upon the enemy's first discharge, a ball grazed along his shoulder, and wounded him slightly. Soon after his horse was killed: a second horse had his head shot off by a cannon-ball; and *Charles*, mounting the third, cried out, peevishly, "These fellows will give me exercise." In the space of three hours the intrenchments were carried; and the king with 4000 men, that composed the wing he commanded in person, pursued a flying army of 50,000 men to the river *Narva*. The bridge gave way under the weight of the fugitive *Russians*, and the river was immediately covered with floating bodies. Great numbers returned in despair to the camp, and defended themselves for a while: but at last the generals *Gallowin* and *Frederowitz* surrendered; thirty thousand were either killed in the intrenchments and pursuit, or drowned in the *Narva*; twenty thousand surrendered at discretion, and were dismissed unarmed; the rest were dispersed. An hundred and fifty pieces of fine cannon, twenty eight mortars, one hundred and fifty-one pair of colours, twenty standards, and all the baggage of the enemy were taken; and what was still more important, the duke *de Croy*, the prince of *Georgia*, and seven other generals, were in the number of the prisoners. Nothing could be more glorious to the *Swedish* monarch than a victory gained under such circumstances, except the generosity he shewed to the conquered. Being informed that the tradesmen of *Narva* refused to trust the officers whom he had detained prisoners, he sent the duke *de Gray* a thousand ducats, and every inferior officer a proportionable sum; thereby equally securing their admiration of his liberality and valour.

MEAN time the czar was advancing with forty thousand men to surround the *Swedes*. On receiving intelligence of the defeat before *Narva*, he was greatly chagrined, but not disconcerted. "I knew, said he, that the *Swedes* would beat us; but in time they will teach us to beat them." He returned to his own dominions, applied himself diligently to raising another army, and bestowed the utmost labour in establishing discipline, and removing

The Russians
defeated at
Narva.

¹ VOL. lib. i.

² Ibid. p. 53.

A. D. 1701. the terror which had overspread all his dominions. He evacuated all the provinces he had invaded, abandoned for a time his great projects, and suffered *Charles* to exhaust his strength, diminish his forces, and empty his treasury in prosecuting his quarrel with *Augustus* of *Poland*. *Charles* had actually determined to attack *Poland*, as soon as he had reduced the king of *Denmark* and the czar of *Muscovy* to the necessity of relinquishing their ambitious designs. While he was marching to *Narva*, he ordered magazines to be formed at *Lais*. "I am going, says he, to beat the *Muscovites*: get magazines ready at *Lais*; I will take that place in my way to beat the *Poles* and *Saxons*." The event justified the prediction, however vain-glorious it might appear, and an attack was what *Augustus* expected. For this reason he united himself more closely to the czar; and both princes met at *Birsén*, to concert the measures of defence against a warrior whose victories threatened all the kingdoms of the North with subjection. It was agreed, that *Augustus* should lend the czar fifty thousand *German* soldiers, to be paid by *Muscovy*; that the czar should send an equal number of his troops to be trained up to the art of war in *Poland*; and that he should pay the king the sum of three millions of rix-dollars in the space of two years. *Charles* had notice of the treaty and the interview; and by means of his minister, count *Piper*, found the method of frustrating the effects, which might have proved fatal to *Sweden*, and indeed to all *Europe*.

Charles defeats the Saxons.

THE *Swedish* army had wintered at *Lais*, where they were joined by a reinforcement from *Sweden*. As early as the season permitted, *Charles* took the field, and suddenly appeared on the river *Duna*, along the banks of which the *Saxon* army was posted. They had been foiled in the attempt on *Riga*, the king of *Poland* was sick, and the *Saxon* army was now commanded by *Ferdinand* duke of *Courland*, marshal *Stenau*, and general *Paykel*, all officers of valour and experience. They had fortified certain islands which defended the mouth of the river, and taken every other precaution against an attack. Their numbers were nearly equal to those of the *Swedes*; the soldiers were hardy, well disciplined, and faithful; but *Charles* surmounted every difficulty. He contrived a kind of light boats for crossing the river, with high sides, to screen his troops from the fire of the enemy; and observing that the wind blew from the north, ordered large quantities of wet straw to be set on fire, the smoke of which blew directly in the enemy's faces, and effectually covered his motions. By these means he established a landing, fell upon the *Saxons* with great fury, and, after an obstinate engagement, obtained a complete victory. The *Swedes* at first were put in disorder, and driven back to the river; but *Charles*, with astonishing composure, rallied them in the water, led them back, carried all the enemy's works, pursued them for two leagues, killed two thousand five hundred men on the spot, took fifteen hundred prisoners, together with thirty-six pieces of cannon, five pair of colours, six standards, and all the *Saxon* baggage¹ (A).

NEXT day general *Morner* was detached to take possession of *Mittau*, the capital of *Courland*. The garrison surrendered almost at the first summons, and all the other ports and towns in the duchy followed the example of the metropolis. His majesty passed to *Lithuania*, reduced all the towns by his presence, advanced to *Birsén*, where a few months before the czar and king of *Poland* had planned his destruction, and by the terror of his name obliged twenty thousand *Russians* to retreat with the utmost precipitation. It was now that he projected the great design of dethroning *Augustus*, by means of his own subjects. That prince had been accustomed to govern despotically in *Saxony*: he imagined he might do the same in *Poland*, and by this conduct lost the hearts of his people. With fine talents, and extraordinary accomplishments, king *Augustus* suffered himself to become the tool of a fierce warlike barbarian, who took advantage of this slip in his administration. The *Poles* murmured at seeing their towns enslaved by *Saxon* garrisons, and their frontiers covered with *Russian* armies. The republic of *Poland*, jealous of her liberty, regarded the war with *Sweden* as a measure of the court to introduce foreign troops. She perceived, that, if the war proved unfortunate, the country would be exposed to the invasion of the *Swedes*; if otherwise, it would be subjected to *Saxons* and *Russians*. The alternative was either being enslaved by their own king, or ravaged by the *Swedish* monarch. When *Charles* advanced to the heart of *Lithuania*, the *Poles* ventured to speak their sentiments freely: they clamoured against the war, and against their sovereign; and with the more freedom, says *Voltaire*, that he was unfortunate. Besides, the *Swedes* had a strong party in *Lithuania*, at that time divided by faction. The princes of *Sapieha* sought the *Swedish* king's protection against the inveterate and implacable enemy the house of *Ogienski*.

¹ Hist. de Pologn. par abbe PARTHENAY, tom. i. l. iii.

(A) The reader will perceive the necessity of our taking only a cursory view of the affairs of *Poland*, which are to be related separately. We have only, indeed, touched upon such events, as properly belonged to the history of *Sweden*.

a. All these circumstances, and the weakness of the *Polish* standing army, determined him to push his design with vigour, which he first communicated in a letter to *Radziejewski*, cardinal-primate of *Poland*. This important personage, together with all the adherents of the princes of *Sebieszki*, and indeed the principal nobility he soon gained, rather out of opposition to *Augustus* than affection for the king of *Sweden*. When the diet was called, it appeared that his *Swedish* majesty had more influence in that assembly than the king of *Poland*. *Charles* acted with more policy in this than upon any other occasion: the deepest project of an entire revolution was concerted between the cardinal-primate and count *Piper*, the prelate all the while concealing his sentiments from *Augustus*, and pretending the strongest attachment to his sovereign, the more securely to become his most dangerous enemy. Intrigues and cabals were held with impenetrable privacy at his house, while he was publishing circular letters to the people to keep them steady in their fidelity to *Augustus*. The diet was filled with confusion: at last it broke up in disorder, and the affairs of the kingdom came into the hands of the senate, less numerous, consequently less tumultuous, and more accustomed to business. Here the *Swedish* party was full as strong as in the diet: it was agreed they should send an embassy to *Charles*^a, and that the *pospolite* should mount, and be ready against all events; but the chief regulations respected the king's authority, which it was the great aim of the senate to retrench.

AUGUSTUS now, when too late, perceived his error: he could not, however, think of retracting; and preferred receiving hard laws from the victorious *Charles*, rather than from subjects he had been used to consider as slaves. It was to avoid this bitter disgrace that he determined to solicit a peace upon any terms; but in what manner to set on foot a negotiation, without giving umbrage to the senate, he was at a loss. It was at last resolved to commit the whole to the management of the countess of *Konigsmark*, a lady famous for her wit and beauty, a native of *Sweden*, and for that reason privileged to make a visit to her natural sovereign, without incurring suspicion. She set out for *Lithuania*; but as *Charles* refused to see her, and all the stratagems she had laid proved abortive, she was therefore forced to return, chagrined and disappointed, to *Warsaw*. The ambassadors of the senate, on the contrary, immediately obtained an audience. They requested, that his majesty would maintain the peace between the crown of *Sweden* and the republic, protect the country, and suffer them to enter into conferences with his ministers. The king granted all they desired, assuring them, that he took arms against the *Saxons*, in defence of the liberties of the *Poles*, whom he should ever esteem his friends and allies. Accordingly the conferences were appointed to be held at *Kinschin*; but *Charles* soon altered his mind, and told the ambassadors he would confer with them at *Warsaw*^b.

MEAN time *Augustus*, finding that his scheme of peace was frustrated, threw himself upon the senate; but met with so rough a repulse, that he determined once more to have recourse to the haughty *Swede*. With this view he detached his chamberlain to *Charles*; but a passport being forgot, *Charles* ordered the ambassador to be arrested. The *Swedish* monarch continued to advance towards the capital of *Poland*, where all was in confusion by this sudden resolution. Almost all the nobility fled to their country-seats; and king *Augustus* was left in the metropolis of his dominions attended only by foreign ambassadors, and a few palatines attached to his person and fortune. With these he held a council, where it was agreed to have recourse to arms, since nothing could be obtained in the way of negotiation: however, this little council, though strongly in the king's interest, would not suffer more than six thousand *Saxons* to remain in *Poland*; insisting too, that this slender body should be commanded by the grand general of *Poland*; so much were they attached to the privileges of the republic. Upon this resolution he quitted *Warsaw*, just as *Charles* had approached within a few miles of the city. A summons was immediately sent to the inhabitants, who, finding that resistance was in vain, presented the keys to the *Swedish* monarch; but the citadel held out some days^c.

No sooner were the *Swedes* in possession of *Cracow* than the primate was seized with a strong inclination of having a personal conference with *Charles*; to effect which he persuaded *Augustus*, that he had some hints given him that the king of *Sweden* was disposed to listen to terms, provided they were properly insinuated. *Augustus* knew the prelate's address and dexterity; but he did not yet suspect his fidelity. Accordingly he was deputed to the *Swedish* camp, in conjunction with the count *Lescinsky*, to set on foot a negotiation. The false prelate converted the opportunity to his own purposes; and, in a personal interview with the enemy of his country, plotted the fall of his sovereign.

By this time the king of *Poland* published orders for assembling the *pospolite*; but it proved no more than a vain ceremony. His whole dependence was on the *Saxon* army, now advanced to the frontiers, and on the nobility of the palatinate of *Cracow*, who

^a VOLT. lib. ii. PUFFEND. lib. vii.

^b Id. ib.

^c PARTHENAY, lib. iv.

The Poles and Saxons defeated.

came in a body to offer their fortunes and lives to his majesty. As soon as the *Poles* and *Saxons* were joined, *Augustus* marched in quest of his enemy, determined to reit his crown on the issue of a battle. *Charles* had intimation of his design, and went as far as *Gliffaw* to meet the combined army of *Poles* and *Saxons*, which he found encamped in a very advantageous situation, and greatly superior in number to the *Swedes*. Without regarding these difficulties, and the fatigue of his troops, he attacked the enemy with almost incredible fury and irresistible impetuosity. The front of the *Poles* was covered by a morass; but *Charles* pushed the attack with such vigour, that the enemy were soon put in disorder, and defeated, though *Augustus* led them thrice back to the charge. The *Saxon* left wing, however, attacked the right of the *Swedes* with intrepidity, and would have overpowered them with numbers, had not several regiments been detached from the left to their support. After an obstinate conflict, the *Saxons* were at length driven behind the morass, and at last from the field, in despite of the strength of their situation, their pallisadoes, chevaux de frise, and their own valour. Thus, with a body of twelve thousand men, *Charles* gained a complete victory over thirty thousand brave well disciplined forces, led on by a king who was fighting for his crown, his resentment, and his honour. Four thousand of the enemy were left dead on the field, two thousand were made prisoners, together with all the *Saxon* cannon and baggage^d.

A. D. 1703.

The Saxons are again defeated.

His *Swedish* majesty pursued the blow, marched strait to *Cracow*, whither *Augustus* fled before him, and took every possible measure to render this action decisive. The citizens of the capital had the courage to shut their gates in the face of the conqueror: they were forced open, and the citadel a second time taken; but the *Swedes* offered not the least violence to the inhabitants. Having just refreshed his troops, the *Swedish* monarch quitted the capital, with intention to pursue the enemy, and prevent their assembling another army; but he had marched only a few leagues when his horse fell under him, by which accident he broke his thigh, and was forced to return to *Cracow*, where he remained six weeks under the hands of his surgeons. By this means *Augustus* had some respite, which he turned to all possible advantage. He assembled the different orders of the kingdom at *Marienburg*, and next at *Lublin*. The assembly was numerous, and entirely gained by the presents, the promises, and the address of *Augustus*, whose affability, engaging manner, and fine accomplishments, were never so fully exerted as in his distress. Even the cardinal primate appeared affected by his misfortunes; he waited on the king, kissed his hand, and offered to serve him with his influence, fortune, and life, though the temporizing ecclesiastic soon renounced the duty and allegiance which he had solemnly sworn. By the diet it was resolved, that the republic should maintain an army of fifty thousand men for the service of the prince; that six weeks should be given the *Swedes* to declare whether they made choice of peace or war; and the same space of time granted to the princes of the house of *Sapieha*, and other authors of the troubles in *Lithuania*, to make their concessions. To destroy the effects of the resolutions formed by the diet at *Lublin*, *Charles* convoked another diet at *Warsaw*. These two assemblies disputed about the rights and the constitution of the republic, while the *Swedish* monarch having recovered of his wound, and received a strong reinforcement from *Pomerania*, marched against the remains of the army he had defeated at *Gliffaw*. Throwing a bridge over the *Vistula*, he came up with the *Saxons*, commanded by general *Stenau*, gave them battle at *Pultausck* on the first day of *May*, and entirely routed and dispersed them, before he had well entered upon an engagement; such was the terror of his name. *Augustus* fled to *Thorn* in *Prussia-Royal*; and finding that the king of *Sweden* proposed laying siege to that place, he retired for the greater security to *Saxony*. His *Polish* majesty offered to surrender the town, on condition the garrison might be allowed to withdraw to *Saxony*; but *Charles* answered, that he invested the place merely with a view of becoming master of the troops that defended it. The season was almost spent before the *Swedes* could get up their battering cannon; then *Thorn* was attacked with vigour, and defended with intrepidity by general *Rovel*, and a garrison of five thousand *Saxons*. After the walls had been battered for a month, a breach was at last effected, and the *Swedes* preparing to storm it, when *Rovel* surrendered at discretion, and the garrison were sent prisoners to *Sweden*^e.

WHILE the *Swedish* army was employed in this siege, the magistrates of *Dantzick* ventured to disoblige *Charles*, at a time when all the princes of the North trembled at his name. They refused to suffer convoys coming to the *Swedish* army to pass up the river, and were soon punished for their temerity, general *Steinboek* having levied a heavy contribution upon the burghers. *Elbing*, for much the same reason, was handled more roughly. *Charles* entered the town in person, quartered his troops upon the citizens, whom he disarmed, raised a contribution of two hundred and sixty thousand crowns: and seized upon two hundred pieces of cannon, and four hundred thousand weight of gunpowder, lodged in the arsenal.

^d PARTHENAY Hist. Prolog. l. iv. t. i.

^e PUFFEND. l. vii. VOLT. l. ii.

WHILE

- WHILE *Charles* was gaining advantages, equal to victories in their consequence, the diet at *Warsaw* regularly deposed king *Augustus*; and the cardinal primate, who had lately sworn eternal allegiance to him, pronounced the sentence, whereby he was declared incapable of wearing the diadem. Count *Piper* advised the king of *Sweden* to propose himself a candidate for the crown of *Poland*; but *Charles* had already determined it should be bestowed on *James Sobieski*, the eldest son of the late king of *Poland*; but this prince being seized in the neighbourhood of *Breslau*, and carried prisoner with his brother *Constantine* to *Leipsick*, by a party of *Saxon* dragoons, the crown was offered to prince *Alexander Sobieski*. The generous prince could not however be prevailed on to take advantage of his brother's misfortune: he requested *Charles* to revenge the injury done his family; to employ his victorious arms in giving liberty to the unhappy captives; and to penetrate into *Saxony*; all which *Charles* readily promised. Several disputes however had arisen in the diet at *Warsaw* since the king's absence. To give an account of them, young *Stanislaus Lecinski*, palatine of *Poznan*, was detached to the *Swedish* army by the assembly. The impression which the figure, the address, and the character of this nobleman, made on *Charles*, obliterated the promise made to prince *Alexander Sobieski*. He declared his intention of giving the crown of *Poland* to *Stanislaus*. His election proved extremely agreeable to the diet; and even the primate, who was desirous of prolonging his own authority during the inter-regnum, could not deny that *Stanislaus* possessed merit which deserved a crown, though he insinuated that his youth and inexperience rendered him incapable of governing so precious a nation. These objections had no weight with *Charles*; he told the primate, "I think *Stanislaus* is about my age;" fixed the day for the election; and in five days after (July 12) his first resolution, placed the crown on the head of the young palatine of *Poznan*, in despite of all the intrigues of the primate, who absented himself from the diet on the day of election, and watched the opportunity of equally prejudicing *Augustus*, to whom he had sworn obedience, and *Stanislaus*, to whom he had refused paying allegiance.
- WHILE *Charles* was employed in giving a monarch to *Poland*, his troops dispersed up and down the country had frequent skirmishes with the adherents of *Augustus*. In general, they proved victorious; but on one occasion a body of four hundred *Swedes* was cut off by the *Saxons* and *Lithuanians*. To revenge this disgrace, *Charles* suddenly set out for *Newstadt* with the bulk of his army, in expectation of surprising king *Augustus* in the neighbourhood of *Jarislav*. In this he was disappointed, and therefore resolved upon laying siege to *Leopold*, the capital of the great palatinate of *Russia*. It was imagined the city would hold out a fortnight, by means of the numerous garrison, and strong fortifications erected by king *Augustus*; but *Charles* carried it by assault in one day, put all who resisted to the sword, and took the prince *Galeschi*, and the palatine of *Kalisch* prisoners. This was one of the most glorious conquests made by the *Swedish* monarch, and the place was deemed the most important and strongest in *Poland*. Here he found a booty of four hundred chests of gold and silver coin, plate, jewels, and other effects of great value. King *Augustus* however gave him the slip, took the route of *Warsaw*, and was on the point of surprising his rival, who lived in the capital in perfect security, while the king of *Sweden* was fighting his battles and deciding his quarrel. Reinforced by nine thousand *Russians*, and finding the passes open, *Augustus* advanced by forced marches to the city, took possession, obliged *Stanislaus* to cross the *Vistula* with precipitation, appeared again as sovereign of the country, taxed the inhabitants beyond their ability, gave the primate's house, with those of the adherents of the young king, to be plundered by his soldiers. It was remarkable that the pope's nuncio, who attended *Augustus* in every revolution of fortune, now demanded that the bishop of *Poznan* should be put into his hands; and *Augustus*, willing to gratify the holy see, complied with the request, and surrendered the bishop, who, after seeing his palace plundered by the soldiers, was carried to the nuncio's lodgings, and sent from thence to *Saxony*, where he died.

Augustus is deposed.
A. D. 1704.

Stanislaus made king of Poland.

Augustus returns to the capital.

VOLT. I. III. PARTHEN. t. i. 393.

(A) *Voltaire* relates, that when count *Horn* was released upon his parole, he visited his master the king of *Sweden* at *Leopold*, and took the liberty of complaining to him, that his majesty had not succoured *Warsaw*. "Be not under any concern," answered *Charles*; "we must let *Augustus* do something by way of amusement,

"otherwise he will tire of such neighbours; but take my word he will be able to draw no very important consequence from this advantage, and your conduct has sufficiently guarded your honour against the reproach of malice." (1).

(1) *Volt. Vie de C. XII. l. iii.*

released

released upon his parole, with several other *Swedish* officers, all of whom were struck with the affability, the generosity, and the noble manner of *Augustus*.

THE reduction of *Warsaw*, and the consequent advantages, was no more than the last struggle of the *Polish* monarch, who was about to yield all to the superior fortune of the king of *Sweden*, and his rival *Stanislaus*. His troops were composed of *Saxon* recruits, and undisciplined, unattached *Poles*, ready to forsake him on the first danger. *Charles*, accompanied by *Stanislaus*, was advancing with a victorious army; the *Saxons* fled before him, and the towns for several leagues round sent him their submissions. The *Poles* and *Saxons* were under the command of *Schullemberg*; a general fruitful in stratagem, cautious, wary, and sagacious, who used every expedient to check the progress of the *Swedes*, by seizing the advantageous posts, and sacrificing small parties to procure the safety of the whole, and mislead the enemy. However, with all his penetration, *Schullemberg* was deceived and out-generaled. After a variety of motions, artifices, and counter-marches, he pitched his camp near *Punitz*, in the palatinate of *Pisnania*, imagining the *Swedish* monarch must have been at the distance at least of fifty leagues, and was astonished to find that he was just in the neighbourhood, ready to fall upon him unprepared. The truth was, *Charles* had marched all that space in nine days, imagining the *Saxons* would take this route. With a superior army, but entirely composed of horse, *Charles* attacked the enemy, posted in a manner which prevented the possibility of their being surrounded. *Schullemberg* received the charge with intrepidity: his first rank, being armed with pikes and fuses, presented a kind of rampart composed of bayonets. The second line stooping over the kneeling first rank, fired over their heads; while the third line standing erect, kept up a perpetual fire, extremely galled the *Swedish* horse, and put them in disorder. This was almost the first line of horse that had been regularly opposed to foot in the northern wars; the superiority of the latter was obvious in the present instance, and *Charles* lost the opportunity of destroying the whole *Saxon* army, by omitting to order his horse to dismount. This was what the *Saxon* expected; he dreaded the consequence, and he rejoiced at the oversight. After the engagement had continued for three hours, the *Saxons* retreated in good order, leaving the field, but not a victory to the *Swedes*. *Charles* pursued the enemy to *Gurau*, and obliged them to retreat towards the *Oder*, through thick woods almost impervious even to infantry; however, the *Swedish* horse pushed their way through, and at last enclosed *Schullemberg* between the wood and the river *Oder*, where he doubted not he must surrender at discretion, or die sword in hand, as he had not boats or bridges; but the genius of the *German* general supplied every want; in the night he ordered planks and floats of trees to be fastened together, upon which he wafted over his troops, while the *Swedes* were employed in dislodging three hundred men which he had placed in a windmill to defend his flank, and keep the enemy in diversion. Nothing could be more glorious than this retreat; *Charles* spoke of it with admiration, and said he had been conquered by *Schullemberg*; but no benefit resulted to *Augustus*, who was again forced to quit *Poland*, retire into *Saxony*, and fortify the capital of his hereditary dominions, which he every day expected to see invested. In *Poland* there remained a few scattered parties, unable to make head against the victorious *Charles*, leading a numerous disciplined army, flushed with conquest.

The fine retreat of Schullemberg.

Charles becomes master of Poland.

POLAND was now entirely in the hands of the *Swedes*, who had likewise defeated divers corps of *Russians*, unable, or rather unwilling, since the battle of *Narva*, to try the fortune of a general engagement. Wherever the *Swedes* were, victory attended; they regarded no inequality of numbers; and *Schullemberg* was the first who had shewn *Charles* that other troops besides the *Swedes* understood the art of war. In *Livonia* indeed, the great superiority of the *Russians*, rendered it scarce possible for the *Swedish* general *Schippenbach* to keep his ground. Ever since the battle of *Narva* he had, with the utmost diligence, provided for the defence of that place and of *Derpt*, judging that the enemy's first efforts would be directed against towns so necessary to the conquest of the province. He strengthened his little army with new levies, made incursions into the enemy's territories, but was obliged to drop offensive measures, by the crowds of *Muscovites* who poured in like a torrent into the province. They seized on all the posts on the river *Narva*, blocked up the town on all sides, and entirely cut off the communication between the garrison and the sea. A small *Swedish* squadron in vain endeavoured to penetrate to the relief of *Narva*, in order to throw in provisions. The admiral finding this impossible, contented himself with landing a battalion of twelve hundred men on the coast of *Esthonia*, to reinforce *Schippenbach*, who advanced as far as *Wissenberg*, to favour the debarkation and junction. He was attacked on his march by eight thousand *Russians*, whom he obstinately opposed for several hours, with no more than fourteen hundred horse; but was in the end obliged to

The Russians take Narva and other towns.

a retreat, with the loss of two pieces of cannon. Not discouraged by this repulse, *Schippenbach* pursued his resolution to relieve *Narva* with indefatigable diligence; but the prodigious numbers of the *Russians*, and the prudence of the czar, baffled all his endeavours. That prince now conducted the siege in person, and pushed his works with the utmost vigour. Count *Horn*, already famous for the brave defence of the same place, resisted all his endeavours with all the arts that experience, genius, and courage could inspire; but an unforeseen accident destroyed the fruits of his labour. The foundation of a principal bastion failed, the building tumbled to the ground, buried great part of the garrison in its ruins, and opened a breach so large, that one hundred men might mount a-breast. Czar *Peter* ordered it immediately to be stormed by eighteen thousand chosen men. The *Swedes* defended the breach with admirable constancy, and several times drove the *Russians* from the walls; but being divided by opposing three other attacks, fatigued and quite spent with their long resistance, and at last overpowered by numbers, the enemy entered tumultuously, spared neither age nor sex, put all to the sword, except the garrison, part of which surrendered at discretion, the rest retiring to the citadel of *Iwanograd*.

DERPT, notwithstanding all the pains taken for its defence, shared the same fate. An army of twenty thousand *Russians* laid siege to it, and continued for a whole month to batter the walls with heavy cannon, and shower in bombs into the town. The besieged, who did not exceed fifteen hundred men, neglected nothing to repulse the enemy; sallies, stratagems, and surprizes, were all practised to annoy the besiegers; but all served only to prolong the siege. The garrison, after a brave resistance, was forced to surrender upon condition, that they should march out with their arms and baggage, and be escorted to *Revel* at the expence of the *Russians*. This part of the capitulation was broke; the enemy refused to transport the soldiers, and, contrary to the faith of treaty, detained the officers prisoners for several days; but the menaces of the court of *Stockholm* at length obliged them to do justice, and fulfil their engagements¹.

AFTER the reduction of *Narva*, the castle of *Iwanograd* was summoned by general *Ogilby*, a *Scotch* officer in the *Russian* service; however, the garrison determined to stand in their defence: they held out a few days, and then obtained honourable conditions, which were badly observed. Not only this garrison, but count *Horn* and the officers taken at *Narva*, were sent to *Moscow*, where they were thrown into a dungeon, and in every respect treated like the prisoners of a barbarous people, deaf to the dictates of honour and humanity. Czar *Peter* imagining that the terror of these conquests would force *Revel* into submission, marched within a few leagues of that city; but finding that the garrison had provided for a vigorous defence, he did not think proper to lay regular siege at so unfavourable a season of the year. Then having left garrisons in the places in his possession, he returned with the rest of the army to *Russia*.

SINCE the retreat of *Augustus*, *Poland* was wholly governed by the king of *Sweden*, the new king *Stanislaus* being entirely led by his counsels. Preparations were made for the coronation of this prince, before fortune should a second time drive him from his capital. A diet was appointed to meet at *Warsaw*; and the opposition of the court of *Rome* seemed the only obstacle to the full establishment of *Stanislaus*. The pontiff could not avoid declaring for *Augustus*, who for a crown had abjured the Protestant religion, and preferring him to *Stanislaus* set up by the heretic king of *Sweden*. Accordingly he published briefs, denouncing excommunication against the primate and any of the *Polish* bishops who should assist at the intended coronation. It was the business of *Charles* and *Stanislaus* to prevent the dispersion of these briefs; some of them however found their way to *Warsaw*, and strongly influenced either the superstitious, who paid implicit obedience to the pope, or the politic, who wanted to enhance the value of their declaration in favour of the young monarch. Placarts were likewise published, by which ecclesiastics of all degrees were prohibited meddling with affairs of government; and for the greater security, the doors of the prelates houses were guarded by armed soldiers, to prevent the ingress or egress of strangers; and *Charles* took upon himself the odium of these little severities, that there might no difference happen between *Stanislaus* and the clergy on his first accession. Both princes solicited the cardinal primate to perform the ceremony of the coronation; but that prelate retired to *Dantzick*, to avoid consecrating a king elected contrary to his inclinations. However, he made shift to steer with such steadiness as prevented his disobliging either *Augustus*, *Charles*, *Stanislaus*, or the pope; and yet all had reason to blame his cunning, chicanery, and tergiversation, to despise the man, though they could not lay just hold of any part of his conduct².

THE proceedings of the diet, together with the authority of the king of *Sweden*, and the flight of *Augustus*, drew over several of the nobility to espouse *Stanislaus*, who had been

¹ PUFFEND. l. vii.

² PUFF. t. vi. l. vii. PARTH. t. ii. l. v.

A. D. 1705.
The pope ex-
poses Stanis-
laus.

the staunch adherents of his rival. *Smielgiskia*, starost of *Gnesna*, the most determined a follower of the fortune of king *Augustus*, made several spirited attempts in his favour; but all his exploits produced no real advantage to his master, who was forced to have recourse to the mediation of his *Prussian* majesty. He solicited the court of *Berlin* to interpose, and procure him peace upon any terms; but his *Prussian* majesty was too prudent to involve himself in a dispute with so warlike and fierce a monarch as the king of *Sweden*. At last *Augustus* lost all hope, on finding that his rival was solemnly crowned at *Warsaw*; that most of the nobility had sworn allegiance to *Stanislaus*; and that none of the powers of *Europe*, except the *Russians*, paid the least regard to the affairs of *Poland*, being either afraid of the king of *Sweden*, or otherwise employed. The czar indeed stretched out a helping hand to the distressed *Augustus*. He met him at *Grodno*, and conferred with him b and general *Scullemberg* on the unhappy situation of his affairs. *Augustus* was now dethroned, and for that reason no longer afraid of exasperating the *Poles* by the admission of *Russian* armies into the dominions of the republic; it was resolved therefore that an army of an hundred thousand men should attack the *Swedes* in their new conquests. This prodigious force soon entered *Poland*, and dividing into smaller parties, burnt and destroyed the estates of all those who had declared in favour of *Stanislaus*. Sixty thousand *Cossacks*, under general *Mazeppa*, likewise entered the *Polish* dominions, and ravaged all before them with the fury of barbarians. *Scullemberg* was at the same time advancing with an army of *Saxons*; and if numbers could determine the fate of war, *Charles* must have sunk under the force of his enemies; but conduct, courage, and his good fortune, still pre- c

The Russians
and Saxons
defeated and
dispersed.

A. D. 1706.

NOR had *Scullemberg* better fortune with all his merit and superiority of numbers. While *Charles* was driving the *Muscovites* before him in *Lithuania*, *Scullemberg* with fourteen thousand *Saxons*, and seven thousand *Russians* disciplined in *Germany*, and reputed excellent soldiers, crossed the *Oder* to give battle to *Renschild*. The *Swede*, notwithstanding he had no more than thirteen battalions and twenty-two squadrons, was equally desirous d of coming to an engagement. He marched in quest of the enemy, and found *Scullemberg* posted in a very advantageous situation, with the village of *Jagersdorf* on the right, *Boersdorf* on the left, and the rear defended by the town of *Frauenstadt*. The *Swedes* formed only one line, drawn up along the river, the foot and horse intermixed, with several battalions of reserve posted advantageously in the rear. With this disposition they attacked the *Saxons*, (*Feb.* 12) drove them from *Punitz*, a place already fatal to the troops of *Augustus*, and in less than half an hour cleared the field, obtained a complete victory, and blighted the great reputation which the long and important services of *Scullemberg* had so deservedly acquired. *Renschild* had before this battle been called the *Permenio* of the northern *Alexander*; so important a victory, gained over a celebrated general at the head of superior e numbers, advantageously posted, and remarkably well disciplined troops, raised his fame upon a level with that of his sovereign, and even excited jealousy in *Charles*, who could not help exclaiming, "Surely *Renschild* will not compare himself to me." It is true, that his cruelty destroyed the fruits of his courage. Six hours after the engagement he ordered above a thousand *Russians* to be massacred in cold blood; to revenge their barbarities in *Poland*, and by this single action rendered infamous a victory which would otherwise have transmitted his name, in the list of *Swedish* heroes, to the latest posterity. Nothing could be more complete than the defeat of the *Saxons*, whose regiments threw down their arms, and begged their lives in the most suppliant posture. Six thousand were slain on the field, and seven thousand taken prisoners; yet *Scullemberg's* disposition was so skilful, that f only a panic which seized his troops could occasion his defeat. Thirty-six pieces of cannon, eleven thousand muskets, forty pair of colours and standards, and all the *Saxon* baggage fell into the hands of the *Swedish* general; but the consequences of the victory were still more important. A path was now opened to *Saxony*, and there remained no obstruction to the king of *Sweden's* taking possession of the hereditary dominions of the unfortunate *Augustus*, now a vagrant in *Poland*, in which he possessed not a single town besides *Cracow*. He threw himself into this city with a few *Saxon*, *Polish* and *Russian* regiments, and begun erecting some fortifications for its defence; but the approach of the *Swedish* general *Meyerfeldt*, and the news that the king of *Sweden* had taken possession of *Saxony*, broke his resolution, disconcerted all his measures, and reduced him to the verge of despair g.

¹ VOLT. I. iii.

^m Id. ibid. PUFFEND. I. vii.

^a *CHARLES*, at the head of 24,000 men, had actually entered the electorate of *Saxony* by the way of *Lusatia*. The diet at *Ratisbon*, without the power of checking his progress, declared him an enemy to the empire, should he presume to cross the *Oder*; but *Charles* despised their impotent menaces, and pursued the course of conquest, fearless of the whole *Germanic* body, and perhaps glad of an opportunity of rivalling the glory of *Gustavus Adolphus*, by humbling the pride of the house of *Austria*. Certain it is, that his approach (Sept. 6,) overwhelmed *Saxony* with consternation, and indeed spread terror over the whole empire. The *Saxon* peasants deserted their habitations, and the whole country was left a wide desert, until *Charles* published a proclamation that revived their spirits, increased their confidence of his honour, and brought them back to their several employments. The declaration imported, That he had entered *Saxony* with no other view than to bring to a speedy issue an unjust war, excited by the ambition of king *Augustus* and the czar of *Muscovy*; that *Saxony* having abetted and assisted their designs, it was reasonable the electorate should share the punishment, and be disabled from pursuing measures that tended only to the spilling of blood, and the destruction of the human species; that whatever cause he might have for resentment, he was determined to moderate his vengeance, and therefore assured the states and inhabitants of the electorate, that all who remained quietly in their houses, and furnished their contributions for the support of his troops, should enjoy his protection, and be kept in possession of their estates and effects: on the contrary, those who should either take up arms in their defence, absent their persons, or secrete their effects, should be treated with the utmost rigour, as open enemies to his government.

The king of Sweden enters Saxony.

^c THE effects of this proclamation were equally salutary to the *Swedes* and *Saxons*; the one had every enjoyment of life quietly provided for them, and the others were not only exempted from the terrors of war, but kept in some measure in the possession of their liberties and property; at least that little portion of liberty which they enjoyed under their lawful sovereign *Augustus*. The people returned in shoals to their former occupations, industry and labour went on in their usual channel, the strictest order was observed in the *Swedish* army; yet the country was terribly loaded with contributions, and fleeced with taxes (A). From his camp the king issued orders, for assembling the states of *Saxony*, and transmitting to him an exact account of the revenues of the electorate. When he had properly informed ^d himself of what the country could bear, he imposed a monthly tax of 625,000 rix-dollars; and ordained besides, that the inhabitants should furnish every *Swedish* soldier with two pounds of meat, an equal quantity of bread, two quarts of beer, four-pence a-day, and forage sufficient for the cavalry. This contribution was exorbitant; but in return, *Charles* took the most effectual methods of protecting the people against the ravages of the soldiers. It was ordered, that in all the towns where *Swedish* troops were garrisoned or quartered, the inn-keepers should give certificates of the behaviour of the soldiers lodged in their houses; without which, the soldier was deprived of his pay. Besides this regulation, inspectors were appointed to visit the quarters every fortnight, and bring an exact report to the king of the behaviour of his forces. In a word, the *Swedes* lived under the severest discipline; ^e but the *Saxons* groaned under the most terrible oppression, of which they durst not complain, because it was authorised by their conqueror (B). All, however, lived in perfect security; they were a nation of slaves, but then they were protected in their lives, out of regard to the interest of the master. The great fair of *Leipsic* was held as usual; the tradesmen went thither without fear, sold their goods, and returned home with the profits without molestation ^a.

By the defeat of the *Saxony* army, and the seizure of the electorate, *Augustus* was reduced to the utmost despair: he lay exposed to the mercy of the *Russians*, who were naturally

Augustus begs peace.

^a PUFFEND. lib. vii.

(A) When *Charles* entered the electorate, only a few *Saxons*, and the dragoons of *Gordon* and *Furstenberg*, were found in arms. These were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Gorlitz*, and the *Swedish* monarch sent colonel *Gortz*, with a detachment of horse and foot, to dislodge them; which he performed, after killing major general *Gordon* with his own hand. The remains of this corps joined themselves to some other *Saxons*, and assembled, to the amount of 5000 men, under general *Schulemberg*. *Gortz* was ordered to attack him; but found that the *Saxons* were determined to dispute every inch of ground. They fortified themselves in the forest of *Turingerwald* in such a manner, as baffled all the attempts of the *Swedish* colonel. At last, being straitened for provision, and in danger of being wholly surrounded, they made a feint that deceived *Gortz*, and quitted

the electorate without the loss of a man (1).

(B) M. *Voltaire* relates the following pleasant anecdote, as a proof of the strict discipline observed. "As the king was one day riding out near *Leipsic*, a *Saxon* peasant threw himself at his feet to implore justice of a soldier, who had robbed him and his family of their dinner. The king ordering the soldier to be brought before him, asked, with a stern countenance, whether what the peasant alledged was true? Sir, says the soldier, I have done him less mischief than you have done his master. You have taken a kingdom from *Augustus*, I have only taken a turkey from the peasant. *Charles* ordered ten ducats for the countryman, and pardoned the soldier for the wit and boldness of his reply; telling him, Remember friend, I have taken a kingdom, but I have kept nothing for myself (2)."

(1) Puffend. lib. vii.

(2) Voltaire, lib. iii.

his

his enemies, and cemented now to his interest only by selfish motives. In this extremity, abandoned by the *Poles*, and deprived of the assistance of his hereditary subjects attached to his person, he was forced to write a letter with his own hand to *Charles XII.* soliciting peace upon such terms as the conqueror should think fit to grant. With this letter he charged baron *Imhoff* and monsieur *Pfingsten*, with full powers to sign such a treaty as they could obtain. "Go, said he, and endeavour to procure me reasonable and christian conditions." As he was then in *Poland*, at the mercy of the *Russians*, he dreaded lest those overtures should become public; lest the dangerous ally, whom he wanted to abandon, would revenge this submission to the king of *Sweden*. The transaction was therefore kept a profound secret; his emissaries were introduced to the *Swedish* court in the night, and being presented to *Charles*, received their answer in the following terms, viz. That king *Augustus* should for ever renounce the crown of *Poland*, acknowledge *Stanislaus*, and promise never to re-ascend the throne should an opportunity offer. That he should renounce all treaties with the enemies of *Sweden*, and particularly those subsisting between him and the czar. That he should release the princes *Sobieſki*, and all the *Swedish* prisoners made in the course of the war; surrender *Patkul*, at that time resident at his court, as ambassador from the czar of *Muscovy*, and stop proceedings against all who had passed from his into the *Swedish* service. These articles *Charles* wrote with his own hand, delivered them to count *Piper*, ordering them to finish the negotiation with the *Saxon* ambassadors. A conference was accordingly set on foot in the neighbourhood of *Leipsic*, which by various accidents was spun out to a considerable length ^b.

Charles is
courted by all
the powers in
Europe.

MEAN time all the powers united against *France* and *Spain* took the alarm at the irruption made into *Saxony*. The princes of *Germany*, in particular, pressed *Charles* to explain his motives for this extraordinary infraction of the privileges of the *Germanic* body; but they could obtain no satisfactory answer. The emperor finding that menaces were vain, had recourse to soothing, which he imagined might operate more powerfully on the stubborn haughty disposition of the *Swedish* monarch. With this view count *Wratisslaus* was sent to *Saxony*, to apologize for the rough proceedings of the diet at *Ratisbon*, the blame of which was laid on certain fiery turbulent members of the *Germanic* body. Here too the ministers of *England* and *Holland* paid their compliments to the northern hero; emulous who should most gain his favour and regard. *Charles*, indeed, was now at the pinnacle of his glory; ^d feared, courted, and caressed, by the greatest powers in *Europe*, placing a crown on the head of a private nobleman, and ballancing whether he should reduce a sovereign prince to the station of a subject. The plenipotentiaries from *Augustus* used all the arts of intrigue, intreaty, and supplication, to obtain terms more favourable than those prescribed from the conqueror; but *Charles* was inexorable, and the constant answer of count *Piper* was, "Such is the will of the king my master, and he never alters his resolution." The peace, consequently, went on but slowly. It was almost impossible for the plenipotentiaries to grant what was required, and *Charles* would hearken to no other conditions. Fortune, however, at last seemed determined to change sides, and for once to smile upon *Augustus* ^e.

DURING the negotiations in *Saxony*, the affairs in *Poland* assumed a different aspect. Notwithstanding *Poloski*, palatine of *Kiovia*, nominated great general of the crown by *Stanislaus*, had defeated a body of *Tartars*; notwithstanding the same palatine had beat two large corps that had advanced as far as the *Vistula*; yet *Augustus* found means to assemble a considerable army, with which, having crossed that river, he obliged the *Swedes* and *Poles* to unite into one army. Prince *Menzikoff*, the great favourite of the czar *Peter*, brought him a reinforcement of thirty thousand *Russians*. This was a supply, though seasonable and fortunate in the issue, by no means agreeable to *Augustus*; who was under the most dreadful apprehensions, says *Voltaire*, lest *Menzikoff* should discover the negotiation carrying on with the king of *Sweden*. According to the *French* writer, he saw himself dethroned by his enemy, and in danger of being detained prisoner by his ally, in which situation the *Swedish* general *Meyerfeldt* presented himself to view, at the head of an army of ten thousand men, near half of whom were *Swedes*. The continuator of *Puffendorf* alledges, that *Meyerfeldt* was forced to give battle. *Voltaire* affirms, that *Menzikoff* pressed, and indeed constrained *Augustus* to accept the challenge offered by the *Swede*. In this the abbe *Parthenay* agrees with M. de *Voltaire*. *Augustus*, under various pretexts, declined attacking the enemy; but finding it impossible longer to avoid coming to action, he determined to send a person, in whom he had confidence, to *Meyerfeldt*, to acquaint him with his situation, and advise him to retreat. The *Swede* imagined a deceit was intended; he therefore ordered six thousand cavalry to cross the *Prosna*, to reconnoitre the enemy; and scarce had they returned, when *Augustus* and *Menzikoff* were in motion to give battle. With no more than ten thousand men he stood firm to sustain the shock of forty thousand *Poles*, *Saxons*, *Russians*, *Cossacks*, and *Calmaes*. With his center, in which he charged with the *Swedes*, he defeated

^b VOLT. lib. iii. PUFFEND. ibid. ^c PARTH. lib. vi. VOL. ibid.

- a the enemy's first line, and was on the point of breaking the second, when *Stanislaus*, with Meyerfeldt, the *Polcs* and *Lithuanians*, gave way, suffering the enemy to put them in disorder. Meyerfeldt was now sensible that he had lost the victory; but he fought desperately, in hopes of avoiding the disgrace of a defeat. At length, however, he was wholly surrounded, and after an obstinate defence, forced to capitulate, and suffer the *Swedes*, for the first time, to be conquered by *Augustus*. The *French* and *Swiss* regiments, which had deserted from the *Saxons*, perceiving they were to meet with no quarter, took again to their arms, determined to sell their lives as dear as possible: which obliged *Augustus* to grant them the same conditions as the *Swedes*. *Potoski* was taken prisoner, after having fought with astonishing intrepidity at the head of his regiment; and major-general *Krassau*, having repeatedly rallied a body of horse formed into a brigade, at last, by a furious effort, broke through the enemy, and escaped to *Poznania*.

In this manner king *Augustus* gained a complete victory almost against his inclination, and in the midst of his misfortunes entered triumphant into *Warsaw*. This moment of prosperity served only to sharpen his sufferings, and render *Augustus* more unfortunate. *Charles* became more inflexible when he heard that his troops had been defeated; and the king of *Poland* had but just sung *Te Deum* at *Warsaw*, when his plenipotentiary returned from *Saxony*, with the treaty of peace that deprived him of his crown. He hesitated, scrupled, and at last signed it; after which he set out for *Saxony*, glad of escaping out of the hands of allies, who would not fail to give him fresh cause of uneasiness, were they made acquainted with the circumstances of the treaty. All *Europe* was struck with this important negotiation. Some blamed the rigid spirit of *Charles*, who persisted in dethroning a prince, the ancient ally of his family, and connected by the ties of blood; while others admired his disinterestedness, in thus disposing of a conquered kingdom, without adding a foot of land to his own dominions. All the fruit of his victories consisted in the glory of obtaining them; of having dethroned a king, and placed a crown on the head of a private nobleman ^a.

- AUGUSTUS* was still in hope that a personal interview with *Charles* might soften the heart of that prince, and dispose him to relax in some of the more severe articles. The two kings met at *Guntersdorf*, in count *Piper's* quarters. The conversation at this first meeting turned wholly upon trifles; not a syllable passed on the subject which occasioned the interview. They afterwards dined together, and then *Augustus* endeavoured to prevail on the king of *Sweden* not to insist upon his delivering up *Patkul*, who was actually the minister of the czar of *Muscovy*. This, he said, would be such a breach of the laws of nations, as would give all *Europe* cause to exclaim against his perfidy and pusillanimity. He likewise disputed laying aside the arms and title of king of *Poland*; it is enough, says he, that I have actually resigned the power, the crown, the revenue, and the dominions of *Poland*; and with respect to surrendering the crown-jewels to *Stanislaus*, he said, that this ought to be done with the consent of the republic; for should that prince not be able to maintain himself on the throne, the *Poles* might think they had a right to demand the jewels given away without their consent, from the elector of *Saxony*. But the king of *Sweden* was not only immoveable in these and every other article of the treaty; he even exacted terms which were still more intolerable to the spirit and pride of *Augustus*. He obliged the king-elect to send his rival the jewels and archives of *Poland*, with a letter congratulating him on his accession, which *Stanislaus* answered with dignity and politeness, coming in person to *Leipfic*, to visit the prince whose diadem he wore. This was the summit of the king of *Sweden's* glory; to see two kings at his court, one of whom he had deposed, and the other established in his throne; it was indeed a barbarous honour which no other prince in *Christendom* could boast. He indeed tarnished the extreme lustre of this glory, by the inhuman inflexibility of his revenge against the unfortunate *Patkul*, now shut up in the castle of *Konigstein* in *Saxony*. *Augustus* laboured all in his power to save this minister, but in vain. He devised an expedient to satisfy the conqueror, and save his own honour, but it did not succeed; *Patkul's* ill fortune prevailed. *Augustus* sent his guards to deliver up the prisoner to the *Swedish* troops, but not until he had sent an order to the governor of the castle to let him escape. The avarice of the governor, and *Patkul's* confidence in the regard which would be paid to the laws of nations, frustrated the effects of the expedient contrived for his safety. It was known that the minister was rich; his keeper expected a high reward for his liberty, which *Patkul* refused, not doubting but he should obtain it without fee. While they disputed this point the guards arrived, immediately seized him, and delivered him to four *Swedish* officers, who attended to receive the prisoner. He was hurried away to the head-quarters at *Alt-Ranstadt*, where he continued three months, tied to a stake with a heavy chain of iron; after which he was conducted to *Casimir*. Here he was tried by a council of war, condemned as the subject of *Sweden* to be broke alive on the wheel, and quartered. The sentence was executed with the utmost rigour, he received sixteen blows,

Treaty of Alt-Ranstadt.

^a PARTHENAY. lib. v. tom. ii. VOLT. lib. iii.

Count Patkul's execution.

and expired, after sustaining the longest and most excruciating tortures. His crime was, that he had taken up arms against his king; a crime extremely equivocal in *Patkul's* peculiar circumstances, and in a state where it is the duty of the subject, equally to preserve the liberties of his country, and observe obedience to his sovereign (A).

A. D. 1707.
The czar enters Poland.

THE czar of *Muscovy* was no sooner informed of the late extraordinary treaty of peace, and the execution of *Patkul* his plenipotentiary, than he filled all *Europe* with his complaints. He sent letters to every court in *Christendom*, complaining of this gross violation of the laws of nations. He intreated the emperor, the queen of *England*, and the states-general, to revenge this insult on humanity. He stigmatised the compliance of *Augustus* with the opprobrious name of pusillanimity, exhorted them not to guaranty so unjust a treaty, and to despise the menaces of the *Swedish* bully. However, his remonstrances and reproaches served only to demonstrate the power of *Charles*, and the dread in which he was held by all the confederates. *Patkul's* fate was now determined, the mediation of the allies would be vain, and they did not chuse to exasperate the ferocious *Swede*, by refusing the ceremony of becoming guarantees to a treaty. At first *Peter* thought of revenging his minister, by treating the prisoners at *Moscow* in the same manner; but he was withheld from the barbarous retaliation, on considering that the king of *Sweden* had more *Russian* prisoners than he had *Swedes*. Perhaps a spark of humanity rose at this time in the breast of the savage legislator. Certain it is, that he determined upon a nobler and more advantageous revenge. *Poland* was defended only by a slender body of *Swedes* and the national troops, who together were not numerous enough to guard all the passes. The bulk of the army, the king, and *Stanislaus*, were all in *Saxony*, dictating to *Augustus*, and indeed giving law to the western hemisphere. Entering *Poland* with 60,000 men, the czar divided his army into several corps, advanced to *Leopold*, and gained possession of that and several other towns, the defence of which was entrusted to the inhabitants. At *Leopold* he assembled a diet, and solemnly dethroned *Stanislaus*, with the same ceremonies used at *Warsaw* to depose king *Augustus*. Nothing could equal the misery of *Poland*; fellow-citizens were butchering each other, and cities, towns, and villages laid in ashes. The whole country was divided, the *Swedes* retaining one party through fear, and the czar gaining another by money and intrigue. These disorders called for a speedy remedy: accordingly *Stanislaus* quitted *Saxony* at the head of sixteen regiments, and well supplied with the money of the electorate. *Stanislaus* was acknowledged as legitimate sovereign wherever he passed; the strict discipline and order of his troops was admired, and indeed afforded the strongest contrast to the disorder and riot that prevailed among the *Muscovites*. His own affability won many hearts, and the *Saxon* money engaged great part of the crown-army to desert count *Siniauski*, grand-general of *Poland* by the nomination of *Augustus*. *Peter* perceived this change, he had experienced the valour of the *Swedes*, and knew the ability of *Lewenhaupt*. He therefore thought it advisable to retire to *Lithuania*, under pretence that the country could not supply him with the provision and forage necessary for the subsistence of so great an army.

Charles forces the emperor to make submissions.

ALL this while *Charles* was giving law in *Saxony* to the emperor, and receiving ambassadors from the courts of *Vienna*, *London*, *Versailles*, and *Madrid*. The famous *John* duke of *Marlborough* made him a visit at *Leipsic*, and was perhaps the chief instrument of turning *Charles* from the project he entertained of interposing in the quarrel between *France* and the allies. Some writers alledge, that the duke judiciously applied by presents to count *Piper*; but *Voltaire* denies this circumstance, and clearly vindicates the purity and disinterestedness of that minister. In short, the king of *Sweden's* grand project was to dethrone the czar, and his attention to this was probably the true reason why he did not intermeddle with the affairs of *Western Europe*. He enjoyed, however, the satisfaction of humbling the court of *Vienna*, and obliging the emperor to make some exceedingly mean concessions. Count *Zobor*, the emperor's chamberlain, had affronted *Stralenheim*, the *Swedish* envoy, who resented it so highly, that he suddenly quitted *Vienna* without taking leave. *Charles* demanded satisfaction for the indignity offered to him in the person of his minister. The emperor, dreading lest the king in his wrath should form some resolution injurious to the

^b PUFFEND. lib. vii. VOLT. lib. iii.

^c Auct. citat. ibid.

(A) Notwithstanding the courage and intrepidity which *Patkul* had displayed upon divers other occasions, his resolution forsook him when notice was brought him, that he was to die upon the rack. Being left alone with the chaplain, he poured out a flood of tears, desired him to wait upon a *Saxon* lady of great merit and beauty, with whom he was on the point of marriage, to console, and assure her, that he quitted life full of the tenderest sentiments of love and esteem for her. He fell into convulsions, at the place of execution, upon seeing the wheels, stakes, and other instruments of his torture.

When the paper was read, declaring him a traitor, and the cause of his punishment: "Alas," said he, "I have served my country but too well!" All the spectators wept to see a nobleman, eminent for his talents and patriotism, fall a sacrifice to resentment, and the revenge of a despotic monarch, who had not sensibility to feel for misfortune, or elevation of mind sufficient to admire talents, which were not employed to his own purposes, and under his own direction. In a word, the execution of *Patkul* is the deepest stain in the escutcheon of the king of *Sweden* (1).

(1) *Mem. de Patk. p. 19, 20, et passim.*

a interests of the confederates, banished the count; but this reparation did not satisfy the Swede; he insisted, that count Zobar should be delivered into his hands; his demands were complied with, and the emperor was forced to stoop so far as to see his chamberlain kept for some time a prisoner at *Stetin*, after which the king of Sweden sent him back to *Vienna*. Nor was this the only particular in which he mortified the imperial court. Fifteen hundred Russians had escaped the Swedish sword, and taken refuge in the emperor's dominions. These Charles demanded, and the court would have been forced to comply, had not the Russian minister artfully contrived the escape of the unfortunate refugees ^a.

CHARLES having succeeded in all his demands on the court of *Vienna*, seemed to fix his residence in *Saxony*, with no other view than to multiply his requisitions. He now declared himself protector of the protestant interest in *Germany*, and particularly of the emperor's protestant subjects in *Silesia*. He required that the emperor should renew and confirm to them all the liberties granted by the treaties of *Westphalia*; but since reclaimed, or at least eluded at the treaty of *Ryswick*. There was something extremely insolent in the manner of this interpolation; the emperor perceived the indignity offered to his authority, but he was forced to conceal his sentiments, and grant all that the Swedish monarch demanded. Upwards of an hundred churches were restored to the Protestants, only to be taken from them when fortune frowned upon Charles, their patron and protector. *Voltaire* relates an anecdote which, if true, fully evinces the terror with which this prince inspired the court of *Vienna*. When he was reproached by the pope's nuncio, for thus surrendering the interests of religion to oblige a heretic prince: "It is well for you, answered the emperor, that the king of Sweden did not propose to make me a Lutheran; for if he had, I don't know whether I could have refused." One would indeed have imagined that Charles entertained some thoughts of making a proselyte of the pontiff himself; for, being incensed at the constant opposition of the court of *Rome*, a court whose weakness and intrigues he despised, he told the emperor's minister, "That the Swedes had before now conquered *Rome*, and he might one day demand an inventory of the effects left there by queen *Christina*."

BEING at length satiated with the glory of having dethroned one king, crowned another, humbled the emperor, given law to the empire, protected the Protestant religion, and filled all Europe with terror and admiration, Charles thought of quitting *Saxony*, in pursuit of his great plan of deposing the czar, and conquering the immense empire of *Russia*. His design he kept a profound secret; but it was suspected when he began his march at the head of an army of 43,000 men, the best disciplined troops in the world, flushed with victory, and so enriched with the spoils of the vanquished, that every private soldier carried fifty crowns out of the electorate. While the army was in full march in the neighbourhood of *Dresden*, the king suddenly disappeared, accompanied only by five officers. The alarm immediately spread through the army; but their terrors were soon removed, by notice that his majesty was gone upon a visit to *Augustus* ^c (B).

THE king of Sweden's forces in *Saxony*, *Poland*, and *Finland*, including the Poles under *Stanislaus*, and the Swedish army commanded by *Lewenhaupt*, exceeded 70,000 men; a force more than sufficient to have executed all his projects, had fortune proved favourable. *Petr the Great* was then in *Lithuania*, busied in supporting the spirits of a party, which king *Augustus* seemed to have wholly renounced. His troops, which were dispersed in small parties, he instantly assembled upon notice of the king of Sweden's march, and was making all possible preparations vigorously to resist this conqueror, who now obtained the surname

He quits Saxony, and marches against the Russians.

^a VOLT. lib. iii.

^c PUFFEND. lib. vii.

(B) As the extraordinary manner of this visit strongly marks the character of Charles, we shall beg leave to recite the particulars in the words of the lively *Voltaire*. "The king alighted at the palace, and was got to the door of the elector's apartment, before it was known that he had entered the city. General *Fleming*, having seen him at a distance, had only time to run and inform his master. All that could be done upon such an occasion was present to the idea of the minister; but Charles entered the chamber in his boots before *Augustus* had time to recover from his surprise. The king breakfasted with him, as a traveller who came to take leave of his friend, and then he expressed his desire of viewing the fortifications. While he was walking round them a *Livonian*, condemned in Sweden, who served in the troops of *Saxony*, thought he could never have a more favourable opportunity of procuring pardon, and begged of king *Augustus* to intercede for him, being fully assured, that his majesty could not refuse so slight a request

to a prince in whose power he then was. *Augustus* made the request, and Charles refused it in such a manner that he did not think fit to ask it a second time (1)." Having passed some hours in this very extraordinary kind of visit, the king of Sweden returned to his army, after having embraced, and taken his leave of the king he had dethroned. The continuator of *Puffendorf* alleges, that *Augustus* accompanied him to *Neusdorf* (2). When Charles had joined his army, he found all his generals assembled in council, and asked the reason: general *Renschild* told him, they had determined to besiege *Dresden*, in case his majesty had been detained a prisoner. "Aye, said the king, you were right; but they durst not, they durst not" (3). Next morning, upon the news that king *Augustus* held an extraordinary council at *Dresden*: "You see," says *Renschild*, "they are deliberating upon what should have been done yesterday."

(1) Volt. lib. iii. p. 140.

(2) Puffend. tom. vi. lib. vii. p. 168.

(3) Volt. *ibid.*

of *Invincible*. He was on the point of attacking *Stanislaus*, when the king's approach disconcerted his measures, and struck his whole army with a panic. On his way, *Charles* had given audience to the *Turkish* ambassador, sent by his court to fix *Sweden* in the interest of the grand signior, as an ally extremely useful in his designs on *Germany* and *Russia*. Leaving *Stanislaus* with 10,000 *Swedes* in *Poland*, the king continued his course to *Grodno*, in pursuit of the *Russian* army. In the month of *January*, he passed the *Niemen*, and entered the south-gate of *Grodno*, just as the czar was quitting the town by the north-gate. He had gone before the army, attended only by 600 horse. Notice of his situation was given to the czar; upon which he sent back a detachment of 2000 men, who attacked the *Swedes* unprepared, but were soon defeated. This disappointment was followed by the total evacuation of *Lithuania*; the very terror of the king's name obliging the *Russians* to seek shelter in the frontiers of *Muscovy*. Thither they were pursued in the midst of ice and snow, through almost impervious forests; over rocks, morasses, mountains, and rivers. Nothing seemed impracticable to *Charles*, at the head of a *Swedish* army; he continued in the field in a wild northern country during the winter; and made forced marches, as if he had been in the finest plains in *Flanders* in the summer season. *Charles* had foreseen every difficulty, and determined to surmount them. Sensible that the country could not furnish provision sufficient for the maintenance of his army, and that great part of what it afforded, had been destroyed by the enemy, he provided a large quantity of biscuit, upon which the army chiefly subsisted, until he arrived on the banks of the *Berezine*, in view of *Borislow*. Here the czar was posted, and it was the intention of the king to bring him to a battle, that he might then penetrate without obstruction or annoyance into *Russia*. The czar, however, did not think proper to come to an action, but retreated towards the *Borishtenes*, and was pursued by the *Swede* as soon as he had refreshed his army, in quarters where they were well supplied with necessaries^f.

He defeats a
body of the
enemy.

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Russians* had destroyed the roads, desolated the country, and thrown every possible impediment in the way of the *Swedish* army, they advanced with great celerity, and in their march defeated twenty thousand of the enemy, though they were intrenched to the teeth. This was one of the most obstinate battles which the *Russians* had ever ventured to stand against the *Swedes*, and considering the circumstances, one of the most glorious that *Charles* ever obtained. The memory of it is preserved by a medal struck in *Sweden*, with this inscription: *Sylvæ, paludes, aggeres, hostes vieti*, from which we may collect the opinion entertained of it in those times, when the news of some fresh victory was every day reaching the capital^g.

The difficulties
which the king
encountered.

WHEN the *Russians* had repassed the *Borishtenes*, that great river which divides *Poland* from *Muscovy*, and the *Swedes* were following them close, the czar began at last to consult the safety of his dominions, and seriously to reflect on the consequences of pursuing a war with a prince who was not to be conquered by dangers and difficulties. He determined to offer peace, and accordingly sent proposals to king *Charles*, by a *Polish* gentleman in his army. The king's answer was, that he would treat at *Moscow*; which being reported to the czar, he coolly replied, "My brother *Charles* affects to play *Alexander*, but he will not find in me a *Darius*." However, he continued retreating, and the king pursued so close, that he was skirmishing daily with the rear of the enemy, in which he had generally the advantage, though even conquering in these undecisive actions proved detrimental by weakening his army in a country where it was impossible to recruit. Near *Smolensko*, he defeated, with six regiments only, a body of 10,000 horse and 6000 *Calmucks*. In this engagement the king's person was in the utmost danger, the enemy having separated him from his troops. Seconded only by one regiment, he fought with such fury, as dispersed the enemy, and drove them before him, just as they thought themselves in possession of the royal prisoner. Two aid-de-camps, that fought near the king's person, were killed. His horse was shot under him, and the equerry struck dead while he was presenting another. The enemy had broke through the regiment, and got up quite to the king's person, who is said to have killed twelve men with his own hand, without receiving a single wound.

Oct. 3.

CHARLES was now within a hundred leagues of *Moscow*; but the czar had made the roads impassable, either by laying them under water, digging deep ditches, or covering them with the wood of whole forests, which he ordered to be cut down. He had likewise destroyed all the villages on every side, and taken away every possibility of procuring the least sustenance for an army. The winter was considerably advanced, the intensely severe weather was approaching, and every thing threatened the *Swedes* with all the miseries of pinching cold and famine, while they were at the same time exposed to a powerful enemy, who, by a perfect knowledge of the country, and great superiority of numbers, had constant opportunities of harassing and attacking them by surprise. These considerations induced

^f Id. ibid.

^g PUFFEND. ubi supra. VOLT. in loc. modo citat.

a the king to pass through the *Ukrain*, where *Mazeppa*, a *Polish* gentleman, filled the post of general and chief of the nation. *Mazeppa* had once received an affront from the czar, which he took this opportunity of revenging, by entering upon a treaty with *Charles*. He promised to revolt, to assist the king with 30,000 men, with quantities of ammunition and provision, and with all his treasures, which were immense. To favour this junction, the *Swedish* army advanced towards the *Disna*, where they had to encounter new and unheard-of hardships and difficulties. A forest above forty leagues in extent, filled with rocks, mountains and marshes, was to be traversed; and to augment the difficulty, the army was led thirty leagues out of the right way. All the artillery was lost and sunk in bogs and marshes, the provision of the soldiers, which consisted in biscuit, exhausted, and the whole army emaciated, spent, and exhausted, when they arrived on the banks of the *Disna*, where they expected to have met *Mazeppa*, with his promised reinforcement. What must have been their surprise, disappointed and languishing as they were under the united pressure of cold, hunger, and extreme fatigue, to find instead of an ally, the opposite banks of the river covered with a hostile army, and the passage itself almost impassable. In fact, the *Russians* had discovered *Mazeppa's* designs; they fell upon the *Cossacks*, defeated and dispersed them, massacring or putting to the torture all the prince's adherents whom they made prisoners. A body of 8000 *Muscovites* had penetrated to the *Disna*, to dispute the king of *Sweden's* passage; but the king let his soldiers by ropes down the steep banks, and crossed the river in the face of the enemy, either by swimming, or on rafters hastily put together, defeated the *Russians*, and pursued his way, as yet uncertain whether the treachery or misfortune of this new ally occasioned the disappointment. The unhappy *Mazeppa* soon appeared to clear up all doubts. Instead of an army of 30,000 men, he scarce brought with him 6000 broken remains; all his towns had been laid in ashes, and the provisions he had collected for the king of *Sweden* taken by the enemy; however, he afforded hope of being serviceable by his intelligences, in this inhospitable country, and the affection of the *Cossacks*, who, in resentment to the *Russians*, crowded daily to the camp with provisions ^b.

WHEN *Charles* entered the *Ukrain*, he sent back orders to general *Lewenhaupt*, to meet him with 15,000 men, and a convoy of provisions, at a rendezvous appointed. He now expected to reap the fruits of this precaution, when he was joined by *Lewenhaupt*, who stood more in need of his assistance. *Charles* had no sooner turned off from the great road that led to *Moscow*, than the czar applied his whole attention to obstruct *Lewenhaupt's* progress, and cut off the large convoys he had provided. Near *Lefno*, at the confluence of the rivers *Pronin* and *Soffa*, he appeared with a numerous army in sight of *Lewenhaupt's* detachment. The *Swede* was not alarmed; report had diminished the czar's army of 60,000 men to 24,000; a force to which he thought 6000 *Swedes* superior. He disdained to intrench himself, and was attacked in the open field by the *Russians*, just as he was advancing to give them battle. After an obstinate conflict, the enemy were repulsed with the loss of 1500 men; upon which *Lewenhaupt* continued his march, without intending to pursue an army six times as numerous as his own. By the treachery of his guide, he found himself embarrassed in a marshy country, where the roads were made impassable by deep ditches and trees laid across. In this situation he was again attacked by the czar, supported by his whole army. The *Swedish* general detached two battalions to dispute the enemies passage over a morass; but finding they were likely to be overpowered, he marched at the head of the whole infantry to their relief. The combat was furious and obstinate; but the courage and address of the *Swedes* at last prevailed, put the *Russians* into confusion, and was on the point of gaining a complete victory, when the czar gave orders to the *Cossacks* and *Calmuks*, to fire upon all the *Russians* who deserted their posts: "Even kill me, said he, if I should be so cowardly as to turn my back." These orders, and his own example, wrought a great effect. Assisted by prince *Menzikoff*, he rallied the broken battalions, and renewed the attack at the entrance of a morass, which *Lewenhaupt* was to cross. Here the czar drew out his whole army to surround his enemy, the *Swedes* faced about, and for two hours maintained a bloody action, in which the czar lost near 6000 men. The *Russians* were a third time put in disorder, when general *Baver* arrived with a strong reinforcement of fresh troops, which enabled the czar again to resume the engagement, that now continued without remission, till night separated the combatants. Never had *Swedish* valour shone more conspicuous than in this engagement; reduced to 5000 men, fatigued with fighting, and a long march, and encumbered with a large convoy, they sustained three several assaults on the same day, from an enemy determined to conquer, and amounting to 65,000 men, headed by *Peter the Great*. Next morning the czar ordered a fresh assault, notwithstanding the *Swedes* had taken post in the night on an advantageous ground. *Lewenhaupt* had formed a kind of rampart of his waggons, to which he now set fire to prevent their falling into the enemies hands, and at the same time to co-

He enters the
Ukrain.

Lewenhaupt
engages the
Russians three
days succes-
sfully.

Vol. I. iv.

ver his retreat by the smoke; the *Russians* came soon enough, however, to save near 5000 a waggons of those provisions designed for the distressed army of the king of *Sweden*; and general *Pflug* was sent with a strong detachment to pursue and attack the enemy a fifth time. *Lewenhaupt* put on such a countenance, that the general thought proper to offer him an honourable capitulation, which the *Swede* refusing, the action was again renewed, and sustained with the same vigour, as if it had been the first engagement. Always unconquered though retreating, and diminished to 4000 men, the *Swedes* persevered in rejecting all terms, and fighting to the last drop. The efforts of the enemy's cavalry were vain; they were sustained with such amazing constancy, that 5000 *Russians* were left dead on the field, and *Lewenhaupt* suffered to pursue his march, but without cannon or provision. Prince *Menzikoff* indeed was detached to harass his rear, but the *Swedes* appeared so formidable, even in their distressed circumstances that he retired without making any attempt. In a word, after sustaining for three days six separate assaults; after encountering all the difficulties which a numerous army, a wild country, and severe weather, could throw in his way, *Lewenhaupt* at last arrived in his master's camp, with about 4000 men, and the honour of having killed near 30,000 of the enemy, in the several encounters in his march.

The constancy
of the Swedes.

FROM the above circumstances it was apparent, that the fortune of *Sweden* began to take an unfavourable turn; yet was the courage of *Charles* and his troops unappalled. They were destitute of provisions, without any communication with *Sweden* or *Poland*, in a country where the only remaining resource was their own courage. His it was still thought would surmount all difficulties, and lead them triumphant to the capital of *Russia*, the sacking of which, and dethroning the czar, would fully recompense all their labour. *Charles* never lost sight of this object in his greatest distress, and his whole army seemed to be animated with the same spirit and ambition. They resolved to brave the seasons, and the extremity of fatigue and hunger, as they had done their enemies. They made long marches, in the midst of the severest winter ever known in *Muscovy*. Without shoes, almost without cloaths and bread, they followed their king without murmuring, and clad themselves like savages, with the skins of wild beasts. The greater part of the cannon was left behind in quagmires, because all the draught-horses had perished, and the whole army so numerous and flourishing when it left *Saxony*, was now reduced to 24,000 men, emaciated, d impoverished, naked, and, except in courage, quite spent and exhausted. *Charles* had experienced mortification the preceding year; but it was only now that he began to feel the accumulated weight of misfortune and disgrace. Several thousands of his soldiers dropped down dead with cold and hunger before his eyes; he pitied, but he persevered, and indeed a retreat now would have been the most arduous measure (A). Before the month of *February*, the *Swedes* did not exceed 18,000 men, with which army *Charles* at last penetrated to *Pultowa*, on the eastern frontier of the *Ukraine*. Here the czar had formed magazines, of which *Charles* resolved to gain possession; for hitherto he had been wholly supplied with provisions by his faithful *Cossack* ally, the unfortunate *Mazeppa*. The fate of *Pultowa* must determine the fate of *Sweden*. Should *Charles* succeed in the enterprize, a road would e lie open quite to *Moscow*, he would at least enjoy great abundance, and be able to wait the arrival of some reinforcements still expected from *Sweden*, *Livonia*, *Poland*, and *Pomerania*. On the contrary, should he be forced to abandon the siege, the army must be exposed more than ever to famine, as the czar was now laying waste those countries from whence the *Cossacks* drew supplies for the *Swedish* camp. *Mazeppa*, who had secret correspondence with some of the inhabitants, strenuously advised that the town should be invested. The fortifications were good, the garrison amounted to 9000 men, and *Charles* wanted heavy cannon; notwithstanding which the *Cossack* chief confidently promised success, and hope began to revive in the *Swedish* army.

¹ PUFFEND. lib. vii. VOLT. lib. iv. Hist. de Pierre le Grande, tom. i. p. 162.

(A) *Voltaire* relates, that amidst all the distresses of the *Swedish* army, only one officer and one common soldier complained. To the former the king said, "What, are you uneasy at being so far from your wife? If you are a soldier indeed, I will carry you to such a distance, that you shall scarce hear from *Sweden* once in three years;" alluding, possibly, to the wild plan he had cast in his own mind, while he resided at *Leipsic*, of penetrating into *Asia*, and carrying his conquests beyond those of *Alexander*. The same author relates another anecdote, which equally displays the king's firmness and address. "A soldier, grumbling, ven-

tured to present him, in presence of the whole army with a piece of black mouldy bread, made of barley and oats, the only food with which the army was then supplied, and even this in a scanty portion. The king received the piece of bread without the least emotion, eat it entirely up, and then said coldly to the soldier, 'It is not good, but it may be eaten.' The historian justly observes, "that these little turns upon emergencies contributed inconceivably to support the *Swedish* army in extremities, which would have been intolerable under any other general." (1).

(1) *Volt. lib. iv.*

ACCORDINGLY

- a ACCORDINGLY *Charles* invested *Pultowa*, with an army not sufficient to cut off the communication between the garrison and the czar, and block up the passes in such a manner as to prevent their receiving succours. General *Stuckleburg* was detached, with eight thousand *Swedes* and *Cossacks*, beyond the river *Woroklawe* to dislodge a party of the enemy, that intended penetrating into *Pultowa*; but he was defeated, and almost his whole detachment drowned or cut in pieces, the bridge having been broke down to prevent his retreat. But even this loss did not discourage the king of *Sweden*; he pushed the siege with the utmost vigour, and soon perceived by the enemy's skill and resolute defence, that he had already taught them the art of war. Divers assaults were given, in which the *Swedes* were constantly repelled, with this additional mortification, that prince *Menzikoff* found means to throw
- b twelve hundred men into the town, with great store of ammunition. To complete his misfortunes, *Charles* received a shot from a carbine, as he was viewing the works, which pierced his boot, and shattered the bone in his heel; but such was his steadiness, that the accident passed unobserved, because he shewed not the least alteration of countenance. For six hours after, he continued calmly on horseback giving his orders, until the loss of blood made him faint, and the wound was discovered by one of his attendants, who brought the assistance of surgeons, and carried his majesty into his tent. Upon examination, the wound had already begun to mortify, and it was the opinion of the faculty, that his life could only be saved by amputation. The utmost consternation seized the army; but one *Newman* undertook to effect a cure, and save the limb. It was necessary that deep incisions should be made: "Fall to work, then, said the king, cut
- c "boldly, and fear nothing;" he held out his leg while the operation was performing, never changing countenance; and while the dressing was laid on, ordered an assault for the next morning.

- For some days the czar, with an army of seventy thousand men, lay at a small distance, harrassing the *Swedish* camp with his parties, and cutting off all the convoys of provisions: now the news arrived that he appeared in sight, as if with attention to attack the king's lines. In this situation, wounded and incapable of action, in a desert country, without a retreat, destitute of provision and ammunition, and almost surrounded by enemies, *Charles* condescended to assemble a grand council of war, the result of which was, that it
- d was expedient to march out of the trenches and attack the *Russians* *. *Voltaire*, indeed, asserts the contrary: "Even in this extremity, says that writer, the king called no council, as might be expected; but on the 7th of July sent for the mareschal *Renschild* into his tent, and ordered him, with deliberation and without emotion, to prepare for attacking the czar next morning. Without disputing his master's will the mareschal quit-
- e "ted the king's tent to execute his orders (B)." Eight thousand men were left for the defence of the works, and to oppose the sallies of the besieged; with the rest of the army, amounting to 26,000 men, including 18,000 *Cossacks*, *Charles* began marching by break of day to fight the czar. On passing through a defile, the enemy were seen drawn up in two lines behind the intrenchments, the horse in front, and the foot in the rear, with
- f chasms to suffer the horse to fall back, in case of necessity. General *Sleppenback* was immediately detached to attack the cavalry, which he performed with such impetuosity, that they were entirely broke and defeated; but being rallied behind the infantry, they returned to the charge, and in their turn put the *Swedes* in disorder, and took *Sleppenback* prisoner. *Charles* was carried in his litter to the scene of confusion; his presence soon animated the troops, they rallied in an instant, and advanced against the fire of 70 pieces of cannon, and a great number of redoubts, which plied them in front and flank. The battle now became exceedingly warm; both princes gave their orders with that cool presence of mind peculiar to the truly great; the czar had his hat shot through, and *Charles* in his litter escaped a thousand dangers. He had dispatched general *Creuk*, with a body of horse and dragoons, to take the enemy in flank; but *Creuk* mistook his way, and this laid the foundation of all the future misfortunes. The *Russian* infantry opened from their lines, advanced, and were ready to overpower the *Swedes*, when an admirable stroke of the

* PUFFEND. lib. vii. tom. vii. p. 180.

(B) The same writer adds, that the general met count *Piper*, with whom he had long been at variance, at the door of the king's tent. The minister asked if any thing new had happened. No, says *Renschild* coldly, and passed on to give his orders. As soon as *Piper* had entered the tent, the king asked what the general said to him; nothing, answered *Piper*. "Well then," replied the king, I tell you, that to-morrow we shall

"have a battle." The count was astonished at so desperate a resolution, but concealed his sentiments, knowing the inflexibility of the king's disposition. It would be impossible to reunite this with what the continuator of *Puffendorf* alleges; we shall therefore leave it to the reader to follow which opinion he thinks the most probable (1).

(1) Volt. lib. iv.

The Swedes
defeated.

czar's entirely determined victory. Prince *Menzikoff* was detached to post himself between the *Swedes* and *Pultowa*, to cut off their communication with the camp, and fall upon their rear. He executed his orders with great address, cut off a corps de reserve of three thousand men, and thus decided the fortune of the day. The king, however, had ranged his remaining troops in two lines, the foot in the center, and the horse posted on both wings. They had already been twice rallied, and were now attacked with fury on all sides. *Charles* in his litter, with his sword drawn in one hand, and a pistol in the other, was every where present. A cannon-ball killed both horses in the litter, and scarce were others put in their stead, when a second cannon-ball broke the litter in pieces, and overturned the king. The soldiers believed him killed, they fell back in consternation, the first line was broke, and the second fled. Rallying was impossible, as powder failed. The king did all in his power to restore order; but the *Russians* pressed so hard as to baffie all his endeavours. *Renschild*, and several general officers, were made prisoners; and the king must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, but for *Poniatsky*, who with admirable presence of mind, drew up five hundred horse, surrounded the royal person, and, with incredible fury, broke through ten regiments of the enemy, and arrived on the banks of the *Boristhenes*. The conquerors stormed the camp, seized six millions in specie, the spoils of king *Augustus*; but could not help *Lewenhaupt* from retreating with four thousand foot, and all the remaining cavalry, to the banks of the *Boristhenes*, opposite *Kiovia*, whither he was pursued by *Menzikoff*, and for want of bridges or boats, forced to surrender at discretion. In a word, the victory was complete; the whole *Swedish* army except a few who followed the king's fortune, having been killed or taken. The unhappy prisoners were afterwards dispersed in *Siberia*, a barbarous country, where necessity rendering them ingenious, every one exercised some trade or employment, all distinction between soldier and officer ceased, and those differences which fortune makes among men were entirely abolished. The officer, who could not work at some mechanical trade or art, was forced to cut down and carry wood for the soldier, who was now turned taylor or shoemaker, smith, mason, or carpenter. Some of the officers became painters, sculptors, or architects; some taught the languages and mathematics. Public schools were erected, which soon grew so useful and famous, that the children of the nobility were sent from *Moscow* for their education to *Siberia*; so that by the victory of *Pultowa*, *Peter the Great* not only laid the foundation of the power and security of *Russia*, but of the arts and sciences, at that time wholly unknown in his empire.

Consequences of
the defeat at
Pultowa.

In this manner had *Charles XII.* lost, in one day, the fruits of nine years fatigue and labour, and the glory of almost a hundred victories. He fled in a mean calash, attended by a little troop of persons invariably attached to his person, some on foot, some on horseback, across a desert, where neither house, hut, animal, herb, or tree was to be seen; all was one great ocean of sand, in which they had almost been suffocated with intense heat, more intolerable than the severe colds they had experienced on entering the *Russian* frontiers. The want of water had almost destroyed the whole of these unfortunate remains of the *Swedish* army; at last a spring was discovered, in which the king and his whole troop quenched their thirst, and proceeded to *Ozakou*, a town in the *Turkish* dominions, the bashaw governor of which supplied them with every necessary, and treated the king with all the respect due to so great a monarch. It was now near the 9th of *June* before boats sufficient to transport the whole could be provided, by which accident five hundred *Swedes* and *Cossacs* fell into the hands of the enemy, who continued the pursuit quite to the banks of the river *Bogh*. This loss affected the king more than all his former sufferings consequent on the defeat of *Pultowa*. Misfortune had softened his heart, and he now for the first time discovered any signs of sensibility and passion. He shed tears at seeing across the river the greater part of his few remaining friends carried away in captivity, without having it in his power to grant them relief or assistance. The bashaw waited upon him in person, apologized for the delay which had occasioned this loss, and was severely reprimanded by the king, as if he had been his own subject.

Charles takes
refuge in the
Turkish do-
minions.

CHARLES was but a few days at *Ozakou*, when the serasquier of *Bender* sent an aga to compliment his majesty on his arrival in the *Turkish* dominions, to invite him to *Bender*, and to accept of the present of a fine *Turkish* tent, sent for his accommodation on the road. Both were accepted, and the king set out with his whole retinue, escorted by the bashaw of *Ozakou*, who furnished every necessary as far as *Palanca*; at which place the serasquier took upon himself the charge of accommodating the fugitive monarch. When he arrived at *Bender*, he was saluted with a general discharge of the artillery, and the acclamations of the janissaries, who were drawn up to do his majesty honour, with the same ceremony as if he had been grand signior. *Charles* pitched his tent on the banks of the *Nepes*, and declined the invitation given him to lodge in the town. He was visited by the serasquier, treated with the utmost hospitality, provided with every necessary that the country could

- a could afford; and that generous maxim of the *Turkish* government, of regarding as sacred the persons of unfortunate princes who have taken sanctuary among them, was practised in its greatest extent ¹.

S E C T. XII.

Containing the Particulars of the King's Residence at Bender, the Difficulties it occasioned at the Porte, the Affairs of Sweden during the King's Exile, the Advantage which the Northern Powers made of this Accident, with other Particulars.

- b **C**HARLES XII. of *Sweden*, lately so terrible to his enemies, so respected by all *Eu-*
rope, was now, by a sudden reverse of fortune, protected and supported by the com- Conduct of the
passion and generosity of a barbarous people, perhaps by the policy of a court, which Porte.
still imagined that so warlike, active, and magnanimous a prince, might, notwithstanding
this severe blow, prove an useful ally, and become again the scourge of *Russia*, and the ter-
ror of *Germany*. The king had indeed intimated, that the troops defeated at *Pultowa* was
only a detachment from the armies in *Germany* and *Poland*: the *Turks*, therefore thought
to fix him by good usage in the interest of the *Porte*; assured, that he would fully repay
all their services, whenever it happened that he should return to his own dominions. Nor
c was the *French* king less solicitous to shew the *Swedish* monarch every kind office in his
power. By his ambassador at *Constantinople* he negotiated with the divan, and procured se-
veral advantages to *Charles*, in a situation that required all the tenderness that friendship
and humanity could bestow. The king wrote a letter with his own hand to the grand
signior, which was intrusted to the sieur *Neugebar*; but that gentleman not being vested
with a public character, with the usual formalities, he could not obtain an audience, and
the letter remained unopened, until all the ceremonies required by the *Turkish* court could
be properly adjusted.

- MEAN time the *French* king offered his majesty a passage from the *Levant* to *Marseilles*,
from whence he might easily proceed to his own dominions. *England*, and the other ma-
d ritime powers, were in peace with *Sweden*, and it was more than probable they would not
traverse this measure; but *Charles* had not yet learnt to accept of advice, or stoop to the
counsels of his friends. Full of courage, and puffed up with the pompous heroism of an
Alexander, he had not even now, in his fugitive state, abandoned his grand project of de-
throning his conqueror the czar of *Muscovy*. He could not support the thoughts of re-
turning by the intercession of other powers like a vanquished prince to *Sweden*; he believed
it still possible to return through *Russia* and *Poland* at the head of a powerful army. What
confirmed him in this hope, was the successful negociation carrying on at the *Porte*, by
his ambassadors the sieur *Neugebar* and count *Poniatoski*; the latter of whom had insinu-
ated himself with so much address into the good graces of the *Turkish* ministry, that he re-
e ceived a present of 10,000 ducats, and a promise from the grand vizir, that the king should
be escorted by a numerous army to the frontiers of *Poland*. Already orders had been
issued to divers bashaws, to hold themselves in readiness for this expedition, and troops
were daily filing towards *Bender*, inasmuch, that, in the space of a few days, a body of
8000 horse was encamped in that neighbourhood ^m.

- ALL these sanguine hopes, however, were disappointed, by the change which the deci-
sive action at *Pultowa* effected in the affairs of *Poland*, and indeed in the whole system of
northern politics. The conjuncture was too favourable to *Augustus* to be passed over inac-
tive. Princes break through the most solemn voluntary engagements, when they appear
contrary to their interest; *Augustus* thought he had but little reason to observe a treaty ex-
f torted from him by violence. He likewise pretended, that the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, was
fraudulently concluded by two ministers, who, being corrupted by the *Swedish* gold, signed
his abdication, in virtue of the unlimited powers he had given them. Upon these mo-
tives he founded his return to *Poland*, and count *Fleming* paved the way by a manifesto,
which was sent to all the courts in *Europe*, in justification of his master's conduct. He
then entered the territories of the republic, had a personal interview with the czar, and
concerted every thing for dethroning *Stanislaus*, and recovering his own crown. The king
of *Sweden* detached five hundred *Poles* and *Cossacs*, who had joined him at *Bender*, to
watch the turn of affairs in *Poland*, and bring him notice of every event. This corps
crossed the *Neyster*, and never afterwards returned. They were surrounded, cut off, or

*Augustus en-
ters Poland.*

¹ PUFFEND. lib. vii. VOLT. lib. v. ^m Baron FABRIC. lib. ii. passim. MOIR. Trav. passim.

The czar's interest prevails at Constantinople.

taken prisoners by the *Russians*. The loss, however, had like to have proved advantageous to *Charles*. In the chace, the enemy had trespassed on the *Turkish* frontiers; a circumstance, which *Charles* endeavoured to improve, while his interest was high at the *Porte*, and his character admired by the *Turks*, who flocked from all quarters to behold a prince, so celebrated by his victories, so respectable in adversity, and so singular in his manners and disposition. *Charles* distributed his money with great liberality, among the favourites of sultan *Achmet*; his design was to have drawn him into a war with *Russia*. The steady, artful, insinuating conduct of *Poniatoski* had gained the sultana, mother to the emperor then on the throne. She openly espoused the king's cause in the seraglio, called him her lion, admired his heroism, and frequently asked her son, when he intended to assist her lion in devouring the *Russian* wolf. The grand vizir entered into the same sentiments, and told *Poniatoski*, I will conduct your master at the head of 200,000 men to *Muscovy*; but the czar's money at last prevailed, just as affairs were put in such a train, as promised the *Swedish* monarch the accomplishment of all his wishes. *Charles* had been extremely generous to the *Turkish* ministers; but his resources were limited, and chiefly drawn from the grand signior's coffers: whereas the czar was, by the battle of *Pultowa*, put in possession of all the treasures of *Saxony*. His envoy at the *Porte* distributed very judiciously, among the grand vizir and his creatures, great part of the six millions taken at the late engagement. The charm operated too powerfully to be withstood. Of a sudden, the czar was turned from a *Russian* wolf to a generous hero; and *Tolstoy*, his envoy, was gratified with such privileges, as had never before been granted to any *Russian* minister. The czar found his interest so powerful, that he even ventured to demand that *Mazeppa*, the faithful friend and companion of the fugitive monarch, should be surrendered into his hands, in atonement of the sufferings of the brave and unfortunate *Patkul*. Every thing was granted him; and the same grand vizir, who had lately promised to conduct the king of *Sweden* to the capital of *Russia*, was entering into the strictest bonds of amity with his most implacable enemy. Happily for the *Cossac* chief he died, just as resolutions were forming in the divan, which would possibly have subjected him to the most cruel tortures which an incensed barbarian could devise.

A. D. 1710.
The king effects a revolution in the Turkish ministry.

FORTUNE would now seem to have wholly deserted the *Swedish* hero. All possibility of returning on the footing of a conqueror, at the head of a *Turkish* army, was vanished with the vizir's affections. The *French* envoy perceiving his desperate circumstances, once more pressed his majesty to embark in some *French* vessels, which then lay at *Constantinople*; but he rejected the proposal with disdain. Notwithstanding he suffered daily mortifications in his own person at *Bender*, and in those of his envoys at the *Porte*, he remained firm in his resolution, intrepid and great as at the head of his victorious army after the battle of *Narva*. To this constancy, and the bold fidelity of *Poniatoski*, was it owing, that he once more triumphed over his enemies, and effected a revolution in the *Turkish* ministry. While the *Russian* envoy was in such high favour, that he was served by *Swedish* officers taken at *Pultowa*, in the character of slaves, *Charles* found means suddenly to annihilate all his interest, depose the grand vizir, and destroy the fruits of those vast sums expended by the czar in gaining the friendship of this minister. *Poniatoski* had the boldness to draw up a bitter charge against the vizir; he had the address to get it presented into the emperor's own hands; and he insinuated himself into the friendship of certain leading persons, enemies to the minister, because they were ambitious of filling his employment. His intrigues succeeded; the vizir *Chourlouli Ali Bashaw*, viceroy of the *Turkish* empire, and favourite of the grand signior, was banished to *Crim Tartary*, by means of a *Pole*; "An agent, says *Voltaire*, without character, from a king of *Sweden*, then a refugee in the *Turkish* dominions." *Haman Cupruli Pachaw*, grandson to the great *Cupruli*, who reduced *Candia*, and son of *Mustapha Cupruli*, slain at the battle of *Salanckemen*, was raised to the viziarat. In him *Charles* did not find a zealous friend, but he was far from proving an enemy. Of inflexible integrity, and a scrupulous observer of the law, the new vizir was equally averse to a war with *Russia*, which he thought unjust, and to removing the protection of the *Porte* from the king of *Sweden*, which he deemed ungenerous. "The law, said he to the grand signior, forbids you to quarrel with the czar, who has done you no injury; but it commands you to protect the king of *Sweden*, who is an unfortunate prince in your dominions." As a testimony of his esteem, he sent *Charles* a present of 800 purses; but he at the same time respectfully admonished him to return quietly to his own country, through *Germany*; a proposition which the king rejected, notwithstanding *Sweden* never stood more in need of his presence.

King Augustus recovers the crown of Poland.

AUGUSTUS had carried all before him in *Poland*, which he entered at the head of a *Saxon* army. These troops had been the pretence of deposing him; they were now the

^a Letters of B. Fab. passim.

- a instruments of his restoration, having, by dint of terror, brought back to their duty most of the *Polish* palatines, who had sworn fidelity to *Stanislaus*. Even the ambitious *Sini-
auski* himself joined *Augustus*, and contented himself with remaining grand general; tho' he had lately aspired at the crown. The pontiff's influence over the minds of a bigot-
ted, ignorant people, contributed greatly to this revolution. He had always espoused *Au-
gustus*; but while the king of *Sweden* was in the zenith of glory, fear of the conqueror operated more strongly on the minds of the *Poles*, than obedience to the pontiff; but that being now removed, and the representative of *St. Peter* absolving the people from those oaths of eternal allegiance they had taken to *Stanislaus*, they entered without scruple into the interests of king *Augustus*, and even winked at the introduction of *Saxon* and *Rus-
sian* troops, forgetting that they had made that circumstance the chief argument for dethroning the same monarch *. The czar was now become the arbiter of *Poland*, and he obliged *Augustus* to cede all pretensions to the province of *Livonia*, before he would consent to lend a hand to his restoration.

- Now were these the only powers that were striving to blight the laurels acquired by *Charles*, and reduce the power and influence of *Sweden*. *Frederic IV.* king of *Denmark*, took advantage of the circumstances of his conqueror, and joined in with the league forming against *Sweden*. He was desirous of recovering *Schonen*, and the other territories lost by the peace of *Travendal*, and therefore forgot that treaty as easily as *Augustus* did the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*. In the month of *May*, the preceding year, he signed a treaty offensive and defensive with the czar of *Muscovy*, and *Augustus* king of *Poland*; the summer was consumed in preparations, and the winter ushered into light a manifesto, declaring his reasons for coming to a rupture with *Sweden*. These were perfectly known to all mankind before; but it was the business of *Frederic* to gloss them over with all the sophistical varnish of the cabiner, in which art he was excelled by no prince in *Europe*. He had an interview with the confederate princes, and settled with them the division of their conquests. By his manifesto he declared, that the ambition, restlessness, and obstinacy of the king of *Sweden*, as well as his particular animosity to himself, had thrown the affairs of the North in confusion, and done irreparable damage to *Denmark*. The *Swedes*, he alledged, had carried on a cruel war at the expence of their neighbours. For almost a century back they had been the common disturbers of *Europe*. But his majesty had now particular reasons for opposing the evil designs of *Sweden*, having uncontestable proofs, under the king's own hand, of his hatred, contempt, and dislike of the *Danes*, and of projects formed for dethroning *Frederic*, as he had done *Augustus*, and attempted with regard to the czar of *Muscovy*. In proof of this a paper was quoted, which had been printed three years before at *Stockholm*, in which *Charles XII.* was stiled king of *Great Scandinavia*, in which division are included *Denmark* and *Norway*. Upon so weak a foundation did this wise prince rest the merits of a war; upon which he was determined to enter, because he foresaw it must turn out to his advantage.^p

- BESIDES the above, a variety of other complaints against *Sweden* were specified; such as having granted illegal passports, raised the duties upon ore, and the produce of the allumines; claimed to herself territories, which had for time immemorial belonged to *Denmark*, and been confirmed to her by divers treaties. This last reason indeed was the truest motive alledged by *Frederic*. Accordingly, on the very day the manifesto was published, he embarked with 2500 horse and dragoons, and 13,000 infantry, attended by 12 men of war, landed in *Schonen*, and seized upon *Helsingburgh*, the garrison of which town retired to *Landskroon*. Having succeeded in this enterprize, the king returned to *Copenhagen*, leaving the command to the count *Reventlau*. Here he laboured to strengthen his army; but the rigour of the season stopped the progress of his troops, until the *Swedes* had time to put themselves in a posture of defence. There were about 13,000 of the troops of this nation to defend all the countries which *Charles* possessed in *Germany*. Only a small proportion of these was allotted for the defence of *Schonen*; but the administration in *Sweden* laboured with the utmost diligence to raise an army sufficient to defeat the designs of the *Danish* monarch.

- SWEDEN* was, during the king's absence, governed by a regency, composed, as we have related, of senators chosen by *Charles* before his departure. The senate grew jealous of the regency; it had been accustomed to regard itself as the highest authority in the king's absence; it therefore disputed the orders of the regents, and the public service suffered by these divisions. Misfortunes, however, banished all private animosity. Jealousy gave way to public spirit, and the news of the defeat at *Pultowa*, and the invasion of *Schonen*, united every *Swede* in the same sentiments, and the noble resolution of dying in defence of their king and country. The late wars had drained *Sweden* of men; they had

cost her the lives of 300,000 brave soldiers, and now of all the old forces there did not remain above 8000 in the kingdom. But the militia established by *Charles* supplied the place of regular forces. This was an institution the most politic of his reign, and for which *Sweden* ought ever to revere his memory. It now proved the instrument of the preservation of the kingdom. The militia had been constantly exercised, at stated periods, since the accession of *Charles XII.* They formed a nursery for the army, now they became the bulwark of the kingdom. At the head of 8000 regulars, and 12,000 of the militia, general *Steenboek* set out for *Schonen*, in pursuit of the *Danes*, who were plundering and laying waste the country, with impunity. To hasten the march, and prevent the soldiers from being fatigued, waggons were provided, in which they were transported great part of the way to the place of embarkation.

No sooner was the *Swedish* army in motion, than the ministers of *England* and *Holland* pressed the regency to give assurances, that the northern forces, who possessed territories in *Germany*, would not break the neutrality, or oblige the princes of the empire to withdraw their forces from the grand alliance, to cover their own dominions. But the senate replied, that the new war which was likely to be kindled on the frontiers of the empire could never have happened, had *England* and *Holland* performed their guarantee of the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*. As things were now situated, it was impossible to grant the assurances demanded, without running the hazard of losing all that *Sweden* possessed on the coasts of the *Baltic*, and tamely suffering herself to become a prey to an ungenerous enemy, who seized the conjuncture of profiting by the absence of the king, the number of his enemies, and the calamities consequent on the unfortunate turn of affairs at *Pultowa*. However, to give all possible satisfaction to the allies, the regency wrote to the king, and until his answer arrived, they promised to commit no hostilities in any of the provinces dependent on the empire, provided the open and secret enemies of *Sweden* would give no cause, by fresh infractions of the treaties subsisting.

STEENBOEK arrived, however, in *Schonen*, and it was resolved to check the insolence of the *Danes* by the most vigorous measures; but the prodigious desertion of the *Saxon* troops incorporated in the *Swedish* regiments, greatly weakened the army and disheartened the militia; who, from this circumstance, believed themselves betrayed, and the enemy exceeding formidable. All the general's endeavours could not restrain the desertion; in consequence of which the *Danes* obtained several little advantages, and at last took *Christiansstadt*. They were by this time augmented to twenty thousand men, under general count *Rantzau*, who succeeded *Reventlau* in the command. The insolence they assumed, upon their superiority, and trivial advantages obtained, incensed the *Swedish* militia, and animated them to a pitch of fury and despair. They now called out for revenge, and besought the general to lead them against the enemy. *Steenboek* took advantage of their disposition, marched towards *Malmoe*, and obliged the *Danes* to raise the siege, and entrench themselves near *Elfsinburgh*, for the protection of a town where they had formed vast magazines. Nothing could exceed in strength the situation they chose. A morass and large village defended their right, the town secured their rear, and supplied the camp with every necessary, while a large pond and wood covered the left wing. Regardless of these difficulties, the *Swedes* marched up boldly to the attack, which they began with such fury, that at the first onset a whole regiment of the king of *Denmark's* guards was cut in pieces by the bores, ten men only escaping the sword. Upon this the militia scaled the intrenchments, and attacked the main army. Both horse and foot were engaged, and the action became general and obstinate; but the *Danish* first line being broke, it fell in disorder upon the second. The *Swedes* pushed too close to afford them time to rally. The whole fled into *Elfsinburgh*, prodigious numbers were slain in the retreat, and the loss of the enemy amounted to eight thousand killed and taken, besides the wounded. The passage from *Schonen* to *Zealand* is so short, that the news of the defeat arrived the same day in *Copenhagen*, and the king sent his fleet to carry off the broken remains of his army. All the horses were killed, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy; four thousand wounded were left in *Elfsinburgh*, most of whom perished of hunger, want of attendance, and the infection caught from the putrid carcases of the horses, which crowded the streets. At the same time the *Swedes* vigorously pushed the siege of the town, but finding the troops and magazines were withdrawn, they desisted, in order to pursue a plan more advantageous to their affairs.

WHILE the regency were thus employed in subduing their enemies, the king, in his camp at *Bender*, entertained hopes of reinstating his affairs, and once more appearing in the character of a great monarch and a conqueror. He was delighted with the news of the victory in *Schonen*, and could not help exclaiming, "My brave *Swedes*, should it please

- a "God that I once more join you, we will conquer them all." He complained of the allies, who had guarantied the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, for suffering *Augustus* to return to *Poland*, and refused to stand by the neutrality to which the regency agreed, with respect to the *German* provinces. This neutrality, he said, was calculated for no other purpose than to keep his troops from action; yet the event shewed, that it was the only measure which could secure the *Swedish* conquests situated along the coasts of the *Baltic*, amidst the number of enemies who were ready to fall upon them, and assert their several claims. But the king's highest expectations arose from the appearance he should still be able to embroil the *Turks* and *Russians*. It was given out, that in his retreat at *Bender* he governed the counsels of the divan, and made and deposed vizirs at pleasure. Since the vizariat of *Cupruli*, the *Swedish* interest sunk at the *Porte*. That minister was averse to war, and had made several honest regulations in the finances, equally displeasing to the grand signior and to the *Turkish* army. His predecessors were accustomed to pay the janissaries by money extracted from the bashaws and governors of provinces, without troubling the treasury. *Cupruli*'s integrity would not suffer him to follow a method so iniquitous and pernicious to the empire. He paid the troops regularly out of the treasury, and fell a sacrifice to his honesty. The grand signior reproached him with preferring the interest of the subject to that of the emperor. "*Chourlouli*, said he, could find other means to pay my armies." To which the grand vizir answered: "These, Sir, were means to which I am proud of being a stranger." This noble reply wrought his fall; he did not lose his head, but
- c he was immediately banished to *Negropont*, and *Baltagi Mahomet* raised to the post of grand vizir.

- WHEN this minister came to the helm of government, he found the *Swedish* interest prevailed in the seraglio, and that the inflexible aversion of *Cupruli* to a war with *Russia*, and the czar's money, alone had hitherto retarded an open rupture with the court of *Moscow*. The grand signior, influenced by his mother the sultana *Valide*, the kislar aga chief of the black eunuchs, and a number of other favourites, had determined upon avenging the quarrel of the king of *Sweden*. His first order to *Baltagi Mahomet* was, that he should fall with 200,000 men, upon the *Muscovites*. The vizir declared he would obey; but professed, at the same time, his ignorance of the art of war, and his dislike to the measure.
- d The *Russian* ambassador was confined in the castle of the *Seven Towers*; the cham of *Crim Tartary* had orders to take the field with 40,000 of his men. He had been gained over by the reputation and presents of the king of *Sweden*; and now he obtained leave from the *Porte* to assemble his army at *Bender*, that *Charles* might be an eye-witness the war was undertaken upon his account. This favourable disposition of the *Porte* was the more necessary, as the czar was carrying on a brisk war in *Livonia*, where he had for several months laid close siege to *Riga*, the *Swedes* being in no condition to attempt the relief of the place. He now was forced, upon the news of the *Turkish* preparations, to withdraw the greater part of his army, and turn the siege into a blockade. At the head of 24,000 men the czar entered *Moldavia*, where he was joined by *Cantemir*, prince of that country, and a vassal of the *Porte*. The vizir marched against him with a prodigious army. Only a river divided the *Turks* and *Russians*, and the czar neglected to dispute the enemy's passage. In a word, he was betrayed into the same errors committed by the king of *Sweden* at *Pultowa*, and the consequence was almost as fatal. His usual prudence forsook him. He was cooped up by the *Turks* and *Tartars*, distressed for provision, continually harassed, and without the possibility of extricating himself, except by a miracle. "I am at last, says he, in as bad a plight as my brother *Charles* was at *Pultowa*." Imagining that all was lost without a desperate effort, *Peter* had given orders for breaking through the enemy, with fixed bayonets on the muzzles of their muskets; but the emaciated, spiritless, and desponding troops were little disposed to execute the czar's vigorous resolutions. All the
- f baggage was ordered to be burnt, and every thing prepared for the intended attack, when *Catherine*, wife to the czar, set on foot a treaty with the vizir, without the czar's knowledge, soon obtained his consent, signed the peace in the space of six hours, and thereby probably saved the *Russian* army, and prolonged the exile of his *Swedish* majesty. This was an exceeding masterly stroke, on which we shall have occasion to enlarge when we come to the history of the *Russian* empire.

Revolutions at the Porte, in consequence of which the Turks declare against the czar.

A. D. 1711: The czar saves his army by a peace.

It was obvious that the treaty in agitation would prove fatal to the affairs of *Sweden*; it was therefore violently opposed by *Poniatoski* whose remonstrances were seconded by the cham of *Tartary*, sensible that by a peace he should be deprived of the expected plunder. *Poniatoski* had made the king of *Sweden* acquainted with the situation of both armies, and he was hurrying from *Bender* with the pleasing hopes of fighting the *Russians*, and tak-

^a PUFFEND. lib. vii. VOLT. lib. v. FABRIC. let. 8. 9.

The king
comes to the
Turkish camp,
and affronts
the vizir.

ing ample vengeance. But he arrived too late; the treaty was signed, the vizir thinking it sufficient that he had concluded a peace very advantageous to the grand signior. All that was stipulated in behalf of *Charles* was, that the czar should not obstruct the king's return to *Sweden*. By the time *Charles* arrived, the czar was drawing off his half-famished troops. He had rode post above fifty leagues, and alighted at *Poniatoski's* tent, who received him with a countenance which boded no agreeable intelligence. Being informed of the treaty, his majesty went in a rage to the vizir's tent, and bitterly reproached him with treachery; but recollecting himself, proposed a method of repairing the fault, which being rejected, he returned, full of indignation, to *Bender*, after having, by the grossest affronts, shewn his contempt for the vizir^b.

This gratified the violence of the king's spirit, but it contributed nothing to the interest of *Sweden*. The vizir laboured to execute the articles of the late treaty; and the czar, apprehending that the sultan would object to ratify what his minister had engaged, kept *Asoph* in his own hands until the ratifications were exchanged, and the king of *Sweden* had quitted the *Turkish* dominions. Without informing himself, whether *Charles* was disposed to return through *Germany*, *Mahomet Baltagi* sent an embassy to the court of *Vienna*, demanding a free, safe, and honourable passage for the king of *Sweden*; and having obtained it, he proposed to that prince, either to pass through *Poland*, escorted by 8000 *Turks*; or take the route of *Germany*, where he should be received with all the honours due to so great a monarch. To this double proposition the king answered, that he would not accept of a smaller escort than the grand signior had first promised him: this, he said, was all he intended to reply; which so incensed the vizir, that he determined to exert all his authority in prevailing on the sultan to remove the king out of his dominions. The serasquier of *Bender* was directed to wait upon the king in person, to repeat the proposal, and to intimate that violence would be offered should he continue obstinate. But menaces could never operate with *Charles*; the moment they were hinted he took fire, and gave orders to his attendants to oppose force by force. At the same time he gave notice to the serasquier, that if he ventured to propose any conditions injurious to his honour, he would have him immediately hanged up at the door of his tent. Sensible that the king's stay at *Bender* was only to ruin him, the vizir ordered all his dispatches to *Constantinople* to be intercepted, retrenched his allowance, in order to oblige him through necessity to remove his quarters, and took every other method to make *Charles* weary of his situation, and willing to accept the terms upon which he was to be restored to his own dominions; but this, instead of producing the effect, only made the king more expensive. He built a kind of castle for his residence, furnished it magnificently; and hearing that the *Porte* had shortened his allowance, told the steward of the household, "You have had but two tables hitherto; I now command you to keep four (A)".

Another revolution at the
Porte.

MEAN-TIME *Poniatoski*, who still resided in the *Turkish* camp, wrote a journal of the transactions at *Pruth*, wherein he accused the vizir of treachery and cowardice. This he found means to present, by the hands of an old janissary and the *Swedish* resident, to the grand signior. He then repaired to the *Porte*, to forward the intrigues; which succeeded, but in a manner different from what was expected. The late vizir *Chourlouli* had formed a project to depose sultan *Achmet*. He wanted to engage *Mahomet Baltagi* in this scheme, knowing that his present situation was ticklish. The conspiracy was discovered, *Chourlouli* and his accomplices were beheaded, and the vizir *Mahomet Baltagi* deposed, notwithstanding he had never embraced the offers of the conspirators.

A NEW scene was now opened at *Constantinople*. The grand vizir *Jusuff*, who succeeded, was by birth a *Muscovite*, and consequently prejudiced in favour of his countrymen. The czar's ambassadors were better treated than ever, the peace of *Pruth* was confirmed, but the usual remittances were renewed to the court at *Bender* (B). The *French* ambassador

^b VOLT. lib. v. PUFFEND. lib. vii.

^c FABR. lett. 10. MOTR. Trav. passim.

(A) This circumstance both *Motraye* and *Voltaire* mention, but it is omitted by the baron *Fabricius*, who then attended the king's court. He however says, that the *Swedes* were reduced to such difficulties, as obliged them to borrow at forty per cent. from the officers, domesticks and janissaries, who had grown rich by *Charles's* liberality. Even these supplies were exhausted, when *Motraye* the traveller arrived at the king's court, and offered, out of respect for the monarch, to go through all the *Turkish* guards, to borrow money, in the king's name, at *Constantinople*. The true design was, to convey letters, which he put into a pocket-book, carried in his hand, and passed among the *Turks* for a Christian prayer-book. In this manner he made his way to *Constantinople*, delivered his dispatches to the *Swedish* mi-

nister, but was less successful in borrowing money than he expected. However, he prevailed on some persons to advance money, and received from *Cooke*, an *English* merchant, to the amount of five thousand pounds, which that gentleman generously offered to entrust in the hands of an unfortunate prince, who would surely reward him as soon as it was in his power; with which supplies he returned to *Charles*, just as the little court was reduced to the utmost necessity (1).

(B) An inundation of the river *Neister* had obliged *Charles* to remove from *Bender* to *Wanika*; however, as his court and residence are best known by the former appellation, we have continued it, without paying regard to so trivial a circumstance.

(1) Vid. *Motraye Trav.* Volt. *Fabric. Lett.*

a supported the interest of the court of *Sweden*, while the imperial minister favoured the views of the court of *Moscow*. The *English* and *Dutch* assumed the appearance of an exact neutrality; but in fact the new channel of trade which the czar opened at *Petersburgh*, biassed them in his favour. Neither indeed had they any considerable influence, whatever *Voltaire*, and some other memoir-writers, may assert. It was the vizir's own inclinations, and the policy of the divan, that dictated every measure at the *Othoman* court. Every new vizir readily perceived the difficulty of retaining his employment, or of keeping the advantageous peace with *Russia*, while the *Swedish* monarch continued in the *Turkish* dominions; the great object therefore of all their projects was, to remove him, and prevail upon him to return to *Sweden*, in a manner extremely honourable to himself, but less dangerous to the *Porte* than at the head of a numerous army, as he always proposed and demanded. To effect this the sultan was prevailed on by the vizir to send the king the following letter; which, on account of its peculiarity, we shall beg leave to transcribe from *M. de Voltaire*.

“ Most powerful among the monarchs who worship *Jesus*, the avenger of wrongs and injuries, “ protector of rights in the kingdoms and republics of south and north; brilliant in majesty, “ lover of honour and glory, and of our sublime *Porte*, Charles king of Sweden, whose undertakings may the Almighty crown with success. Grand signior's letter to Charles XII.

“ As soon as the most illustrious *Achmet* shall have the honour to deliver you this letter, adorned with our imperial signet, be persuaded of the truth and sincerity of our intentions therein contained; viz. that notwithstanding our design was to send our ever-victorious army a second time against the czar; yet that prince, to avoid our just resentment at his delaying the execution of the treaty concluded on the banks of the *Pruth*, and ratified at our sublime *Porte*, having surrendered into our hands the city and castle of *Asoph*, and having endeavoured, by the mediation of the *English* and *Dutch* ambassadors, our antient allies, to cultivate a lasting peace with us, we have granted his request, and delivered to his plenipotentiaries, who remain with us as hostages, our imperial ratification, having first received his from their hands. We have given our inviolable and salutary commands to the honourable and valiant *Delvet Gherai*, kan of *Bongdiak*, in *Crim Tartary*, *Noghai* and *Circassia*, and to *Ishmael*, our sage counsellor, and noble serasquier of *Bender* (whom God preserve, and augment their magnificence and wisdom) for your return thro' *Poland*, according to your first design, which has again been represented to us in your name. You must, therefore, prepare to set forward by the next winter, under the direction of Providence, and with our honourable guard, in order to return to your own dominions, taking care to pass through *Poland* in a peaceable and friendly manner. You shall be provided with every necessary for your journey, by my sublime *Porte*, as well money as men, horses and waggons. But we advise and expect you, above all things, to give the fullest and most express orders to all the *Swedes*, and other soldiers in your retinue, not to make spoil, or havock, or commit any other action, that may tend, either directly or indirectly, to break this peace and alliance. Hereby you will preserve our good will, of which we shall endeavour to give you as strong and frequent testimonies as we shall have opportunity. The troops destined to attend you, shall receive orders agreeable to our imperial intentions in this particular. Given at our sublime *Porte* of *Constantinople*, the 14th of the month of *Rebgul Eureb*, 1124.”

THOUGH this letter evinced the grand signior's intentions, it did not destroy the king's hopes. He answered, that he was ready to set out on his return to *Sweden*: he acknowledged the favours received from the sultan; but added, that he hoped his sublime highness would consider the consequences of his passing, with a slight guard, through a kingdom over-run with *Russians*.

MEAN time the allies, alarmed at the regency of *Sweden*'s refusal to accept the proposed neutrality, determined to enter upon such measures as should force them to compliance. The *Russians* had already made themselves masters of *Riga*, the garrison of which had capitulated in the spring of the preceding year. They were allowed all the honours of war, and the *Russian* general consented that they should be transported to *Sweden*; but the czar refused to ratify this agreement, and ordered all the *Swedes* to be arrested, giving for a reason, that his envoy was confined a prisoner at *Stockholm*. Since the reduction of *Riga*, the czar's forces made themselves masters of fort *Dunamonde*, of the town of *Wiburg*, of *Pernau*, *Revel*, and other places, and at last of all *Livonia* and *Finland*. *Sweden*, though her king was a prisoner, her provinces a prey, and her frontiers surrounded by false friends and declared enemies, did not lose courage. The late victory in *Schonen* raised the drooping spirits of the people, and the generous proposal of the *Dalecarlians*, who hearing that

^d VOLT. lib. v.

their

Treaty be-
tween the
kings of Den-
mark and
Poland.

their king was detained a prisoner in *Tartary*, offered to march in a body of 20,000 men to his relief, infused a noble emulation, which alone saved the kingdom at this critical juncture. *Poland*, *Denmark*, and *Russia*, were uniting in stricter bonds of amity. They apprehended, that should *Charles* return to his dominions, he would soon effect a change in the face of affairs, and by his vigour and courage regain, with repeated victories, what he lost, by one defeat, at *Pultowa*. It was, perhaps, the most imprudent resolution which *Charles* ever pursued, to persist obstinately in residing in *Tartary*, because he could not return at the head of an army through *Poland*, again embroil that kingdom, and a second time dethrone *Augustus*. Before the new treaties formed between the three above northern powers, the affairs of *Sweden* were not so desperate as to baffle all remedies. Now, indeed, the czar had undertaken to defend the frontiers, and to cover *Caminiek*; while *Augustus*, in concert with the king of *Denmark*, should invade *Swedish Pomerania*. The army destined to wrest this province from *Sweden* amounted to forty-six thousand men, *Poles*, *Danes*, and *Russians*. Previous, however, to their irruption into the province, the two kings published each a manifesto, declaring their reasons for this measure, and disguising, in the best manner they could, a violence dictated purely by the spirit of ambition and resentment. *Frederic* alleged self defence, and that he was urged to the invasion of *Pomerania*, to break a storm which he saw gathering in *Sweden*, and pointed against his dominions. He promised the inhabitants full security in their lives, liberties, and possessions, provided they remained in their houses, employed in their several occupations, and yielding perfect obedience to his government. On the contrary, if they offered to oppose his army, or any way aid or assist the *Swedes*, he threatened they should feel all the horrors of war, and the weight of his just resentment, their country should be turned into a desert, and their rivers should flow with blood.

They invade
Pomerania.

HOWEVER speciously the *Danish* monarch might have glossed over the true motives of his conduct, all the world saw the absurdity of pretending that he was threatened by a storm from *Sweden*, in its present unfortunate circumstances. The *Pomeranians* were not deceived; the king's manifesto made not the least impression; they loved, admired, and pitied their monarch, and were too steady in their allegiance to withdraw, upon account of the terrible menaces denounced. As to the manifesto published by *Augustus* king of *Poland*, from his camp at *Strelitz*, it was founded upon the same principles of conduct, but had much more the appearance of equity. He had been dethroned by *Charles*, his crown had been given away to another person, and all the wealth of his electorate of *Saxony* carried away by the *Swedish* army into *Russia*, and lost by *Charles* at the battle of *Pultowa*. His resentment was just, and the strictest probity must allow, that the worst effects of his vengeance could scarcely retaliate the injuries he had sustained. Had he openly avowed these motives, the world would have believed, and acquitted him; but he chose to declare, that he was actuated by others, which, indeed, had no foundation in truth. With him too it was self-defence, and the desire of preserving the peace, and preventing the flames of war from spreading over *Germany*, that occasioned his invasion of *Swedish Pomerania*. He asserted, in ambiguous terms, that *Sweden* was on the point of declaring war against the princes, who had guaranteed the neutrality of the *German* provinces, though he did not think fit to specify the particular infractions of that neutrality. In a word, the cunning, the labour, and art so striking in this piece, made it extremely obvious, that *Augustus* wanted only to colour over an enterprize, which could not but be regarded as a violation of the peace of *Westphalia*, and the subsequent treaties, formed to secure the repose of the empire.

And lay fruit-
less siege to
Stralsund.

THESE manifestoes being dispersed, the two allied kings immediately commenced hostilities; *Augustus* by seizing upon *Troptow*, a little town in *Swedish Pomerania*; and *Frederic*, by an unsuccessful attempt on *Damgarten*. It was necessary to attack the place in form; the *Swedish* garrison kept up an incessant fire; but finding that the *Danes* had drained the surrounding morasses, in which consisted their chief security, they retired to *Stralsund* with all their effects, leaving nothing besides the walls, half demolished, to the conquerors.

STRALSUND was well provided for a vigorous defence; besides a considerable garrison, there was a body of *Swedish* troops encamped under the walls, and another in the isle of *Rugen*, to maintain the communication: yet did the confederate kings venture to lay siege to this city, detaching, at the same time, six thousand *Danes* to block up *Wismar*. At this very time *Copenhagen* was afflicted with a pestilence, which some of the clergy ventured to pronounce from the pulpit, to be a punishment on the kingdom for the unjust war carrying on against *Sweden*. *Frederic*, however, persevered, but made little progress in the siege of *Stralsund*, on account of the vigorous sallies of the garrison, and the

a scarcity of battering artillery. The besiegers relied upon having every necessary by sea from *Copenhagen*; however, their cannon had been so long coming, that they became the ridicule of the *Swedish* garrison. At last mortars, battering cannon, and every necessary arrived; but the season was so far advanced, that the besiegers were forced to satisfy themselves with levying contributions on the surrounding country, and surprising *Penamunda*, a fort in the neighbourhood of *Gripswald*. The czar had reinforced the allies with ten thousand *Russians*, under general *Bauer*; but this did not in the least accelerate their conquests, as the *Swedes* received a reinforcement nearly equal, and obliged them to abandon all hopes of reducing *Stralsund*.

b ASHAMED of going into winter-quarters with so numerous an army, without having gained any considerable advantage, the kings turned their arms against *Wismar*, the garrison of which place had almost been ruined by the imprudence of the governor. He had sallied out upon the enemy on their first arrival with great success: encouraged by which, he hazarded a second sally, at the head of almost the whole garrison, and had the mortification to be repulsed, with the loss of near half his soldiers. This error he repaired by his future conduct, which proved so circumspect, steady, and vigorous, that the two monarchs, seeing no prospect of success, retired with their forces, the one going to *Copenhagen*, the other to *Dresden*, while the *Russians* kept *Stetin* blocked up.

c THE disappointment which the *Danish* monarch had met with in this irruption into *Pomerania*, and the terrible havock which disease and famine had made in his army, obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of returning. He had lost above four thousand horses for want of forage, and the infantry had suffered nearly in the same proportion. He therefore determined to have his revenge on *Bremen*, a duchy possessed by *Sweden* since the reign of *Gustavus Adolphus*, and which had hitherto, in the whole course of the war, enjoyed a strict neutrality. He alledged, in apology for this infraction, that a *Swedish* squadron had, in the month of *August* the preceding year, seized, in the river *Elbe*, upon four *Norwegian* vessels, which they ransomed at twenty-four thousand four hundred livres. This was a violation of the neutrality, which he declared he had a right to imitate. Accordingly he seized about thirty small *Swedish* vessels, which lay in the *Elbe*, and sent a small squadron to cruise at the mouth of the river. The *Swedes* submitted the capture of the *Norwegians* to examination. Upon trial it was found, they had been taken beyond the limits of the river, in the open sea; accordingly the affair was accommodated between the generals *Krassau* and *Scholten*.

A. D. 1712:
King of Denmark invades the duchy of Bremen.

d *FREDERIC* had now lost his handle for proceeding against the duchy of *Bremen*; but he resolved to find another, and not drop his design, which was no longer doubted, after a manifesto, which he published, in the month of *July*. Here he set forth, that the king of *Sweden*'s refusal to submit to the neutrality projected at the *Hague*, plainly indicated his intentions of carrying the war into his *Danish* majesty's dominions situated in *Germany*. That the inhabitants of *Bremen* had disturbed the *Danish* commerce on the *Elbe*; and that, to redress his grievances, the king of *Denmark* had resolved to march his army into that duchy. He exhorted the inhabitants to submit, and secure themselves and effects, by taking an oath of allegiance to his crown. He forbid them to quit their habitations, or to remove out of the way forage, provision, and the sustenance for his army, under the same penalties denounced against the *Pomeranians*. In vain did the neighbouring princes remind him of the treaties of *Westphalia*, and the subsequent treaties of neutrality; *Frederic* passed the *Elbe*, and laid siege to *Stade*, the strongest town possessed by the *Swedes* in *Bremen*. By the middle of *August* the trenches were opened, and the batteries played vigorously; while the besieged maintained a furious fire from the mouths of two hundred pieces of cannon. The *Danes* perceiving that their battering cannon produced no effect, erected two batteries of six large mortars each, with which they bombarded, and soon laid the town in ashes. But what obliged the garrison to surrender, was, the loss of their powder magazine, which blew up with such a terrible explosion, as shook the houses off their foundations. *Frederic* being in possession of this important place, found no difficulty in reducing all the rest of the duchy of *Bremen* and *Verden*. The *Swedish* forces were considerable, and few of the towns capable of making any resistance, so that the *Danish* conquests gave them very little more trouble than traversing the country.

Stade taken by the Danes.

e It was otherwise with *Wismar*, the blockade of which town was formed by general *Rantzau*, who was perpetually harrassed by a flying party of *Swedes*, under colonel *Bassewitz*. At the same time *Steenboek* drew together all the forces he could collect in the neighbourhood of *Stralsund* and *Rugen*, and marched, with the utmost secrecy, towards *Damgarten*. King *Stanislaus* served as a volunteer in this expedition. The army, amounting

f Idem. ibid. PUFFEND. lib. vii. tom. vii.

Steenboeck
gains a memo-
rable victory
over the
Danes and
Saxons.

to seventeen thousand horse, foot, and dragoons, surprised *Rostock*; in which leaving a garrison of two regiments, he pursued his march, with intention to attack the *Saxon* army before *Gustraw*; but finding they were superior in numbers, he remained for ten days inactive, in expectation of reinforcements from *Sweden*. For the same reasons, the enemy did not think proper to attack him, until they could be joined by the *Danish* army assembling in *Holstein*. The circumstances determined both parties to agree upon an armistice for five days; but this compact was broke by the *Danes* on the third day, who, entering *Mecklenburgh*, attacked a body of *Swedes* that escorted a convoy of provisions from *Lubeck*. They were, however, repulsed with loss, and suffered the just punishment of their perfidy. Nor were the *Saxons* and *Russians* more tenacious of their word. They seized upon several posts, and made dispositions to surround the *Swedish* army; but nothing could induce *Steenboeck* to renounce the treaty of armistice. He waited patiently to the last day, then broke down the bridges over the *Warnau*, and advanced towards the *Danish* army, by a forced march, over broken roads, morasses, and through defiles covered with wood. In passing the great defile called *Ullenkrog*, which he imagined would be disputed by the enemy, he drew up his army in four columns, and made so masterly a disposition, that the *Danes* retreated with precipitation, though they might easily have maintained their ground against greatly superior forces. *Steenboeck* having overcome this difficulty, without exchanging a shot, halted for the night to refresh the army, and kept strict watch, to prevent being surprised. In the morning he found that the enemy were posted on an eminence, with a deep morass in front, the river *Gaudebusch* on the left, and a thick wood on the right. The situation appeared inaccessible; but *Steenboeck* determined to overcome every difficulty, and the troops were so earnest to come to blows, that he thought it advisable to profit by their ardor. His intention was to attack the enemy in front, for which purpose he ordered forty-two pieces of cannon to advance, while he drew up his army in a manner that has been admired by the greatest generals in *Europe*. To support the artillery, which began to play furiously by break of day, seven battalions advanced under the conduct of the major-generals *Patkul* and *Ekeblad*. They were followed by a column composed of six battalions, under their several colonels. Two regiments of the battalion of *Ostrogoths* were posted on the right; and in the left, were two battalions of the regiment of *Dahl*, and a battalion of *Dalecarlians*. To support each flank, and cover it from the enemy's cavalry, a small column of infantry, flanked by a considerable body of horse, was posted; and the cavalry, in general, had directions to attend the infantry, in crossing the morass, in two columns, and to gain firm ground on each wing, with all possible expedition. The word of battle was given, "With God's assistance;" and every part of the general's orders were punctually executed. Never did troops march up in the face of an enemy, and of a vast train of artillery pouring out destruction, with more gallantry and success; and our authors relate, that *Steenboeck* had now made the first trial of invention, for loading with more than common expedition. The infantry marched up, with their musquets shouldered, within fifteen paces of the enemy, and there gave so well levelled and general a fire, that the *Danes* fell back in disorder. At the same time, the cavalry on the right having subdued all the difficulties of the morass, fell upon the enemy's left, and defeated their cavalry; nor was the left wing more backward; it cut a way through a thick wood, sustained all the rage of the enemy's fire at a distance, and came to a close engagement with bayonets fixed. Several battalions sunk under the enemy's superiority, retreated, rallied, and returned with redoubled vigour to the charge. All the efforts of the *Danish* cavalry to break the columns of the horse and foot in each flank, proved fruitless; they were beaten off as often as they attacked. At last the *Swedes* got to the height of the eminence; here the fight became obstinate for the space of an hour, when the enemy yielded to the obstinacy of the *Swedes*. The village of *Wakenstein* was forced, and three battalions of the enemy were cut in pieces. After this the rout became general, the *Danes* every where fled, and the *Swedes* put them without mercy to the sword. They rallied, indeed, and behaved with great intrepidity, but were at length forced to throw down their arms and beg quarter. Near seven thousand were killed and taken, almost all the artillery fell into the hands of the *Swedes*, and *Steenboeck*, besides the advantages consequent on the victory, gained immortal glory.

The king's
situation at
Bender.

WHILE the *Swedes* were gathering laurels in the northern frontiers of *Germany*, their king was reduced to great difficulties at *Bender*, having tired the patience and liberality of the *Ottoman* court, by his stubborn and very peculiar humour. *Charles* would return in his own way, or determined to remain an exile with a people heartily wearied of their royal guest. The revolutions in the *Turkish* ministry brought him no kind of advantage, the new vizir *Coumourgi* having planned other more advantageous schemes than that of quarrelling with the czar, and conquering desert countries. *Voltaire* affirms, upon good

a authority, that he had projected an attack upon the *Morea*, and other dominions of the *Venetian* republic. The musti, who was the vizir's creature, entered into his views. While the young favourite had resolved upon a war with *Russia*, the musti consecrated his determination, and declared it agreeable to the will of the prophet; as soon as *Counourgi* changed his mind, the musti more accurately examined the book of all knowledge, and declared he had been mistaken in his former sanction. Thus the army was scarce raised against the czar, when the peace was renewed. In every confirmation of the treaties between the *Porte* and the court of *Moscow*, the removal of the king of *Sweden* became an article, *Poland* and *Russia* both consenting not to molest him in his passage through the republic. The remonstrances which *Charles* sent to the sultan's letter, availed
b nothing; the serasquier of *Bender* had orders again to acquaint him with the unmoveable resolution of the *Porte*; to which the king made no other answer than that *Achmet* had promised him an army, and not a guard^b.

Such was the ticklish situation of this monarch when he made discovery of a correspondence carried on between king *Augustus* and the cham of *Tartary*, the object of which, there was reason to believe, was to betray him to the *Saxons*. Count *Sapieha*'s desertion at this juncture, to the king of *Poland*, strengthened the suspicion. This confirmed *Charles* in his resolution to gain time, and procrastinate his journey. When the serasquier again waited upon him, pressing him in the most obsequious manner to fix the day of his departure, *Charles* replied, that he could not think of stirring before his debts were paid. The
c serasquier asked what sum would be necessary for that purpose; and the king replied, a thousand purses; upon which the bashaw wrote to court, and twelve hundred purses were sent for the use of the *Swedish* monarch, with a letter from the sultan, directed to the serasquier, to the same effect as that we have quoted to the king, only that he was strictly charged not to deliver the purses before *Charles* had actually began his journey. Previous to the arrival of this letter and remittance, the king of *Sweden* had sent complaints to the *Porte*, of the treachery of the cham of *Tartary*; however, his letter never came into the sultan's hands; it was intercepted by the vizir; and the *French* minister, who acted as agent for the king of *Sweden*, was forbid coming to *Adrianople*¹.

As soon as the king had notice that the treasure was arrived, he sent his favourite and
d treasurer *Grothusen*, to demand it of the serasquier, who refused it, alledging, that the sultan's orders were, it should not be delivered before the king's departure, and, according to the continuator of *Puffendorf*, upon the following conditions; that the king and all his retinue should be actually upon their journey; that he should pass through *Poland* quietly, without exciting the people to revolts and tumults; and that he should solemnly promise not to assist *Stanislaus* in regaining the crown; and leave the republic of *Poland* the liberty of a free election, in case the people should happen to dislike the reigning monarch. All this *Grothusen* promised in the king's name, and prevailed on the serasquier to part with the twelve hundred purses, against the express orders of his sovereign.
e *Charles* was not long in possession of the treasure, before he squandered it away in presents, rewards, and gratifications; which reduced him to the necessity of demanding a thousand more purses. The demand astonished and confounded the serasquier; he shed tears, and then turning to the king, told him his head would be the forfeit of having obliged him with the money, contrary to the orders of the sultan. He then acquainted the cham of *Tartary*, with the king's resolution not to depart, before he was gratified with another thousand purses; and both wrote to the *Porte* to clear their own conduct, protesting they parted with the money upon the king's most solemn promise to be gone immediately. The king too offered to make an excuse for them; but the bashaw's answer was, that his
f master knew how to punish, but not to pardon disobedience. A. D. 1713.

THERE is something so mean, so little, and unaccountable, in the whole conduct of the
f king of *Sweden* upon this occasion, that barely to recite facts is to expose him, and shew that he was not really the hero he appeared. The serasquier had conducted himself with the utmost politeness and most respectful regard, which *Charles* returned by putting him in danger of an ignominious death. The *Porte* had afforded him the most generous protection and support for above the space of three years; he now forgot all, grew exorbitant in his demands, and obliged the sultan to use violence in removing so troublesome a guest from his dominions. When the bashaw's apology, and *Charles*'s demand for a thousand more purses, were communicated to the grand signior, he flew into a rage, called an extraordinary divan, and spoke himself on the occasion, in such terms as would reflect honour upon the greatest christian monarch. "I scarce, said he, ever knew the king of *Sweden*, but
g "by his defeat at *Pultowa*, and the request he made that I should grant him a sanctuary in

The king positively refuses to quit the Turkish dominions.

^a VOLT. lib. vi.

^b PUFFEND. et VOLT. in locis citat.

^c my

“ my empire. I have not, I believe, any need of his assistance, or any cause to love or
 “ to fear him ; yet without consulting any considerations, but the hospitality of a musfulman
 “ and my own generosity, which sheds the dew of beneficence upon the great as well as the
 “ humble, upon strangers as well as my own subjects, I have protected, maintained, and
 “ supported, agreeable to the dignity of a king, himself, his ministers, officers, and sol-
 “ diers; and for three years have never withheld my hand from loading him with favours.
 “ I have granted him a very considerable guard to conduct him to his own country. He
 “ has asked for a thousand purses to pay debts, though I defray all his expences ; I have
 “ granted him 1200; and having obtained these, he demands a thousand more, refusing
 “ to quit my dominions until these are paid, and a stronger guard allowed. I ask you
 “ then, whether it be a breach of the laws of hospitality, to send this prince away ; and
 “ whether foreign princes can justly tax me with cruelty or injustice, in case I should be
 “ forced to use violence ?”

His strange
 resolution to
 repel force by
 force.

THIS speech breathes a generosity, which *Charles's* conduct did not merit ; it met with the approbation of the divan, the musti, and all the members, declaring, that the sultan might, without injury to his honour, or the laws of hospitality, use violence, should other methods fail. The fetfa, revered in *Turkey* as an oracle, was granted by the musti, and this with the sultan's order was carried to *Bender*, by the grand master of the horse and the first usher. The serasquier went immediately to the king, to acquaint him with the order, and to request that he would render the execution unnecessary ; but *Charles*, who was not accustomed to hear menaces, replied, “ Obey your master, if you dare, and instantly quit
 “ my presence.” This enraged the serasquier : he returned to his camp, and immediately stopped the king's provisions, and removed the guard of janissaries, which was the first step towards the execution of his orders. He then gave notice to the *Poles* and *Cossacks*, in the king's quarters, that if they wanted to escape the pressure of famine, they must leave the *Swedish* monarch, and put themselves under protection of the bashaw and cham of *Tartary*. All obeyed, leaving the king with his domestics to oppose an army of 20,000 men, without provisions for a single day. However, the janissaries, who revered *Charles*, supplied him privately in the night. At last the royal quarters were invested on all sides, and the king having taken the necessary measures of defence, sat down quietly to sleep, with his favourite *Grotbusen*. In consequence of a conference which *M. Fabricius* had with
 the bashaw and cham, it was determined to send a courier to *Adrianople*, for further orders, and to defer storming the king's quarters, until the return of the messenger. In the mean time, provisions were admitted as usual ; but the order arriving for putting to the sword all the *Swedes* who should resist, and even the king himself, the bashaw had the civility to shew the order to the *Holstein* envoy, with intention he should use his utmost influence with the obstinate monarch. *Fabricius* went immediately to acquaint the king, assured him he had seen it, and received for answer, that it was an impudent forgery. He fell at the king's feet, besought him to regard a life so valuable to his subjects, soothed, intreated, and reproached, but all to no purpose. “ Go, says the king, to your *Turks* ; if
 “ they attack me, I know how to defend myself ;” upon which he shewed him the fortifications he had erected. His chaplains exhorted him not to expose to certain death his sacred person, and the wretched remains of *Pultowa* ; and *Charles* told them, it was their business to pray for him, and not to advise. The generals *Hord* and *Dardorff* shewed him the scars of wounds received by his side. “ I know, says the king, that we have fought
 “ bravely together ; let us do so again.” He then prepared for the assault, and seemed to feel a secret pleasure in the thoughts of sustaining the efforts of 20,000 *Turks*, with no more than 300 *Swedes*. Their different posts were assigned to each of the officers, and the king rode from his fortifications to his house, promising rewards to those who should distinguish themselves.

MEAN time the bashaw and cham having used their utmost influence with the king, were preparing to obey the order of the sultan. The *Turks* and *Tartars* were seen marching up with ten pieces of cannon and two mortars, with which they proposed battering the house. As they approached, baron *Grotbusen* advanced alone, and unarmed, up to the line of the janissaries, all of whom had experienced the king's liberality. “ Ah ! what my
 “ friends, says he, in the *Turkish*, are you come to massacre 300 defenceless *Swedes*, you
 “ brave janissaries, who granted their lives to 100,000 *Muscovites*, on their crying for
 “ quarters ? Have you forgot the king's generosity, and his great qualities ; that king
 “ whom you loved, and who has in a particular manner distinguished you ? He asks but
 “ three days, and the sultan's orders are not so severe as you are made to believe.” This short remonstrance produced the effect, and operated like a charm on the minds of the ja-

a nissaries, who swore by their beards they would not attack the king, and that he should have the time he demanded. They refused to obey the signal, and threatened to fall upon their leader, if three days were not granted to the king of *Sweden*. They surrounded the bashaw's tent, crying out that the sultan's orders were forged. They offered their mediation, and promised every thing in the name of a monarch they admired, and whose safety they highly prized.

b THE bashaw, unable to enforce obedience, had recourse to artifice. He held a conference with the cham, and prevailing upon him to defer the attack till next day, both assembled the officers of the janissaries and the oldest soldiers, read and shewed them the sultan's positive orders, and the musti's fetfa. The janissaries were now convinced of the sultan's pleasure, but they could not give up the king of *Sweden*. Sixty of the oldest, who had a thousand times tasted the king's bounty, offered to wait on him in person, intreat him to put himself into their hands, and suffer them to serve him as his body-guard. They had the consent of the bashaw, who preferred any expedient to violent measures, and accordingly marched to the king's quarters unarmed, with white staffs in their hands. Here they addressed themselves to *Grothusen* and the chancellor *Mullern*, offering to serve as faithful guards to his majesty, and to conduct him safe to *Adrianople*, where he might confer with the sultan in person; but *Charles*, instead of thanking or rewarding the affection of the janissaries, refused to see them, and sent word, that if they returned any more to trouble him, he would shave their beards; a message which some of his attendants were imprudent enough to deliver. Fired with resentment at the slight and indignity offered, these old soldiers returned, exclaiming as they went against the stubborn ingratitude of the king, and crying out, "Down with this *demi-basch*, iron head! Since he is resolved to die, let him die." They swore to obey the bashaw's orders, and communicated their rage to the whole *Turkish* camp.

The affection of the janissaries for his person.

He affronts the janissaries.

c BUT it was no wonder that *Charles* refused yielding to the remonstrances of the janissaries; he even paid no regard to the intelligence sent by *Poniatosky* and *Funk*, his ministers, and both imprisoned at *Constantinople*. They had found means to convey letters to baron *Fabrizius*, which he transmitted by a janissary to the king. *Charles* read the intelligence, the assurances that the sultan had actually given orders to put all the *Swedes* to the sword who resisted, and the exhortations of those loyal ministers to submit to necessity, and not hazard his sacred person, by persisting in measures which must terminate in his own ruin and the destruction of all his faithful followers. He disregarded menaces, intreaties, and solicitations, persevering in his resolution not to be compelled. Accordingly the word was given to the janissaries and *Tartars*, and they marched up to the king in the same order as on the preceding day. The camp was forced in an instant, after a few discharges of the artillery, and one fire of musketry, 300 *Swedes* surrendering prisoners, perhaps as the only expedient to save the king's life. The effect, however, was contrary to expectation; *Charles* was not discouraged by the misconduct of his troops; he determined to defend himself to the last extremity, with the assistance only of forty menials, whom he had left as a guard in the house, and of the generals *Hord* and *Dardorff*. Seeing his soldiers lay down their arms, he told the generals round him, we must now defend the house; come, adds he with a smile, let us fight *pro aris et focis*. In vain did he fly from post to post, encouraging his people; they were surrounded and forced to yield to superior numbers. He then galloped to the house which he found had been forced by the *Tartars*, all except a hall, which fortunately stood near the door, and where his domestics had now assembled themselves. *Charles* drew his sword, and forced his way through the janissaries, attended by the generals *Hord* and *Dardorff*, joined his people, and then barricadoed the door. This exploit was not performed without imminent danger. A janissary, whom the king had wounded, clapped his blunderbuss to his face, grazed the bullet against the king's nose, took off a bit of his ear, and broke general *Hord's* arm. *Charles* had his revenge, by piercing the janissary's breast with his sword. Candour, however, must acknowledge, that he owed his life rather to the tenderness of those generous *Turks*, than to his own vigour or valour. The janissaries even sacrificed their own safety to their reverence for the royal person, nor was it any proof of the king's noble sentiments, that he so wantonly shed the blood of men whom he must perceive scrupulous about lifting their hand. It is sufficient evidence of their reverence, that the moment *Charles* entered the house, the *Turks*, who had taken possession, threw down their arms and booty, and escaped at the windows; while the king taking advantage of their confusion, pursued them from one room to another, and after much bloodshed cleared the house in a few minutes. He then fired furiously from the windows, killed 200 of the enemy in the space of a quarter of an hour, and obliged the bashaw at length to set fire to the building, which was done by arrows, with lighted matches shot into the roof. Immediately the whole upper part of the house was on fire; and *Charles*, instead of quitting it, gave orders for extinguishing the fire, in which office he assisted with great diligence.

Is stormed in his intrenchments and houses.

And taken
prisoner.

12th Feb.

All endeavours were fruitless, the roof fell in, and the king with his faithful little band were in danger of being buried in the ruins; but nothing could move his constancy. One of his people crying out, that there was a necessity for surrendering, "What a strange fellow is that," says the king, who had rather become a prisoner with *Turks*, than mix his ashes with those of his sovereign." Another had the presence of mind to cry out, that the chancery was but at the distance of fifty paces, had a stone roof, and was proof against fire. Pleased with the thought of coming again to blows, the king exclaimed in raptures, "A true *Swede*! Let us take all the powder and ball we can carry." He put himself at the head of his troops, sallied out upon the *Turks*, fired two rounds, obliged them to retreat fifty paces; but falling down in the hurry, he was surrounded, taken prisoner, and carried by the arms and legs to the bashaw's tent. Such was the issue of the king's exploits, and of this extraordinary adventure, which favours strongly of insanity, and contributes nothing to establish that reputation of heroism which *Charles* eagerly affected.

S E C T XIII.

Containing an Account of the King's Conduct while a Prisoner in Turkey; of his Escape; of the War in the Swedish Provinces in Germany, &c.

Stanislaus is
arrested in the
Turkish do-
minions.

CHARLES was not the only Christian monarch now a prisoner in the hands of the infidels. *Stanislaus*, driven out of *Poland* by king *Augustus*, without money, and without friends, retired to *Pomerania*, where he served in the *Swedish* army, and performed his utmost to return the obligations he owed the king of *Sweden*, by fighting strenuously in defence of his benefactor's dominions. He had done all he could to prevail on *Charles* to consent to his abdicating a crown which he could not maintain. He had even formed a kind of agreement with count *Fleming*, the minister and favourite of *Augustus*, to this purpose. He exhorted *Charles* to consent to this agreement, and not longer to sacrifice his own interest for the sake of an unhappy friend, who would willingly fall a victim to the public peace, the tranquility of *Europe*, and the return of the king of *Sweden* to his own dominions. He wrote a letter to *Charles* at *Bender*, which put that monarch in a furious passion, and made him declare to the bystanders, "That if *Stanislaus* would not accept of the crown of *Poland*, he must look out for a king elsewhere." Finding the *Swede* inflexible, *Stanislaus* determined to repair in person to *Bender*, in hopes that he might gain by an interview what *Charles* refused granting to epistolary entreaties. He set out, accompanied by an officer and a valet, disguised in the habit of a *Swedish* colonel, and passing the frontiers of *Hungary* and *Transylvania*, arrived at *Tassi* in *Moldavia*, where he was arrested as a *Swedish* officer, and sent to *Bender*. By this time *Charles* and his retinue were all prisoners, which proved the reason of *Stanislaus* being taken into custody. At *Bender* he was known, and notice was sent to the bashaw who was conducting the king of *Sweden* to *Adrianople*. The bashaw communicated the news to baron *Fabricius*, and the baron went immediately to the king, who, without any emotion, said, "Dear *Fabricius*, run and tell him, never to make peace with *Augustus*, for we shall soon have a change in our affairs." This was the first consideration that occurred to the mind of a prince whom no accident or change of fortune could affect.

Steenboek
burns Altena.

9th Jan.

We shall for a while leave the two deserted monarchs prisoners in *Turkey*, to recite what passed in *Germany* subsequent to the famous battle of *Gadebusch*. General *Steenboek* was not unmindful of the bombardment of *Stade* by the *Danes*, a cruelty which he determined to revenge upon *Altena*, a town subject to *Denmark*, and situated upon the *Elbe*, higher up the river than *Hamburg*. The trade of *Altena* had flourished of late years to such a degree as excited the jealousy of the *Hamburgers*; and this it was, as some writers insinuate, that made them prevail upon *Steenboek*, by a sum of money, to destroy so dangerous a rival. There seems to be little truth in this allegation; the general himself has given the true motive of his conduct, in the answer which he published to the remonstrances of *Poland* and *Denmark*. When he arrived with his army before *Altena*, he sent a trumpet to the inhabitants, desiring them to retire, with their effects, for his intention was to lay the town in ashes. The magistrates threw themselves at his feet, and offered him a large ransom; but the general insisted, that they should double the sum; which not being complied with, the soldiers applied their lighted torches to the houses. In the middle of the night the whole town was instantly in a blaze; the season was exceedingly severe; men, women, and children, loaded with their goods, flew into the open fields, where they lay exposed to the keenest frost, and all the inclemency of the weather. Hundreds lost their lives with cold and hunger under the walls of that city, which by the next morning was consumed to ashes. All *Europe* was scandalized at *Steenboek's* wanton barbarity. The *Poles* and *Danes* filled every

¹ Volt. Fabric. PUFFEND. ubi supra.

a court in *Christendom* with their complaints; and *Steenboeck* replied, "That he was urged by the inhumanity of his enemies to carry matters to extremities. He reminded them of the cruelties committed in *Pomerania*, of their selling so many thousand *Swedish* soldiers to be enslaved by the *Turks*, and of the red-hot bullets with which they laid *Stade* in ashes." In a word, he excused himself by pleading the necessity of retaliation. However, all he could alledge in his own vindication has not been able to wash out the deep stain from his memory. The cruelties at *Altena* wholly effaced the glory resulting from the victories at *Elfsingburgh* and *Gadebusch*, which would otherwise have eternized his name; and he soon suffered the just, but inadequate, punishment of his inhumanity.

b AFTER the destruction of *Altena*, *Steenboeck* entered *Holstein* to raise contributions, and pave the way for the invasion of *Jutland*; a project which he had long mediated. But this proceeding was attended with consequences very different from what he expected. The allies pursued him, and the czar attacked and defeated one of his wings. *Steenboeck* endeavoured to regain *Pomerania*, but he was anticipated by the *Danes* and *Polanders*, who had already entered that province; upon which he entrenched himself in the neighbourhood of *Fredericstadt*. Nor was he able long to maintain himself in his new quarters. He endeavoured to cross the *Eider*, and lost two thousand men in the river. Fortune seemed to persecute him, since even the best-concerted projects and the most rational designs proved unsuccessful. At length, being driven to extreme necessity, he demanded admittance of the bishop of *Lubec* into the neutral town of *Tonningen*, and had his request granted; the prelate being forced either to venture the loss of all the *Swedish* forces, or the consequences of the king of *Denmark's* resentment. He chose the latter. Some of the *Swedish* forces were received into the citadel, while the remainder quartered in the town, or encamped under the ramparts. The allies pursued, blocked up the town, and soon reduced *Steenboeck* to great distress, the army being deprived of provision by that fatality which now attended all his affairs. To rid himself of this embarrassment he set a negotiation on foot, but could obtain no other terms than surrendering at discretion. Accordingly he signed articles to this purpose; the town was evacuated, and the prisoners cantoned, under a strong guard, in the bailliages of *Flensburgh*, *Ecklenwarde*, and *Kiel*. *Steenboeck* immediately dispatched a messenger to *Turkey*, with a justification of his conduct; and another to *Stockholm*, soliciting the ransom of the prisoners, and requesting that ships might be provided to transport them to *Sweden*. In this manner was that army reduced to a state of bondage, which had a little before gained two celebrated victories, and been the terror of *Denmark*, *Russia*, and *Poland** (A).

*Steenboeck
surrenders.*

17th May.

c THE misfortunes of *Sweden* did not terminate with the ruin of *Steenboeck's* army, the czar landed with a numerous army in *Finland*, and though twice repulsed at *Bergo*, at last established a footing, ravaged the country, reduced *Wikled*, and forced the inhabitants of *Abo*, the capital of the province, to take an oath of fidelity to his czarish majesty. Not long after he obtained a complete victory over the *Swedes*, which put him in entire possession of *Finland*. Another body of *Russians* and *Saxons* took post in the isle of *Rugen*, and had near reduced *Stetin* to the necessity of surrendering; but the king of *Prussia*, under pretence of preserving this city, declared that he would charge himself with the sequestration of *Pomerania*. This prince was too politic and too selfish to lose so favourable an opportunity of extending his influence, at the expence of a power now become a prey to all the northern nations. He negotiated the affair privately with prince *Menzikoff*, and thus obtained the czar's consent to hold the province sequestered, until a general pacification was established in the *North*, at which time *Stetin* and its dependencies were to be restored to *Sweden*, on that kingdom's repaying his *Prussian* majesty the sum of 400,000 crowns for his expences.

*The czar re-
duces Fin-
land.*

f IN these calamitous circumstances, the *Swedish* regency saw no other method of stemming the torrent of disgrace and accumulated misfortune, than by setting on foot a negotiation; and yet they had but a very remote prospect of this, while the king openly declared, that he would consent to no peace which did not stipulate the full restitution of all his losses, the reimbursement of his expences, and the establishment of *Stanislaus* on the throne of *Poland*; for in this manner *Charles* dictated from his prison in *Turkey*. *Sweden* had lost all her foreign provinces; some held them as pledges, others as conquests, and both equally be-

r PUFFEND. lib. vii. VOLT. lib. vii. * Idem ibid.

(A) His *Danish* majesty, by way of punishing the bishop of *Lubec*, administrator of *Holstein*, for a breach of neutrality, seized upon the young duke of *Holstein's* dominions, the greater part of which he has to this day retained. The manner, however, in which he treated *Steenboeck*, evinced his regard to merit, and his sense of the great qualities of that unfortunate hero. He suffer-

ed the man whom he deemed his bitterest enemy to go freely on his parole through every part of *Copenhagen*, and he loaded him with civilities; until *Steenboeck*, attempting to make his escape, incurred the king's displeasure, and occasioned his own confinement, which terminated with his asking *Frederic* pardon, and acknowledging his error (1).

(1) *Volt. lib. vii.*

Princess Eleonora called to the administration.

came her enemies. She had neither trade, money, nor credit, her veteran soldiers were either dead, prisoners, or incapacitated by wounds or old age. Above 150,000 Swedes were slaves in *Muscovy*, *Turkey*, and *Tartary*, or locked up in prisons in *Poland* and *Denmark*. The king was confined in a remote country, his return and even his life were uncertain; but, above all, the regency and senate were assured of his obstinacy in persisting in such resolutions as would be incompatible with the state of the kingdom. All these reasons determined the senate to entreat the princess *Ulrica Eleonora*, the king's sister, to charge herself with the chief administration of affairs, during his majesty's absence, in quality of heiress to the crown, should the king die without issue. The resolution was no sooner formed, than the senate, perhaps out of hatred to the regency, waited on the princess, who consented to their request. She was accordingly conducted, for the first time, to that august assembly, where it was determined to convoke the states, in order to concert measures for putting an end to the national calamities. As the letters issued for this purpose contain a detail of the circumstances of the state, the reader may be curious to peruse the substance, which we have therefore annexed in a note ^a (B).

A. D. 1714.

Debates in the diet.

THE points to be deliberated by the assembly chiefly regarded the necessity of re-establishing the finances, and putting the fleet and army in a situation to disappoint all the schemes formed by the enemy. The diet therefore began with publishing an ordonnance, whereby all the inhabitants were charged to send their plate to the mint to be coined, the states promising to reimburse them the subsequent year. It was also proposed raising ten thousand foot and two thousand horse and dragoons, to be joined to the other national forces; so that the whole should amount to thirty thousand men, to be encamped at different stations on the coast. It was then deliberated whether the states had power to conclude a peace in the king's absence, and contrary to his inclination; the result of the debates was, that as the king had been long absent, and there was no certainty about his return, the states had a legal power to practise whatever should be found necessary for the well-being and safety of the kingdom. In consequence, ambassadors were named to confer with the enemies plenipotentiaries, while at the same time the most vigorous steps were taken for prosecuting the war. To this resolution the princess-royal opposed a declaration, that she would enter upon no treaty with the enemy, until she was authorised by the king her brother. She likewise desired to resign the regency, from an apprehension of displeasing *Charles*; which obliged the states to continue sitting for the dispatch of business ^d.

WHILE the diet was providing for the security of the kingdom, the *Danes* made themselves masters of *Tonningen*, and other parts of the duke of *Holstein's* dominions. At the same time the *Russian* fleet came to an engagement with the *Swedish* squadron under admiral *Ebrenschild*. The fleets met off *Riloxiel*; the enemy were commanded by the czar in person, and the engagement continued extremely hot for the space of two hours, when fortune declared against the *Swedes*, who were defeated, with the loss of six men of war, one frigate, and three sail of transports. The vice-admiral, three captains, five lieutenants, and forty inferior officers, were taken prisoners. Six thousand *Russians* landed in *Oeland*, and made themselves entirely masters of the island; however, they were soon forced to abandon their conquest, and retire with the czar's fleet to places of security ^e.

^a PUFFEND. lib. vii. † Idem ibid. Etiam VOLT. lib. vii. ^u Idem ibid.

(B) "We cannot conceal from you the disappointment of our hopes, that the king would soon return to his dominions, and that the measures taken for the defence of the kingdom would have terminated more happily. You are already too well acquainted with the wretched situation of *Sweden* and the provinces. Famine, pestilence, and a variety of other unavoidable misfortunes, facilitated the irruption of the enemy into *Finland*, *Esthonia*, *Livonia*, and the *German* provinces. The same causes prevented the *Swedish* forces from dislodging the enemy, penetrating into *Poland*, and escorting the king home, as was intended. It is true, that general *Steenboek* obtained a glorious victory, by the divine grace, near *Gadebusch*; but soon after that army, by a strange fatality, was forced to surrender at discretion to the enemy. In vain was the sum raised necessary for ransoming the troops; in vain were the sums, stipulated by the capitulation, sent; hitherto the *Danes* have not performed their engagements, and they retain the *Swedish* prisoners under a variety of frivolous pretences. They have even incorporated great numbers in their own regiments. Besides, the czar, in conjunction with *Denmark*, is preparing, after the conquest of

Finland, to attack *Sweden* on the side of that province, and towards the frontiers of *Norway* and *Schonen*. Since the king's absence the councils have done all in their power to maintain the old troops, to levy new, to keep the navy in a respectable posture, and to defend every part of the *Swedish* frontier; yet have they seen their unfortunate country long tossed in a terrible storm, which must soon produce the dissolution of government, and loss of liberty, in consequence of the enemy's penetrating to the very bowels of the kingdom. The treasury is quite exhausted, and all the inhabitants of *Sweden* impoverished; so that no resource remains for keeping up the fleet, recruiting the army, forming magazines, and supporting the absolutely necessary expences. In this situation it is the duty of every *Swede* to exert himself, and contribute the last penny and the last drop of his blood, to rescue his country from the jaws of destruction. Unable alone to support the whole weight, we have therefore resolved to convoke a diet, in order to concert measures, not doubting but we shall meet with the hearty assistance of all the king's loyal and affectionate subjects, and well-wishers to the state and true interest of *Sweden*." (2)

(2) Vid. Lit. public. ann. 1713, Nov. 9.

MEAN-

MEANTIME the king of Sweden began to entertain serious thoughts of returning to his own dominions. Since his departure from *Bender* the *Porte* had fixed his residence at *Demotica*, a small town six leagues from *Adrianople* (C). Here he was allowed provisions sufficient for his own table and his retinue, but only twenty-five crowns a-day in money, instead of the five hundred which he had at *Bender*. It was during the king's stay here that general *Ranck* was sent from *Hesse-Cassel*, to solicit his consent to the marriage of the landgrave and the princess *Eleonora*; a request to which he readily assented. General *Lieven* was likewise dispatched by the states of *Sweden*, to implore his majesty to prepare for returning to his dominions, which languished, and were now ready to sink under the weight of a ruinous war, during his absence. On the other hand, the peace concluded at *Utrecht* left the court of *Versailles* more at liberty openly to espouse *Charles*, and support his credit at the *Othoman* court; where fresh revolutions appeared daily, and rendered his situation exceeding ticklish. The grand vizir *Soliman* was deposed to make room for *Ibrahim Molla*; who had been a common seaman, rough, blunt, and boisterous in his manners, as is usual with persons bred on the watry element. This minister, for private reasons, entered into the project of coming to a rupture with *Russia*; and believing this design might prove acceptable to the king of *Sweden*, he intimated it to him, inviting him to a conference, in the stile, and with the familiarity of an equal. Misfortune had not subdued the king of *Sweden's* pride; he felt the indignity, declined the invitation, sent his chancellor *Mullern* to meet the vizir, and to avoid giving offence to a minister, who had it greatly in his power to serve him, kept his bed during his stay at *Demotica*, under pretence of illness.

For ten months the king continued in this irksome situation, in perfect health, but treated and confined like a sick person; which at last proved the strongest reason for determining him to accept of the small escorte proposed by the grand signior. His resolution was communicated to the grand vizir, who ordered a conference to be set on foot with the republic of *Poland*, to grant the king a safe passage through that kingdom. Circumstances were now entirely altered at the *Othoman* court, which occasioned the negotiation's being spun out to great length of time: upon this, *Charles* dropped the demand of an escorte, and contented himself with asking a passport through the *Turkish* dominions, relying upon the imperial court for leave to pass through *Germany* unmolested. The new vizir *Molla* had been strangled between two doors, which gave the finishing blow to the king's misfortunes, and obliged him to abandon all thoughts of forcing his way through *Poland* at the head of a *Turkish* army. The affair of his departure was to be negotiated by *Grothusen*, whom he vested with the character of ambassador extraordinary, sending him to *Adrianople* with a train of fourteen persons, richly dressed. To equip this retinue, the king was reduced to the most mortifying shifts, and the necessity of borrowing money from usurers at fifty per cent. The great object was to get money from the grand vizir and a passport; but the former did not succeed. *Grothusen* was received with all the honour due to his character, he returned the king's thanks for the protection afforded him by the grand signior, intimated his inclination to return to his own dominions, requested a passport thro' the *Othoman* territories, and hinted the king's want of money to pay his debts, and defray the expences of his journey; but the vizir started difficulties. With respect to the passport, it could be of no use, he said, until the consent of the court of *Vienna* was first obtained; and as to the money, his answer was, "That his master knew how to give when he thought proper; but that it was beneath his dignity to lend: that the king should have every necessary provided for his journey, and in a manner worthy of his sublime highness and his majesty, and possibly the *Porte* might make some pecuniary present; but he would not have it expected." With respect to the passport, the imperial minister removed every difficulty, by granting it in the amplest manner, in the name of the emperor, and the princes and states of *Germany*. The present sent by the vizir to the king, consisted of a tent of scarlet, embroidered with gold, a sabre, the handle of which was studded with jewels, and eight fine horses, richly caparisoned. Money, the article most wanted, was entirely forgot; and indeed the *Porte* was with good reason tired of supplying the wants of a prince, who had, for above three years, been supported with the state and magnificence of royalty. The day was fixed for *Charles's* departure, and the vizir appointed threescore carriages, loaded with all kinds of provision, and several companies of janissaries and zebegis, to attend his majesty to the frontiers of *Transylvania*.

At last, on the 14th of *October*, *Charles* quitted his bed and his residence at *Demotica*, and set out on his journey for *Sweden*. On his arrival at *Targowitz*, he sent a messenger to the

(C) *Puffendorf* calls this place *Demir-Tocca*; but he probably means the little village of *Demirtash*, where the king resided before he was permitted to live at *Demotica* (1).

And arrives
at Stralsund.

governor of *Transylvania*, desiring a passage through the country, and that the inhabitants would supply him with provisions for payment; to which the governor returned answer, that he had directions not only to give his majesty a free passage, but to supply himself and retinue with the best of every thing that the country afforded, and receive him with all the honours due to so great a monarch. All the other princes, through whose territories he passed, had given similar instructions; but the king, perceiving that these compliments only retarded his return to *Sweden*, and rendered more conspicuous the prisoner of *Bender*, suddenly dismissed his *Turkish* attendants, assembled his own people, bid them take no concern about him, but make the best of their way to *Stralsund*, and set out post, in the habit of a *German* officer, attended only by colonel *During*. Keeping the bye-roads through *Hungary*, *Moravia*, *Austria*, *Bavaria*, *Wurtemberg*, the *Palatinate*, *Westphalia*, and *Mecklenburgh*, he made almost the tour of *Germany*, and arrived at midnight, on the 21st of *November*, before the gates of *Stralsund* (B). The centinel refusing to admit him, because the keys were carried up to the governor, who was a-bed, the king said he was upon an affair of consequence, and declared, if he did not immediately wake the governor, he should be hanged in the morning. At last the governor was called, and he thinking it might be some general-officer, ordered the gates to be opened, and the courier admitted to his apartment. On seeing the king, he asked, rubbing his eyes, what news of his majesty? Hey, *Ducker*, says the king, have my best subjects forgot me? The general could scarce believe his eyes; but soon recognizing the king's voice and features, leaped out of bed, and embraced his sovereign's knees with tears of joy*. The news spread in an instant, the whole town was in motion, the soldiers crowded round the governor's to behold that warrior, who had so often led them to glory and victory, the streets were filled with people, the windows were illuminated, every street blazed with bonfires, churches rung with bells, the conduits flowed with wine, and the artillery fired from the ramparts. Never was joy more sincere; yet amidst the tumult, *Charles* was put to bed. He had been booted for sixteen days, and now his legs were swelled to such a degree, that his boots were cut off. The king slept for some hours, then arose, reviewed his troops, and dispatched orders to all the different parts of the kingdom, for renewing the war with redoubled vigour. It was astonishing to observe the alteration made in *Sweden* by the return of the sovereign to his dominions. Multitudes of young people flocked to enter themselves and revenge their king's long exile. Though the human species was visibly diminished, there appeared no symptoms of decline in vigour; the levies were complete in a few weeks, but the hands left to cultivate the earth consisted of the infirm, aged, and decrepit; so that a famine threatened the land, in consequence of the military rage which had seized all the youth of the kingdom.

A. D. 1715.
Marriage of
the princess
royal with
the prince of
Hesse.
April 4.

WHILE the king staid at *Stralsund*, the fortifications were repaired and augmented, and the army very considerably reinforced. He could not be prevailed on to return to *Stockholm*, until he had, in some measure, recovered his losses, wiped off his disgraces, and replaced matters upon such a footing, as might answer the vast expectations entertained by his people. It was during his residence at *Stralsund* that great preparations were making at *Stockholm* for celebrating the nuptials of the princess-royal and the hereditary prince of *Hesse*. Though the ceremony was not honoured with the king's presence, it was, however, very brilliant; and next day arrived the king's commission, vesting him with the dignity of generalissimo of the *Swedish* forces. He had distinguished himself in the confederate army against *Charles*; and the proofs exhibited of his courage, were the motives which operated most powerfully with *Charles*, to prefer him to this union with his family, and high character in his army.

The Swedes
defeated by
sea.

THE rejoicings consequent on this alliance were disturbed by the ravages committed by the *Russians* on the coasts of *Abland* and *Finland*, where they destroyed a great number of towns and villages. These misfortunes were followed by an entire defeat, sustained by the *Swedish* fleet, between the islands of *Femerén* and *Laland*, in which a thousand men were killed, and seven ships taken or destroyed. Such a train of disgraces could not fail of

* VOLT. lib. vii. † PUFFEND. lib. vii. tom. vii.

(B) *Voltaire* relates, that the king having rode the whole first day without halting, *During*, who was not accustomed to such fatigue, fainted away upon alighting. *Charles* would not stay a moment, but asked the colonel what money he had got. "About a thousand crowns," said *During*. "Give me half," replied the king, "I see you cannot go on; I will go without you." The colonel begged hard that his majesty would stay but three hours, and he was sure he could then attend; but *Charles* was not to be persuaded; he made him give him the money, and

called for horses. To bring matters right, *During* thought him of a stratagem; he bribed the post boy to give the king a lame horse, suffered him to set out, took his sleep, then followed in a post-chaise, and overtook his majesty at the next stage. There he was forced to get in with *During*, and sleep upon the straw. Afterwards they never stopped, but pursued their journey, on horseback in the day, and in a chaise at night, for the space of sixteen days, in the utmost peril of falling into the hands of his enemies.

dissipating

- a dissipating those fears which had seized the minds of the northern allies on the king's return. They imagined the royal presence would inspire the same spirit and alacrity in the *Swedish* troops, which had formerly rendered them invincible; but it soon appeared, that the sinews of the kingdom were enervated, that the finances were destroyed, and all the old forces dwindled into nothing. However, the king's conduct and courage were not in the least altered; he determined, at any event, to preserve the *German* provinces; but the measures he took to effect this purpose, brought on their entire loss. He demanded restitution of *Stetin*, offering to pay the 400,000 crowns to indemnify the king of *Prussia*. *France* would have advanced the money; but all remonstrances were vain. His *Prussian* majesty insisted, that the town was to remain sequestered in his hands,
- b until peace was concluded, in security, that the war should not be kindled in *Germany*. *Charles*, without reflecting on his own circumstances, resented this tergiversation in such high terms, as increased the number of his enemies, and made *Prussia* declare in favour of the northern league. The emperor joined in exhorting his *Swedish* majesty to revoke his protestation against the neutrality, and to consent to the sequestration of *Pomerania*; instead of which, he attacked the isle of *Usedom*, occupied by the *Prussians*, in virtue of the sequestration, and drove them out of the island. Finding that *Prussia* was resolved to have recourse to force, *Charles* solicited the *French* king to assist him with sixty thousand men, to reduce his enemies to reason; but *Lewis XIV.* then in the decline of life, and broke with age, infirmity, and disappointment, sought to die in peace, and contented himself with offering his mediation to accommodate all differences. With this view he sent the count *de Croissy* to *Stralsund*, where he was graciously received by *Charles*. Several attempts were made to establish a negotiation, all of which proved fruitless from the obstinacy of the parties. The confederates regarding only the circumstances of *Sweden*, imagined that the king ought to accept of any conditions; and *Charles*, through his own undaunted spirit, and the equity of his cause, would consent to yield nothing, insisting upon entire restitution. The king of *Prussia* demanded, as a preliminary, that the isle of *Usedom* might be restored; and *Charles* refusing, the *Prussians* entered, and soon reduced the island: at the same time, the *Danish* squadron took near fifty sail of *Swedish* small craft, which lay on the coasts. It was indeed astonishing, that the *Swedes* made any resistance, their whole force being composed of two hundred and fifty men, under the command of the brave colonel *Duslerp*, who had possession of the forts *Swen* and *Parnamendre*. The former fort was abandoned as untenable, but the colonel resolved to defend the other to the last extremity. The *Prussians*, amounting to seven thousand men, with a fine train of artillery, laid siege in form. On the 18th of *August*, they opened the trenches in two different places, and played vigorously with two batteries of cannon and mortars. *Duslerp* had found means to send a messenger to the king; he now returned to the fort, through the midst of the enemy's camp, with the following letter from *Charles*.---“Do not fire until the enemy approach the brink of the *fosse*; hold out to the last drop of your blood. I commend you to your good fortune.” The governor obeyed punctually; he sustained the assault, made his fire as directed, and with prodigious effect; great numbers of the enemy fell: but now the ditch was full, the breach practicable, and the disparity of strength so great, that the *Prussians* entered the fort in two different places, and thought they had reduced *Duslerp* to the necessity of surrendering. But they had not yet sufficient proofs of the governor's spirit, and the implicit obedience which that officer paid to his sovereign's commands. Abandoning the breaches, he intrenched his little company in the middle of the fort, and determined to sell his life dear. The soldiers obeyed to a man. The enemy advanced, imagining he would ask for quarter, but they were received with a brisk fire. An action followed, which was sustained valiantly for the space of an hour by the *Swedes*, when their commander was killed, together with his major and lieutenant. The single remaining officer, and his few soldiers, begged their lives, and were taken prisoners. Such was the issue of that ill-timed gallantry upon which *Charles* insisted, when he ought, by every means, to have preserved the lives of his soldiers.
- To complete the embarrassment of *Sweden*, the king of *England*, in quality of elector of *Hanover*, acceded to the league, and with other princes, resolved to share in the spoils of the unfortunate *Swedish* monarch. The duchy of *Bremen* had been pledged to him by the *Danes*, for the sum of 700,000 crowns; and he now, for the same reasons as the king of *Prussia*, came to a rupture with *Sweden*, and joined his forces to those of *Denmark*, *Prussia*, and *Saxony*, to invest *Wismar*. At the same time, a body of 36,000 men formed the siege of *Stralsund*, while the czar, with a fleet of twenty large men of war, and one hundred and fifty transports, with 30,000 men on board, swept the *Baltic*, and threw all the coasts of *Sweden* into consternation, threatening a descent sometimes at *Helsingburgh*, and sometimes

Prussia declares against Sweden.

Bravery of a Swedish colonel.

The elector of Hanover joins the confederates.

Wismar and Stralsund besieged.

at *Stockholm*. *Stralsund*, however, was the principal object of the enemies designs; that city was strongly situated, well fortified, and defended by a garrison of 9000 men, commanded by the king in person. The kings of *Denmark* and *Prussia* directed the siege, the trenches were opened on the 20th of *October*, and two days after the *Swedish* intrenchments, on the opposite side the marsh, which was thought impassable, were forced, after dreadful slaughter on both sides. After this, the enemy made a descent, with 12,000 men, on *Rügen*, in order to deprive the besieged of the succours they drew from this island. There were only 2000 *Swedes* for its defence; but *Charles* resolved to put himself at their head, and this made them equal to an army. Such was the terror this prince inspired, that the prince of *Anhalt*, with numbers so superior, intrenched himself behind a fosse, defended by chevaux de frise. The precaution was necessary, for *Charles* marched silently in the midst of the night, clambered up the ditch, and attacked the allies with incredible fury; but his strength being too unequal, he was forced to retreat, after he had seen his favourite *Grothusen*, general *Dardoff*, and *During*, the companions of his exile, killed before his face, and received a wound in his left-breast ^a.

THE attempt to save *Rügen* proving fruitless, *Charles* returned to *Stralsund*, having only weakened his strength in extraordinary exertions of rash valour. The town was now miserably shattered by the enemy's cannon, and the houses laid in ruins with the bombs; but the garrison and townsmen were animated by the example of their royal master, whose patience, activity, courage, and presence of mind, threw a veil over his other failings, and persuaded his subjects, that all the misfortunes of the monarch arose from an excess of virtue. By the 17th of *December* the breaches were so large, that the enemy were preparing to give the assault, upon which count *de Croissy* renewed the conferences for an accommodation; but the allies demanded too much, and *Charles* was averse to making any concessions. The continuator of *Puffendorf* indeed alleges, that the count, tired out with the obstinacy of the *Swedish* monarch, acted but coldly in the negotiation; though *Voltaire* expressly affirms the contrary, and alledges, that the court of *France* was not only well disposed with respect to *Sweden*, but that *Croissy* was greatly enamoured of the king's singular character, and strongly attached to his person. Certain it is, that the conference with the *Prussian* minister, baron *Ilgen*, terminated in nothing. The enemy stormed the horn-work, carried it twice, and were as often repulsed; but at last they effected a lodgment by dint of superior numbers. The day succeeding the loss of the horn-work, *Charles* headed a sally, and dealt terrible destruction among the besiegers, but was in the end overpowered, and forced to retreat to the town, whither he was pursued. For two days more he continued to dispute every inch of ground; but his officers apprehending, that he must either be buried in the ruins, or fall into the hands of the enemy, exhorted him to quit a place where his presence could be of no service. But to retreat was now almost as dangerous as to remain in *Stralsund*. The sea was covered with the confederates fleets; and it was, perhaps, this very circumstance, and the appearance it had of an extraordinary adventure, which induced *Charles* to commit his person to a small boat with sails and oars, in which he passed all the enemy's ships and batteries, and arrived safe at *Ystedt* in *Schonen*.

Stralsund
taken.

IMMEDIATELY after the king's departure, general *Ducker* sensible that the town was no longer tenable, and that to persist would only tend to the entire destruction of the garrison under his command, demanded a capitulation. A conference was set on foot to regulate the articles, and the result was, that the garrison should surrender prisoners of war; that the native-born *Swedes* should, notwithstanding, have the honour of marching out with their arms, drums beating, and colours flying; that all the officers should be transported to *Sweden*, at the king's expence, and in *Swedish* vessels; that the king's retinue should meet with the same indulgence, the allies leaving it to general *Ducker's* honour to give a faithful list of the domestics, and not include persons who were not actually of the household; and that all the artillery, magazines, records, papers, and documents, belonging to the chancery and council, should be delivered into the hands of commissaries, appointed for that purpose by the kings of *Denmark* and *Prussia*. On the 27th of *December* the *Swedes* marched out, agreeable to the terms of the capitulation, and next day the two kings made their triumphant entry ^b.

A. D. 1716.

CHARLES was now at *Carlsroon*, which place he had quitted some years before in a ship of 120 guns, attended by a powerful fleet and army, that was, for a time, to give law to the empire, and all the kingdoms of the north. It was expected, that being so near, he would visit his capital. Deputies were sent from *Stockholm* to invite him; but *Charles* disappointed the expectations of his people. What his motives were for passing the winter at *Carlsroon*, are uncertain. Some alledge, that his pride would not suffer him to en-

^a Idem ibid. PUFFEND. ubi supra.

^b PUFFEND. lib. vii.

a ter his capital in his present wretched condition; others attribute his conduct to the re-
sentment he harboured against the senate, for diminishing the weight of the regency he
had appointed, disputing their authority, calling a diet, placing the princess royal in the
administration, setting on foot negotiations of peace with the northern powers, and assum-
ing to themselves certain privileges which he thought inconsistent with the royal preroga-
tive. These were transactions which happened during his residence in *Turkey*; he had
then expressed his contempt for the senate and states, by sending them word by his chan-
cellor *Mullern*, that he would dispatch one of his old boots to govern and keep them in
awe. *Charles* now carried his displeasure farther, by depriving the senate of the few pri-
vileges left by *Charles XI*. The whole direction of public affairs he committed to the
b hands of baron *Goertz*, formerly a minister of *Holstein*, now the chief favourite of the *Swed-*
ish monarch; a man bold, active, insinuating, inventive, enterprising; and full of expe-
dients, which perfectly qualified him for the minister of a prince, who delighted in the
most romantic acts of chivalry c.

HAVING thus satiated his revenge, he concerted measures with his brother-in-law, the
prince of *Hesse*, for augmenting his forces; making numerous levies, and putting the fleet;
in a condition to execute the first enterprize that should be proposed (A). By the
month of *March*, he had an army of 25,000 men in motion, the destination of which was
kept a profound secret between the king and baron *Goertz*. At last a sudden irruption in-
to *Norway*, declared that *Charles* was determined to revenge his losses by the conquest of
c that kingdom. He suddenly crossed that almost impervious ridge of mountains, which se-
parates *Sweden* from *Norway*, and attacked the enemy with such vigour, as threatened the
destruction of the country, and the completion of his great design. No project could be
better concerted or more punctually executed; the *Danes* were defeated in every quarter.
The hereditary prince of *Hesse* attacked and defeated a body of 3000 men, in the neigh-
bourhood of *Basmo*, and took the *Danish* commander prisoner. Another more consider-
able corps was defeated by the king in person, and these advantages were succeeded by
gaining possession of several important posts. To check the king's further progress, the
Danes assembling all their forces, which amounted to 11,000 men, ventured upon a ge-
neral action, and were entirely defeated; but the hereditary prince was forced to quit the
d field, by a wound which he received in the right thigh. All this, however, was but a
flash of success, that served to dazzle the imagination, without producing any solid ad-
vantage. Strong reinforcements arriving from *Denmark*, turned the scale of fortune; the
Danes beat the *Swedes* from divers posts, and among others from the intrenchments at
Mosch, which the latter abandoned after having twice repulsed the enemy. But what de-
stroyed the whole project, was the scarcity of provision, of which *Charles* had been disap-
pointed by various accidents. This, together with the continual skirmishing, the exces-
sive severity of the cold, the perpetual watching, long marches, rough roads; and a thou-
sand other hardships, greatly diminished the *Swedish* army, and obliged the king to con-
sider in what manner he should evacuate an inhospitable country, into which true policy
e dictated he should never have entered. These were the real causes of the retreat of the
Swedes, though it was given out, that they returned for the defence of *Schonen* d.

WHILE the king remained at *Carlsroon*, and during the *Norwegian* expedition, the strong
town of *Wisnar* had been blocked up by the *Russians*, and the electoral troops of *Saxony* and
Hanover. It was now at last surrendered on the same terms granted to the garrison of
Stralsund, and had the occasion been judiciously improved, might have turned out more
to the advantage of *Sweden*, than the most glorious victory. We shall endeavour to
sketch out the stronger lines of this extraordinary affair, which laid the foundation of all
the celebrated *Goertz's* intrigues, that had nearly changed the face of *Europe*, laid the basis
of a new war, and which at last brought this extravagant projector to an ignominious death
f on the scaffold.

c VOLT. lib. viii. PUFFEND. ibid.

d Auc. cit. ibid.

(A) To equip a fleet; *Charles* was reduced to the ne-
cessity of granting commissions to privateers; who en-
joyed great privileges at the expence of their country.
In consideration, the owners furnished the government
with a considerable number of ships; to support the ex-
pence of which, *Charles* was forced upon another ruin-
ous measure, and to break in upon the people's property;
committing the most cruel extortion, under the name of
taxes. Private houses were searched; and half the pro-

vision found was carried to the king's magazines. All
the iron of the country was bought up for his use, and
paid for in paper. Every man who wore a peruke, a
gilt sword; or a bit of silk, was taxed; and hearth-mo-
ney was raised in every quarter of the kingdom. No-
thing, indeed; prevented the people from breaking out
into open rebellion, but that they admired their sove-
reign; and knew that he shared their afflictions (1)

(1) Volt. lib. viii.

Baron Goertz
projects.

GOERTZ was too penetrating, not to discover that his master's keenest resentment was pointed at the king of *England*, who as elector of *Hanover* had seized upon *Bremen* and *Verden*, under pretence of preserving the peace of the empire, and acting as mediator. *Charles* had never given this prince cause of offence, and he was incensed at the injustice of his purchasing territories at a low price from *Denmark*, which *Sweden* had conquered with her blood, and confirmed by treaties. He observed too, that the czar of *Muscovy* was not satisfied with the capitulation of *Wismar*, upon which he had long formed designs, as a convenient retreat for his shipping. For this purpose he had advanced a body of troops with great rapidity; but they arrived too late; the capitulation was signed, and the proper measures taken for excluding the *Russians*. *Peter*, indeed, was too sagacious to be ignorant of the jealousy of the other allies; and their assiduity to prevent his gaining any footing in the empire or neighbouring countries; he now had his revenge by refusing to assist in the proposed invasion of *Schonen*. This was a fine foundation for the busy genius of *Goertz* to build upon, and he had the courage to embrace the opportunity. He advised *Charles* to make peace at any rate with the czar, who might then be easily induced to quarrel with his old friend *Augustus* of *Poland*, and with the king of *England*, against whom, as elector of *Hanover*, he had already cause of complaint. By yielding certain provinces to the czar, which, however, he was in no condition to defend, *Goertz* persuaded the king, he could bring that prince, with the whole strength of *Russia*, to assist in restoring *James* to the crown of *England*, and *Stanislaus* to that of *Poland*, notwithstanding *Peter* had for the space of seven years opposed this last monarch. Nothing could be more agreeable to the romantic turn of the king of *Sweden*, than such gigantic projects; accordingly he permitted his minister to set out with full power to the court of *Moscow*. Here, by means of the czar's chief physician, a *Scotchman*, devoted to the pretender's interest, he sounded the inclinations of prince *Menzicoff*, laid before him the project, and obtained his approbation; which was sufficient to insure the czar's consent. In a word, the *Swedish* minister so far succeeded at the court of *Moscow*, that *Peter*, instead of the descent on *Schonen*, sent his troops to winter in *Mecklenburg*, and soon followed in person, under pretence of adjusting some disputes between the duke and his nobles; but, in fact, with a view to his favourite purpose of establishing a footing in the *German* empire.

Goertz is
seized.

HAVING brought his negotiation to a happy issue at *Moscow*, *Goertz* turned his thoughts towards the court of *Madrid*, imagining it would be matter of no great difficulty to prevail on the new minister *Alberoni*, to second his designs against *England*. For this purpose he came to *Holland*, where he engaged in his interest great numbers of disaffected *British* subjects, who even advanced considerable sums of money towards the prosecution of the scheme of deposing *George* the First; if we may rely on the authority of *Voltaire*, and indeed of other foreign writers. During his residence at the *Hague*, *Peter*, czar of *Muscovy*, visited *Holland*, and the *Swede* had two long conferences with him, by which he greatly advanced the negotiation. His designs were carried on with the utmost secrecy; they appeared almost impenetrable, and were in a fine train for success, when slight notice of the intrigue was intimated by the duke of *Orleans*, regent of *France* to the court of *London*, which was confirmed by the *Hollanders*, who had taken umbrage at some part of *Goertz's* conduct. This put an immediate stop to his proceedings; he was seized at the *Hague*, contrary to the law of nations, while *Gullenburgh*, the *Swedish* ambassador at *London*, and engaged in the same projects, was likewise taken into custody. *Charles* retaliated, by ordering *Jackson*, the *English* resident at *Stockholm*, and all his family, to be arrested; and this was all the revenge he took, whether from an apprehension of the consequences of pursuing his resentment, or of entering upon a justification of his minister, we cannot pretend to determine. Certain it is, that he observed a disdainful silence, with respect to his *Britannic* majesty and the states-general; notwithstanding which *Goertz* and *Gullenburgh* obtained their liberty, at the intercession of the czar and regent of *France* (A).

A. D. 1717.

GOERTZ shewed himself a most implacable enemy, the moment he was set at liberty. He posted to *Moscow*, and undertook in a few weeks, to adjust all the differences between

PUFFEND. tom. vii. lib. vii. tom. vii. p. 281.

(A) The continuator of *Puffendorf* attributes the release of the *Swedish* ministers entirely to the duke of *Orleans*, then regent of *France*, which must appear a little extraordinary, as it was from him that the first discovery of the intrigues came. But it is not at all improbable, when we consider that the czar about this

time visited *France*, and proposed a scheme to the regent, for bringing into their own hands the ballance of power of *Europe*, by destroying the *Danish* powers in the *Baltic*; weakening the *English* by a cruel war, and engrossing the whole trade of the north between *France* and *Muscovy* (1).

(1) *Puffend. lib. vii. p. 279.*

the

the czar and his *Swedish* majesty, for which purpose he gave in a sketch of the congress of *Abland*. He promised to obtain his sovereign's consent to part with all that lay eastward of a line drawn from *Wiberg*, by the lake *Ladoga*, quite to the frozen sea, besides the provinces of *Ingria*, *Carelia*, and *Livonia*. He proposed the marriage of the czar's daughter with the duke of *Holstein*; whence he demonstrated considerable advantages must result, by gaining *Peter* a sure footing in the empire. Such were the preliminaries of the conferences appointed at *Abland*, to ratify which *Goertz* returned to *Sweden*, full of hope that all his projects would soon be happily accomplished.

THE schemes he carried on during his stay in *Sweden*, were no less extraordinary than those in which he had been engaged at foreign courts. To enable the king to execute projects so extensive as those proposed, a numerous army was necessary, which could not be maintained when the treasury was entirely exhausted; and the people squeezed out of the last farthing. Money and credit were equally low in *Sweden*; but the genius of *Goertz* removed every difficulty, and rendered easy to him, what to any other minister would appear unsurmountable. He renewed a project which he had formed some time before in his own mind; and this was to raise copper to the same value with silver, when it bore the prince's signature. Nothing could be more injurious to public credit than such a measure; but *Goertz* regarded only the present moment. His business was at any rate to execute the great designs he had planned, the happy accomplishment of which would put every thing else upon an easy footing. Accordingly he issued out his new coin without dread or discretion. The grievance was quickly felt; it entirely destroyed foreign credit, put a stop to commerce, and ruined traders of all degrees and denominations. The government issued it currently, but refused it in payment of taxes from the peasant. This excited clamours; all with one voice exclaimed against baron *Goertz*, and he soon complained his own fall by an imposition laid on the clergy, the most dangerous enemies of any minister. With them the princess royal and her husband joined secretly, apprehending that so aspiring a person, who had such an influence over the king, and was himself a native of *Holstein*, might turn his thoughts to raising the duke of *Holstein*, to the crown of *Sweden*, at the death of the present sovereign. Without regarding the clamours of the people, or the powerful combination forming against him, *Goertz* having established the affairs of the treasury in the manner proposed, hastened away to attend the congress at *Abland*, and finish with *Osterman*, the *Russian* plenipotentiary, the peace sketched out between the king of *Sweden* and the czar, together with all its important consequences.

PETER was fully bent in retaining *Ingria*, *Esthonia*, *Livonia*, and part of *Carilia*; nor had he thoughts of restoring more to *Charles* than *Finland*, and a small portion of *Carelia*. It was the design of *Goertz* to bring his master to consent readily to the cession of these provinces, in order to secure the friendship of the czar. *Charles*, indeed, knew the value of the provinces required; he could not bear the thoughts of lessening his dominions; but he even preferred this to abandoning his favourite project of reinstating *Stanislaus*, and being revenged of the elector of *Hanover*. *Goertz* accordingly had full power to sign the treaty, whereby *Peter* agreed to march 80,000 men into *Poland*, to depose that very prince whom he had been supporting for many years at the expence of his blood and treasure; to furnish ships for transporting 30,000 *Swedes* to *Germany*, and 10,000 into *Denmark*, to assist his *Swedish* majesty in recovering the duchy of *Bremen* and *Verden*, in restoring the duke of *Holstein*, and forcing the king of *Prussia* to a reasonable accommodation, by parting with *Pomerania* and several of his new-acquired territories. Such was the basis of the treaty of *Abland*, to which it is highly probable *Charles* gave his consent, as he entirely withdrew his forces from the provinces which formed the barrier against *Russia*, in order to strengthen the army intended for the invasion of *Norway*.

THE conquest of *Norway* was another favourite project of *Charles*; and now being secured of the friendship of *Russia*, he determined to put it in execution, before he entered upon the accomplishment of his other vast designs. In the month of *October*, while the country was covered with snow and frost, he marched ten thousand men into that kingdom, under the conduct of general *Arenfeld*, who penetrated into the heart of *Norway*, after defeating two considerable corps of the enemy. The king followed with another division of eighteen thousand men, and formed the siege of *Fredericshal*, while the hereditary prince watched the motions of the enemy with a separate command. The severity of the frost rendered it almost impossible to break ground; *Charles*, however, resolved to form trenches, and his soldiers cheerfully obeyed, and set to work with the same labour as if they had been digging into a rock. On the 11th of *December*, the king visited the trenches in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, imagining his presence

^f Id. ibid. etiam Vol. r. lib. viii.

might animate the workmen. He took his post in the most dangerous situation he could choose, standing upon a gabion, and leaning upon his arm over the parapet, while the enemy were firing chain-shot at the very spot where he stood. There seemed to be a fatality in this unreasonable exertion of courage. *Charles* had never indeed avoided danger on any occasion; but he exposed his person unnecessarily, and incurred the imputation of rashness from the meanest soldier in the army. The engineer *Megret*, and his aid-de-camp *M. Siker*, intreated him to change his situation; but *Charles* was obstinate, and kept his station where he could be of no service, merely to shew that he was proof against cannon-bullets. They saw the king fall upon the parapet, uttering a deep groan; they ran to him, and found him dead; a small cannon ball had struck him on the right temple, beat in the left eye, and forced the right quite out of the socket. The misfortune was concealed from the soldiers, the body was covered with a cloak, and carried through the troops by the name of captain *Carlborn*, until advice could be sent to the prince of *Hesse* (A).

Thus died *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*, in the 36th year of his age, the most dreaded and admired prince of his age, and who might justly be deemed the greatest hero, the most glorious and fortunate monarch in the universe, had his valour been tempered with prudence, and had he not pushed to excess those virtues which would have rendered any other prince immortal. His justice became cruelty, his courage might be termed insensibility, his constancy was carried to a degree of obstinacy, his liberality to profusion, and all his gallantry favoured strongly of insanity. *Motraye* attributes his rashness to his belief of predestination; we would rather impute it to constitution. *Charles* had a body and soul of iron; neither cold, fatigue, nor hunger, could affect the one; neither prosperity nor adversity could move the other. He was the same in all situations; and though his portrait be blazoned out with all the beauties which the delicate pencil and glowing imagination of *Voltaire* could communicate, we must nevertheless acknowledge that *Charles* was little better than a gallant barbarian.

THE news of the king's death coming to the prince of *Hesse*, he assembled a council of the general officers, at which it was resolved to raise the siege of *Friderichshal*, to dispatch a party to arrest baron *Goertz*, who was on the road to *Norway*, and to acquaint the princess royal of the death of the king, her brother. Colonel *Baumgardon* was charged with the business of arresting the baron; he met him between *Stormstadt* and *Swinfundt*, demanded his sword and papers, and conducted him prisoner to *Udewatta*, where he was left under a strong guard. *Siker*, the king's aid-de-camp, was sent with the news to the princess at *Stockholm*, and it was confirmed a few days after by general *Bennet*. At the same time a report was published, that the army had proclaimed her royal highness queen; she was prayed for as such in the churches, before the senate or diet had taken any steps towards the election. The senate, however, thought that now was the season, for recovering the ancient privileges of the nation, and resolved to profit by the opportunity. They accordingly advised the princess to publish a declaration, promising entirely to abolish despotic power, and to renounce in her own name, and in that of her posterity, every prerogative inconsistent with the freedom of the people, and the ancient privileges of the senate, diet, and nation; and the princess, that she might act in a manner the most agreeable to her new subjects, convoked a diet of the states to sit at *Stockholm*, on the 31st day of *January*. Baron *Goertz* was conducted to the castle under a strong escort, and remitted to close prison. Count *Vander Nat*, the baron's chief secretary, all those who had the management of the finances, together with the creatures and domestics of the minister, were seized. A declaration likewise was published on the subject of the paper-currency, and the copper-money, which *Goertz* had lately passed for payment of the crown-debts and other purposes; where-

* *VOLT.* lib. viii. *MOTRAYE*, tom. ii. p. 396, 397. *PUFFEND.* tom. vi. lib. vii.

(A) The above is *M. Voltaire's* account, who differs in a variety of circumstances from *Motraye*, and the continuator of *Puffendorf*. These alledge, that *Megret*, *Siker*, and count *Swerin*, had left the king upon the parapet, and soon returned to execute a stratagem they had concerted to remove him out of so dangerous a situation. It was then near ten o'clock at night, and *Megret* not seeing by star-light that *Charles* was dead, spoke to him two or three times, and imagining he might be asleep, pulled his cloaths to awake him. The blood with which he was covered, gave the first intimation of the accident. *Megret* called out to the nearest officers, that he dreaded the worst; a light immediately was brought, by which they found the king's head terribly shattered

by a bullet of half a pound weight, his face turned quite behind with the violence of the stroke, a wound two inches wide in the right temple, both eyes miserably disfigured, and his right hand grasping the hilt of his sword (1), as if he wanted to revenge the blow, which deprived *Sweden* of her sovereign, and the army of a general, whose courage and liberality had entirely gained the affections of the soldiers. We shall not pretend to reconcile the different accounts of *Voltaire* and *Motraye*; though we cannot help observing, that the former rejects as false, every syllable of a conversation which the latter relates between the king and *Megret*, immediately before his death.

(1) *Puffend.* lib. vii. tom. vi. p. 283. *Motraye Trav.* p. 397. tom. ii.

a by the first was wholly abolished, and the latter reduced to its intrinsic value. All this was done by the princess royal and her council. She had assumed all the prerogatives of royalty; yet when the diet met, they first declared that they had voluntarily assembled themselves to elect a successor to the vacant throne; they treated the princess only as the king's sister, and not as their sovereign; however, they intimated that they could never think of any other sovereign than her royal highness, provided she would subscribe to the form of government they were about to propose. Soon after they prayed that her highness would give them a written assurance, that she was willing to hold her crown by free election, without claiming to herself any hereditary right as the sister of their monarch. A. D. 1719.

b THE form of government proposed by the states, which was intended to serve as a rule to the queen and her successors, was couched in forty articles, containing in substance, That her majesty should never profess any other mode of faith, than that prescribed in the doctrines of *Luther*; that if her majesty should have issue, they should, *cæteris paribus*, have the preference in the election of a successor; that no prince raised to the throne should be declared of age, or qualified to govern, before he arrived at the age of one and twenty years; that no subject should be declared major before the same age; that all the considerable employments of the kingdom should be given to the native nobility, who have shewn themselves deserving by their services; that no laws made without their consent, should be binding to the states; that the sovereign should not encrease the burthen of taxes without the approbation of the assembly; that she should not conclude peace or declare war, c without the advice and approbation of the senate, and indeed of the states; that her majesty should be enabled to support the whole weight of government by an assisting council, composed of officers, senators, and the intendants of provinces; that all public acts of government should receive the sanction of the senate; that the senators should be nominated by the nobility, with the queen's approbation; that when her majesty should either be absent or indisposed, the affairs of state should be regulated in the senate by a plurality of voices; that on the throne's becoming vacant, without hereditary issue, the government should fall into the hands of the senate, until the meeting of the states for the election of a successor; that no gentleman should receive sentence in any other tribunal than the royal court, termed *Hoffraten*, in points regarding his life or honour; that the presidents of the respective colleges, as well as the governor of *Stockholm*, should be senators; d that henceforward there should be no governors, general or particular; but the provinces should be governed by intendants; that the officers of the army and fleet should take an oath of allegiance to her majesty, the kingdom, and the states; that no colonel or other officer should presume to march without orders from her majesty, given in full senate, or soldier quit his post or quarters, under penalty of his life and honour; that the states should be regularly assembled every three years, and oftener when the affairs of state required their meeting; that the *Swedish* nobility should have the power to elect a mareschal; that the nobles of *Esthonia*, *Livonia*, and *Oesel*, should be reinstated in all their privileges, whenever a happy peace should restore those provinces to the crown of *Sweden*; e that the same regard should be shewn to the nobility of the *German* provinces, upon a similar event; and that her majesty should confirm to all the cities, towns, and corporations, their several rights and privileges. This new form of government was signed by the grand mareschal, the archbishop of *Upsal*, the first burgo-master of *Stockholm*, and the secretary of the peasants, and it was afterwards ratified by the queen, and stamped with the great seal of *Sweden*. Nothing indeed could be more equitable than these conditions, upon which the crown was offered to the princess royal, and she by her acceptance gave a strong proof of her good sense and moderation. The states had suffered numberless mortifications from the arbitrary disposition of their late monarch, and they had been in a manner cozened out of their privileges by his royal father *Charles XI*; the opportunity now offered of redeeming their rights, and they were very excusable to embrace it: while the queen was no less prudent in renouncing a prerogative, which could be of no use to a good sovereign, and afforded a wicked prince the means of rendering a whole nation wretched.

f THE people being in this manner restored to their ancient privileges, demanded a victim to expiate the crimes and disorders committed under the late administration. Baron *Goertz* was regarded by the nobility and clergy as the author of all the oppressive measures of the late reign; for such was the universal veneration for *Charles*, that they even declined directly aspersing his memory. A charge was formally drawn up, and the minister was accused of peculation, of ruining public credit by imaginary money; of a design to destroy the king and army, by advising him to a ruinous campaign in the inhospitable kingdom of *Norway*, amidst the rigours of a severe winter; and of drawing the enemy into the very heart of the kingdom, with intention to regulate the succession according

*Baron Goertz
condemned and
executed.*

cording to his own pleasure. *Goertz* defend-d himself with great ability, and clearly in- a
 validated almost every article of the impeachment. His circumstances were a proof that
 he had applied none of the public money to his own use; the necessity of the times apolo-
 gised for his substituting imaginary money to supply the wants of the treasury; and pos-
 sibly such a measure might have proved of national advantage, had it been pursued with
 more discretion. The design was certainly vast, and what has been successfully adopted
 in all great commercial states, where paper-credit answers every purpose of specie. *Lewis*
XIV. and the regent duke of *Orleans* made frequent alterations in the coin, without the
 least damage to public credit. With respect to the campaign in *Norway*, it was wholly a
 measure of the king's own, and quite foreign to the plan drawn up by *Goertz*, though the
 minister acceded to it, merely to draw *Charles* more easily into his own great project of b
 being reconciled to the czar of *Muscovy*; and as to the baron's design of setting aside the
 princess royal, and placing his natural prince, the duke of *Holstein*, on the throne, that
 charge was merely conjectural, and never supported by any proofs. Indeed his intrigues
 were not yet sufficiently ripe to enter upon this measure, though it is highly probable he
 would have preferred the duke to the princess. However, notwithstanding *Goertz's* de-
 fence was clear and irrefragable, the process went on, without regard to regularity, and
 perhaps to equity. He was denied the advice of a lawyer, and the assistance of an ad-
 vocate; and the court and people seemed equally determined to take his life, the one
 from prejudice, and the other from reasons which they did not care to publish. In a word,
 the unhappy minister was abandoned in his distress by all mankind; even the duke of c
Holstein was mean enough to pay his court to the queen, by dismissing *Goertz* from his
 service, and removing his protection; and he was condemned to lose his head under a
 gibbet, at a place appointed for the execution of thieves and felons, after having been
 first degraded from all his titles, and losing the order of *Orange*, with which he had
 been honoured by the king of *Prussia*. *Goertz* heard his sentence pronounced without
 emotion; and he desired no other remission of the judgment passed than that he should
 not be buried under the gallows. This he petitioned, but could not obtain the least
 mitigation. He drew up his justification in prison, wrote his own epitaph, and declared
 with his last breath, that he died a martyr to his fidelity to the king and duke of *Holstein*.
 He was conducted to the place of execution, desired leave to address himself to the people; d
 but being refused took off his wig and cravat, which he gave to his valet, unbuttoned
 his collar, and laid his neck with the utmost intrepidity on the block, saying in *German*,
 "Glut yourself, *Sweden*, with that blood, for which you have so craving an appetite."
 Scarce had he pronounced these words when his head was severed by one blow from his
 body; and thus perished the celebrated baron *Goertz*, for crimes which he never com-
 mitted; at the same time he merited death for divers others of which he was not
 accused (A).

HAVING performed this act of justice, as it was called, to the state, preparations were
 made for celebrating with great pomp the funeral obsequies of the late monarch; and no
 sooner was this last duty and mark of respect paid, than the court turned their thoughts to e
 the coronation of the new sovereign. The ceremony was performed with the utmost mag-
 nificence at *Upsal*; and what rendered it the more agreeable to the nation was, that it was
 preceded by a general act of amnesty; her majesty having resolved to begin her reign with
 proofs of her clemency.

Treaty with
 Great Bri-
 tain, and peace
 with the elec-
 tor of Hano-
 ver.

NOR was it in the form of the constitution alone that the death of *Charles XII.* wrought
 a happy change; the affairs of *Europe* in general assumed a new appearance, and all the
 courts breathed nothing but mild and pacific sentiments. *Goertz's* vast projects for ex-
 citing a fresh war were all at an end; the whole plan concerted at *Abland* vanished; and
Sweden was now in such a situation as admitted of no alternative: peace was to be em-
 braced at all events; and it might be regarded as fortunate, that the basis of an accommo- f
 dation with *Russia*, the most powerful enemy, was laid during the late administration,
 though at the expence of several valuable provinces. The queen made no scruple of ac-
 cepting the proposed mediation of *England*, notwithstanding *Charles XII.* regarded the
 elector of *Hanover* as one of the most insidious of all his enemies. *Great Britain* became

^a PUFFEND. lib. vii. VOLT. apud fin.

(A) In his justification the baron complains, that he
 was denied the privilege of writing in his own de-
 fence, or employing counsel; that he had only six
 hours given him to examine all the acts and documents
 of a three years administration, and then to rely whol-
 ly on his memory; that the commissaries were not
 bound down by customary oaths; that notwithstand-

ing baron *Mullern* had borne testimony, that he (*Goertz*)
 was authorised in every particular by the king, and
 was at the same time the minister of *Holstein*, no re-
 gard was paid either to civil rights, or the laws esta-
 blished among nations. To these several other particu-
 lars were added.

mediatrix

a mediatrix of the differences between her king, as elector of *Hanover*, and the court of *Sweden*; and a double treaty was signed much about the same time; the first between the two crowns, and the next between her *Swedish* majesty and the king of *England*, in quality of elector of *Hanover*. The one contained a renewal of the ancient amity between the two kingdoms, and the other an accommodation between the queen and the elector; by which the latter agreed to pay her majesty a million of crowns, on condition that *Bremen* and *Verden* should be ceded to him in perpetuity ⁱ.

SWEDEN having got rid of one enemy by this peace with the elector, and secured an ally, in consequence of the treaty with the crown of *Great Britain*, began to resume more courage. The czar expected the same terms stipulated at the congress of *Abland*, and these a few weeks before would have been cheerfully granted; but the queen now ventured to refuse them, as oppressive and iniquitous. To enforce his demands the czar recommenced hostilities, and put to sea with thirty men of war and near three hundred galleys. Making a descent on the coast of *Sweden*, he burnt *Norkoping*, *Nycoping*, *Noor-Telgie*, *Suder-Telgie*, a great number of villages, farms, and villas, destroying likewise abundance of iron-works, smelting-mills, and founderies. The czar's design was, by this severity, to force *Sweden* to accept whatever terms he thought proper to impose. After burning, pillaging, and laying waste the coasts of the kingdom, he sent *Osterman* to *Stockholm*, with the most rigid proposals, and, among others, demanded the absolute cession of *Esthonia*, *Ingria*, and *Carelia*, together with the sequestration of *Livonia* in his hands, for the space of forty years. The queen, however, continued steady in her refusal, being supported by the countenance of *Great Britain*, and the arrival of admiral *Norris* with a *British* squadron of twenty-eight men of war; a force more than equivalent to the whole naval power of *Russia*. This declaration from *Great Britain* proved decisive, and first paved the way to an accommodation with his *Prussian* majesty; that prince having agreed, in consideration of having *Stetin* ceded to him, to oblige all the other enemies of *Sweden* to accept reasonable conditions. For some time indeed the czar persisted in hostilities, refusing to accept the mediation of *Great Britain*; but finding that *Prussia* was already brought over, that the king of *Denmark* yielded to the influence of the *British* fleet, and that the republic of *Poland* had consented to a preliminary treaty with *Sweden*, he began to entertain more moderate sentiments.

d AMIDST this labyrinth of negotiation and intrigue the queen assembled the states at *Stockholm*, and laid before them the situation of affairs, the alliances which she had contracted; the treaties she had formed, and the reconciliations she had effected with some of the neighbouring powers, desiring their advice and assistance in the pursuit of a solid, honourable, and general pacification. This was the subject of the first meeting; on the second day her majesty sent a proposition which greatly astonished all her subjects, as they had not the least intimation of her design. She declared that she believed it for the good of her kingdom, that her royal consort should be elected king, and associated with her in the government. She renewed her assurances of her own and her consort's detestation of despotic principles; she bestowed the highest encomiums on the form of government established by the states, protested that the prince her husband had first suggested to her the idea of renouncing every prerogative that was inconsistent with the perfect freedom and happiness of her people; called God to witness that he was a true *Lutheran*, and would defend the evangelic faith with his blood; represented the dangers to which he had already exposed his person in the cause of *Sweden*, enumerated his good qualities, and the advantages which would necessarily result from having a prince on the throne who was capable of heading the national armies, and commanding respect as well as esteem; she gave, on her own part, the most ample assurances, that she would never attempt extending the prerogative of the crown; and declared, that, should her royal consort ever be seduced to that measure by evil counsellors, she would be foremost to stand up in defence of liberty, to join the states against all opposition, and resign the crown which she no longer merited; she desired they might adjust the succession in whatever manner they should think reasonable; and concluded with acquainting them, it should be the study of her life to merit this instance of the regard of her subjects. When the queen's proposition was read to the states, count *Horn* proposed, that it should be duly examined by twenty-four commissaries chosen by the states. The count was mareschal of the nobles, and they thought it advisable, that the proposal should be likewise communicated to the two lower estates, as well as to the senate, that whatever was done might have the entire approbation of the nation ^k. His advice was followed, and warm debates arose, which took up several days without coming to any determination. The nobility themselves were divided into three factions; the first were for grant-

A. D. 1720.
The queen proposes to have her husband raised to the sovereign authority.

Debates in the assembly of the states.

ⁱ Idem ibid.

^k PUFFEND. lib. vii.

ing the queen's request without alteration; the second did not oppose raising the prince to the dignity of sovereign, but they required that the queen should renounce her authority, and delegate it entirely upon her husband; and the third was for keeping matters upon the present footing. a

THERE WAS more harmony among the commons, or the order of peasants. Their deputies declared, in the name of the whole body, that, perfectly satisfied with the good intentions of her majesty and his royal highness, they gave their unlimited approbation to her royal request, and heartily requested the concurrence of the other orders of the kingdom, without which they could not expect that their consent would produce any effect. As soon as the prince was informed that a majority of the states approved of his election, he sent a second declaration of his intentions, wherein he promised not only to practise the *Lutheran* religion; but to defend it with his life, and prohibit the exercise of any other mode of faith within the kingdom; to maintain the people in all their rights and privileges, and the states in the full exertion of their prerogatives; to govern by advice of the senate, and agreeable to the new-established form of government, or any other which the states should think fit to propose: he promised to surrender to the mercy of the states whoever should advise him to attempt extending the crown-prerogative; and to absolve the subjects from their allegiance in case he should be seduced to measures contrary to their freedom, and tending to despotism; and lastly, he gave the most solemn assurances, that he would never cede by treaty, mortgage, or alienate from the crown, any of the *Swedish German* dominions, unless by advice of the senate and general assembly of the states. Notwithstanding the prince had promised all that could be required, the nobility, joined to a part of the clergy, represented to the queen the inconveniencies of dividing the sovereign authority; upon which she told them that it was never her design to reserve to herself any share of the supreme authority, during the life-time of his highness, but to provide, for the future, and delegate, at the death of either, the whole power upon the survivor. In a word, she desired nothing more than to secure the crown to the longest liver. The debates were now again resumed by the nobility; for as to the other orders, they were entirely satisfied with this new declaration; and thought it highly necessary that the crown should be given to the prince upon the same footing as the parliament had bestowed the crown of *Great Britain* upon *William III.* prince of *Orange*. At length, after tedious altercation, it was unanimously resolved, that his highness should be raised to the sovereign authority: accordingly an act of election was drawn out in the same terms as that used at the queen's election; and upon the prince's subscribing it, he was proclaimed king, with the usual formalities, by the heralds. b

4th April.

The prince is proclaimed king, and some alterations are made in the form of government.

FOR the whole month of *April* violent debates were maintained, concerning the form of government, the changes to be made, and the necessary additions to that constitution which was established the preceding year. The king and queen had consented to all the alterations which should be thought necessary; and the states thought they ought to profit by so fair an opportunity of securing liberty to the latest posterity: they little imagined that one politic subtle reign would be sufficient to overthrow all the works they had been erecting with so much pains, for the defence of freedom. By the 21st of *May* all the orders came to an agreement; and the form of government, with all the intended alterations, was presented to the king, to which he subscribed without hesitation. Agreeable to this form the number of senators was limited to sixteen, after the death of those who now possessed that honour should reduce it to that standard. Public business was divided among the senators, and their particular duties assigned to each. The senators were no longer to direct the colleges; but these bodies were henceforward to be composed of the gentlemen of landed interest, acquainted with the business of the colleges, without respect to any particular order. Next day the king was crowned with the same magnificence observed at the queen's coronation; the same day peace with *England*, *Poland*, *Prussia*, and *Denmark*, was proclaimed, as an auspicious beginning to the new reign. The treaty with *Denmark* imported, that his *Danish* majesty, should, under no pretence, aid, assist, or any way afford countenance to the czar of *Muscovy*, until he had concluded a peace with *Sweden*; that until then no *Russian* ships should be admitted into the *Danish* ports or harbours; that his *Danish* majesty should evacuate all the towns, cities, and territories, occupied during the present war, and seized violently from *Sweden*, at a time when she was oppressed by other enemies; by this was understood the provinces of *Pomerania* quite to the river *Pena*, the city and fortress of *Stralsund* to the isle of *Rugen*, the fortrels of *Marstrand*, the city of *Wismar*, &c. In his turn, the king of *Sweden* agreed to pay a certain equivalent in money, to claim no exemption from the duties of the *Sound*, but to be upon the same footing, in that respect, with *England* and *Holland*^m; that his *Swedish* majesty should, c

Treaties with Denmark and Poland.

^m Present State of Europe, cap. iv.

a besides other considerations, pay to the crown of *Denmark* the sum of 600,000 crowns; that the prisoners of both nations should be mutually released without ransom; and that *Wismar* should be dismantled, and not again fortified.

As to *Poland*, the treaty with that crown contained in substance, that his majesty should acknowledge *Augustus* as sole and legitimate sovereign, renounce *Stanislaus*, and assist his *Polish* majesty in preserving peace and tranquility in *Great Poland*, the grand duchy of *Lithuania*, &c. while *Augustus*, on his part, consented that *Stanislaus* should for his life retain the name and honours of majesty, but not the arms or title of *Poland*; granted a general amnesty to all who had declared for *Stanislaus*, and restored them to their estates, honours, and employments.

b *PETER the Great*, czar of *Muscovy*, was now the only remaining enemy of *Sweden*; but his extraordinary talents, power, and resources, rendered him the most formidable potentate of the north. *Peter* had, from a nation of savages, unacquainted with every art that contributes to adorn the mind, or enrich a kingdom, brought the *Russians* to make a considerable figure in the art of war, ship-building, and divers trades and manufactures. He had opened a mart at *Petersburgh*, to which port he drew all the commerce of the *Baltic*; and had by large presents and vast encouragement, filled *Russia* with the best artists, in every kind, that could be found in *England*, *France*, and *Holland*. He knew his own importance, the strength of his forces, and demanded terms proportioned to the hazard *Sweden* must run by continuing the war. The combined fleets of *England* and *Sweden* did not intimidate him from sending a powerful squadron to cruize along the enemy's coasts; and he was rendered more bold, by an advantage which a part of the *Russian* squadron obtained over the *Swedish*, in which four ships of the latter were taken. Five *Swedish* galleys, with several small vessels, had been stationed off *Flyseburgh*, and attacked by fifteen *Russian* galleys. They made a running fight, in order to join the vice-admiral, who lay at some distance with a man of war and two frigates. In despite of all the enemy's endeavours they made good the junction, but were soon surrounded by thirty *Russian* vessels of different sizes. A sharp engagement began, and in all appearance victory would have declared for the *Swedish* vice-admiral, who made terrible destruction with his heavy cannon, had not unfortunately two frigates and two galleys run a-ground and fallen a prey to the enemy. This obliged the *Swedes* to croud sail, break through the enemy, and retire to *Carelsroon*, after having sold, at a high price, the honour of an advantage to the *Russians*. Such was the victory, for which the czar entered *Petersburgh* in triumph.

Proposal for a peace with Russia.

Interruptions to the peace.

c While hostilities were committing on the ocean, the czar carried his politeness so high, as to send his adjutant-general *Romansdorff* to *Stockholm*, to congratulate the king on his accession, and make fresh proposals of peace; but they were so extravagant, as scarce to merit a hearing. The court of *Sweden*, in her turn, desired to settle a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, and an armistice for the season. The *Russian* general declared, that both points exceeded his instructions; upon which the king sent general *Dalhman* to solicit the cartel at *Petersburgh*. Almost all the winter was consumed in fruitless negotiations, and preparations for recommencing hostilities; for which purpose the states were assembled, the king desiring their advice, on the means of pursuing the war with vigour, or of immediately terminating it by a solid peace. Before the diet met, the sieur *Hopkens*, resident from *Sweden* at the court of *Vienna*, brought to *Stockholm* a scheme of preliminaries, concerted between the czar and the duke of *Holstein*: however, as it was merely verbal, it might be disavowed, and the court chose therefore to place little confidence in it. Besides, it contained certain articles to which *Sweden* could not well accede, without injury to the king's honour and the nation; but it was not doubted, but the czar would relax in these, as it was obvious from the concessions made in this plan, that he was not averse to peace. The propositions made here imported, that the czar should guarantee to the duke of *Holstein* the restitution of *Sleswick*, with the title of royal highness, and right of succession to the crown of *Sweden*. That his czarish should give his eldest daughter in marriage to the said duke, with the provinces of *Finland*, *Esthonia*, and *Livonia*, for a portion; which might, on the duke's accession, revert to the crown of *Sweden*. The duke of *Holstein* should consent to the states preserving their right of election: and that should those propositions be rejected, his highness hoped the court of *Sweden* would not be offended at his joining with the czar, in order to maintain his right by force of arms.

A. D. 1721.

f FROM the reserved manner of the court of *Sweden*, where these propositions were presented, it was manifest they were far from approving the duke of *Holstein's* conduct. The public was more incensed at *Hopkens*, who had returned without leave from *Germany*, and a peace with the czar.

Congress at Niewstadt, and a peace with the czar.

* PEFFEND. ubi supra.

with a plan of pacification, no way to the credit or advantage of his country. After having ^a been closely examined before the king and senate, he was confined to his house, and severely reprimanded, for his irregular and unprecedented conduct. Notwithstanding the severity with which the resident was treated, it was generally believed, that he paved the way to negotiations; and this opinion was confirmed by advice, that the czar had appointed plenipotentiaries to attend a congress fixed to sit at *Niewstadt*, to adjust a suspension of arms, and preliminaries of peace. Yet, although matters were in this forwardness, *Peter* resolved to treat sword-in-hand, and with that view ordered general *Lesley* to sail with a squadron, to annoy the *Swedish* commerce, and spread terror along the sea-coast. *Lesley* landed his troops at a place called *Escrum*, advanced into the country, burnt some magazines without resistance, and pillaged and laid waste the towns of *Sunderham*, *Gude-^b wink-Iwald*, *Sunweld*, and *Erslund*, five hundred hamlets, and twenty-eight parishes. On his return, he took two galleys, burnt four, and made prize of two large merchantmen, and twenty-five small vessels. These successes enabled the czar to treat with a high hand; though not very considerable, they sufficiently evinced his power, and the more readily disposed his *Swedish* majesty to accept of his proposals. In consequence, the plenipotentiaries at *Niewstadt* found little difficulty in establishing preliminaries for a peace, which should restore the antient amity between the two nations. By this treaty, *Livonia*, *Ingermania*, part of *Carelia*, the territory of *Wiburgh*, the islands *Oesel*, *Dragac*, and *Moen*, were ceded to the czar; who, on his side, restored the great duchy of *Finland* to *Sweden*, except that part of it reserved to *Russia* in marking out the frontiers of both nations. Besides, the ^c czar consented to pay his *Swedish* majesty the sum of two millions of crowns, and permit his subjects to purchase to the amount of 50,000 rubles yearly in corn, at *Revel*, *Riga*, *Wiburgh*, and other places, now annexed to the *Russian* empire. All this corn might be imported duty free into *Sweden*, or sent wherever the purchasers thought proper; the czar agreed not to interpose in the domestic concerns of *Sweden*, and particularly in the form of government lately established. *Livonia*, *Esthonia*, and the isle of *Oesel*, were to be preserved in all their privileges. The inhabitants were to be suffered to exercise the same religion they had before professed. The prisoners, on either side, were to be set at liberty without ransom; and all deserters and malefactors who had taken shelter in the dominions of either to be surrendered without hesitation or demur. Upon the whole, the treaty was disliked in *Sweden*; some ^d blamed the vast cessions made to *Russia*, alledging, that the same conditions might have been obtained long since, and before great part of the kingdom had been laid waste during the sitting of the congress and negotiations, which in the end turned out to the disgrace of the kingdom. It is nevertheless certain, that *Sweden* could not, at this juncture, avoid receiving law from *Russia*, after maintaining, for a great number of years, a ruinous war against all the potentates of the north; during which whole armies were destroyed and enslaved, the king obliged to live in a state of exile among infidels, the people brought to the extreme verge of misery by oppressive necessary taxes, and the whole nation in a state of discord, confusion and wretchedness; drained of men and money, trade at the last gasp, industry expiring, the fleet ruined, and neither ships nor forces to protect the ^e coast against the repeated alarms of the *Russians*, who swept the *Baltic* with an air of triumph, and flourished the greatest maritime power in the north ^f.

The imperial
ambassador
raises distur-
bances at
court.
A. D. 1723.

THERE were other circumstances besides, which rendered it necessary to come to an accommodation with the czar. While *Sweden* was wrapped up in the congress at *Niewstadt*, there arose a cloud from another quarter, which threatened an abrupt issue to the harmony subsisting between *Sweden* and certain neighbouring powers. The first appearance was excited by count *Freytag*, minister from the emperor at *Stockholm*. In a memorial presented by this ambassador to the king, he complained of a violation of his privileges, by a guard set over his house and baron *Schwerin*'s, to prevent their deciding a difference between them by the sword. The king referred the contents of the memorial to ^f the senate, who submitted it to the colleges, as belonging to their province. The decision was, that baron *Schwerin*, though a major-general in the king's service, should make his acknowledgments to the ambassador. *Freytag* was not satisfied with this: he renewed his complaints, and received for answer from the king's own mouth, that he had all the regard possible for the count's person and character, and respect for his imperial majesty; and that if the reparation made appeared insufficient, he would take care his excellency should have justice done to him in a more ample and explicit manner. Notwithstanding this favourable answer, the minister continued to throw out the most disrespectful menaces against *Schwerin*, saying, among other things, that should he ever presume to enter his door, he would throw him over the window. This was a downright insult on the king in the person of his major-general; yet his majesty contented himself with remind-

^p Idem. ibid.

ing

a ing the ambassador of what he said, and before whom he spoke, which so provoked the petulant minister, that he carried his complaints to the emperor and before the court of *Vienna*. Upon this he was forbid coming to court; but, to qualify this prohibition, *Schwerin* was at the same time told, that his majesty desired he would likewise absent himself. Besides this, the king lodged a formal complaint against the disrespectful conduct of the ambassador, at the court of *Vienna*, with a full justification of his own behaviour, and his strong desire of shewing all the regard to the imperial minister that was consistent with his own honour; but before any answer returned, count *Freitag* repaired to the court of *Denmark*, quitting *Stockholm* without giving the least intimation of his departure. He resided at *Copenhagen* all the ensuing year, when he received an order from the emperor to return to *Stockholm*, and make all possible reparation to his *Swedish* majesty for the indignity offered to his authority by his presumption. Nothing could be more mortifying to the count's haughty spirit, than such a concession; but he was forced to comply: the court of *Vienna* saw so clearly that his heat, passion, and pride, had led him into error, that she wisely determined not to vindicate the misconduct of her minister. The king received his apologies with great dignity, but at the same time requested of the emperor, that he would not carry his punishment of the count so far as to withdraw his employment. In consequence, *Freitag* was permitted to continue at *Stockholm*, the king reconciled him to *Schwerin*, and in this manner an affair was made up, which had almost involved *Sweden* in fresh troubles, before she had time to respire after her long struggles, which she had but just terminated.

c ANOTHER affair of almost a similar nature occurred about the same time. The sieur *Rumf*, the *Dutch* resident, presented a memorial to the king, desiring reparation of an insult offered to one of his domesticks, by an insolent soldier upon guard, who had snatched away the domestick's hat, because it happened to be laced with silver. He affirmed that his servants were not subject to the sumptuary laws established in *Sweden*, and demanded that the soldier might be punished. The affair, though seemingly trivial, engaged the attention of the senate, by whom it was taken into consideration, and the soldier sentenced to eight days imprisonment, during which time he should be restricted to bread and water. These frivolous quarrels we have mentioned merely to shew how *Sweden* was humbled since the death of *Charles XII.* who would have declared war against the emperor and the republic, rather than have made concessions that would in the least derogate from the dignity of his crown. But what was thought of more consequence, was another memorial presented by the *Dutch* resident, touching the payment of the remainder of the 750,000 florins lent to the late king in the year 1702, upon the customs and entries of the port of *Riga*. This was not the first time the same demand had been made, and repeated answers had been given, that the *Swedish* court could not possibly adjust the affair while *Riga* was in the hands of the *Russians*, without the consent of the court of *Moscow*. The king now returned the same answer; promising withal, to exert his utmost influence with that court to procure satisfaction to their high mightinesses the states general; and indeed he had made provision for this in the late treaty executed at *Nieuwstadt*. A. D. 1724

e HIS *Swedish* majesty having disengaged his hands from all these foreign transactions, now applied his whole attention to enable his subjects to reap the fruits of that tranquillity and repose which they had but just tasted. His endeavours met with success; commerce revived, industry flourished, the mines and manufactures were diligently cultivated, all abuses in the public government and police were carefully regulated, order was restored to the finances, the treasury was replenished, forts and garrisons were put in a posture of defence, and the troops on a better footing than they had been for a series of years. In this manner was he employed when the treaties of *Vienna* and *Hanover* once more involved him in foreign negotiations. The ministers of *France* and *England* having communicated these treaties to the *Swedish* commissaries, they found themselves considerably embarrassed. f The *French* and *English* residents required that *Sweden* would accede to the treaty, about which the court had difficulties, out of respect to the emperor and the court of *Moscow*. A variety of conferences were held upon this subject, and matters were in a fair train of proving satisfactory to all parties, when the court of *Denmark* introduced a fresh subject, of litigation. The king of *Denmark* represented, by his minister, that being informed of certain schemes carrying on by the duke of *Holstein*, to the prejudice of *Denmark*, which that prince proposed executing with the assistance of *Russia*, his majesty found himself under the necessity of having recourse to the proper means to frustrate those designs; he therefore declared, that the preparations and armaments he was about to set on foot, had no other object than self defence, and opposing the views of the duke of *Holstein*; that the intention of the court of *Denmark* was to live upon the most amicable terms with *Sweden*, and rigidly to observe the late treaties executed between the two crowns; his majesty therefore hoped, that the king of *Sweden* harboured the same sentiments, and would give proofs of

Difficulties
about the treat-
ies of *Vienna*
and *Hanover*.

A. D. 1725.

A. D. 1726.

of his good disposition, by discountenancing the schemes formed by the duke of *Holstein*, which might terminate in kindling a fresh war in the *North*. His *Swedish* majesty answered, that his determination was, punctually to execute all the treaties subsisting between the two kingdoms, and to cultivate the friendship of *Denmark*; but at the same time he equipped a fleet with the utmost expedition, upon advice that an *English* squadron had entered the *Baltic*. A body of troops was besides ordered to the sea coast, and the militia was armed and encamped in certain stations, thought the most convenient for opposing an invasion. Notwithstanding the king of *Great-Britain* gave the strongest assurances, that the destination of his fleet was to oppose the *Russians*, and to prevent any attacks from that quarter on *Sweden* or *Denmark*; yet the court continued the preparations, but was at last forced to yield to the solicitations of *France* and *England*, by acceding to the treaty of *Hanover*. The *Swedish* ministers at foreign courts spoke of this as a matter already concluded, and that was only deferred until the states were assembled, that it might pass through the constitutional channel, and be sanctified with the entire approbation of the people.

MEAN-TIME the Imperial, *Russian*, and *Holstein* ministers were labouring to persuade the court to reject the proposals of *France* and *England*. The emperor presented, by the hands of his minister at *Stockholm*, an act of the court of *Vienna*'s accession to the treaty concluded between *Sweden* and *Russia*; a treaty in which was stipulated, by a secret article, that measures should be taken for the restitution of *Sleswick* to the duke of *Holstein*, in order that the tranquillity of the *North* might be established on a more solid basis; but his *Swedish* majesty declared, that he would not interpose in the disputes of the imperial court, with respect to the interests of *Spain*, *Italy*, and the *Ostend* company.

As to the court of *Muscovy* it was every day presenting fresh memorials. Sometimes the *Russian* minister demanded the assistance stipulated in the last treaty, to oppose the enterprizes of the *English* squadron; at other times he said, that the *Russian* fleet was in a condition to withstand the combined squadrons of *England* and *Denmark*; upon which he desired the advice of the king of *Sweden*, and the stipulated assistance, should it be found necessary to repel insults. All these memorials made no alteration in the conduct of his majesty, as it was obvious they were calculated only to prevent his acceding to the treaty of *Hanover*, by putting on the appearance of an approaching rupture between *Great-Britain* and *Russia*. At last the duke of *Holstein* sent two letters to the king and the states, representing, that although a variety of circumstances had hitherto concurred to prevent the performance of that article of the late treaty, regarding the restitution of *Sleswick*, yet that his highness now expected this justice from the courts of *Stockholm* and *Moscow*. He intimated the readiness with which the emperor entered into his interests, from pure motives of equity; and hoped, that his *Swedish* majesty, who was bound down by engagements, would not shew himself more backward. "We are assured, says he, that the states of the kingdom will have so much pity, compassion, and love for justice, as not to obstruct a measure tending to restore me, after so long and direful an oppression, to my legitimate right; especially as it is known to the whole world, that our hereditary dominions have fallen a sacrifice to the service of *Sweden*. We need not enter into a detail how far it is the interest of *Sweden* to provide that *Denmark* be not enabled by the revenues of the duchy of *Sleswick*, again to disturb the tranquillity of the *North*: that we shall submit to the judgment of the king and the states; requesting of them only to reflect upon the hardship it will be on us, after so much patience and resignation, after so many promises and expectations, to be at last disappointed of succeeding to our right, at a time when the interest of *Sweden* is equally concerned with our own, in seeing this justice executed."

To this letter the king returned no answer, any more than to a memorial presented by count *Freytag*, relative to the accession of *Sweden* to the treaty of *Hanover*. He feared the consequences of engaging in a labyrinth of intrigues, and resolved to pursue the plainest method, without regarding the imperialists protestations, that the treaty of *Hanover* tended to subvert the *Germanic* constitution, and destroy the subordination of the members to the head of the empire. He intimated that the king of *Great Britain*'s intention was to secure the *Swedish* succession to the younger princes his grand children, on the vacancy of the crown by the demise of his sacred majesty. Little regard, however, was paid to insinuations which looked like the last efforts of despair, of succeeding in a measure on which the emperor had set his heart. At last the accession of the states to the treaty of *Hanover* was published, accompanied with a paper, declaring the motives upon which the resolutions of the diet were formed. Here it was represented, that after a strict examination of precedents, documents, proofs, and papers relative to foreign affairs, in the senate, chancery, and colleges; after perusing all the secret correspondences of ministers, the conferences with foreign ambassadors, the memorials and pieces upon this subject, the diet

- a diet saw no reason to regard the treaty of *Hanover* in any other light than a compact merely defensive, with a view to the preservation of the public repose, and which could only prove displeasing to those powers who meditated disturbing the public quiet. Hence it followed, that acceding to this treaty could not be regarded as an infraction of any preceding alliances; for as all the powers were at peace with each other, a stricter amity between *England* and *Sweden* could not justly give umbrage to the empire or *Russia*. On the contrary, it was expressly specified in the sixteenth article of the treaty of peace with *Russia*, that the two treaties were perfectly consistent. With respect to the affair of *Sleswick*, his *Swedish* majesty and the states apprehended, that acceding to the treaty of *Hanover* would be regarded as the most effectual measure for clearing up the intricacies, and removing all doubts which his royal highness might entertain of the court of *Sweden*, as it served to fulfil the treaty with *Russia*, without violence to the engagements contracted with *Denmark*, and guaranteed by so many different powers. For these reasons, and many others, which policy did not admit of being made public, the states recommended it to his majesty to close in with the proposals of *France* and *England*, and heartily accede to the treaty concluded at *Hanover*, under certain restrictions.

IMMEDIATELY on the publication of the king's resolution, the ministers of the courts of *Vienna* and *Moscow* absented themselves, and now published menaces, instead of the usual exhortations and promises; some time after, however, they returned to court, being either satisfied of the equity of his *Swedish* majesty's proceedings, or of the futility of impotent threatenings. A. D. 1727.

- c SCARCE had *Sweden*, by these means, been fortified by foreign alliances, and placed in a situation to redeem all the losses of the late war, when some domestic occurrences arose, to poison the felicity expected from such a series of wise and moderate measures. At the first sitting of the states the secret committee had put the count *Welling* in arrest, and seized all his papers. He was now cited to appear before the royal tribunal, and accused of a design to subvert the government, of secretly advising the king to recover the former prerogatives of his crown; of being in the interest of the court of *Holstein*, and in league with *Stameké* to fix the duke in the *Swedish* succession; of embezzling the public money while he had the government of the bishopricks of *Bremen* and *Verden*; of being a party in the pernicious projects of the late baron *Goertz*; and of having contributed to the ruin of general *Steenboek's* victorious army in *Holstein*, by his false and deceitful counsels. This was a charge the greater part of which was founded in malice; *Welling* refuted it with the utmost address and ability: but as some papers had been found in his cabinet, which sufficiently proved, that he carried on a secret correspondence with the duke of *Holstein*, all the other articles of the charge were taken for granted; and the secret committee were of opinion, that he deserved to be stripped of all his honours, dignities, employments, and estates, and that he ought to lose his head by the ignominious hands of the common executioner. On the day appointed for pronouncing sentence, his daughter, the countess of *Bannier*, presented a petition, praying, that, in consideration of his great age, her father might not be deprived of his life, or estate; but that he might be allowed to pass the remainder of his days in his castle; a request that was granted as far as it regarded his life, out of respect to her excellent qualities, and filial duty; but before he could be conveyed to the place of his exile, he died of a fever, and his estate was confiscated.

- f FOR several years *Sweden* lived in terms of friendship with all her neighbours, maintained a close correspondence with *Russia*, and seemed little disposed to yield to the claims of the duke of *Holstein* to the succession, from an apprehension of introducing changes in the constitution, which might prove fatal to liberty. This prince notwithstanding, who imagined his claim was undeniable, as only son to the queen's eldest sister, never dropped his intrigues to accomplish the great design of elevating himself to a throne. These were the remote causes of certain disturbances in the state, to which, on a superficial view, they seem to have no relation.

- EVER since the *British* fleet had made its appearance in the *Baltic*, to determine *Sweden* in favour of the treaty of *Hanover*, the king studied to connect himself intimately with *Great-Britain*, at the same time that he shewed the utmost respect for the house of *Austria*. It was universally imagined, that the policy of the court would continue to flow in this channel; but circumstances arose which disappointed the general opinion, had almost destroyed the fruits of the king's moderation, brought affairs back to the old system, and nearly ruined the constitution lately formed on the basis of national liberty and equity. A. D. 1738. A diet assembled in 1738, opened the first prospect of the approaching storm (A). The celebrated count *Tessin* was chosen marshal, and it soon appeared, that all his influence

(A) We have designedly passed over a period of ten years in silence, because nothing memorable occurred; but we thought it necessary to continue the history as low as we are enabled by authentic materials; because the affairs of *Sweden* are but very inaccurately treated in any of the publications which have fallen into our hands.

Sweden divided into factions.

and sagacity would be required to govern the headstrong multitude. On their first entrance on business it appeared that the diet was composed of persons whose sentiments were entirely contradictory; and when matters came to greater maturity and fuller explanation, it was found that three different factions almost included all the members of the diet, who ranged themselves under the standards of one or the other, as interest, prejudice, or inclination directed. The most powerful and active party was called the *Hats*, whose principles tended to the old system, exclaimed against the late treaty with *Russia*, and led them openly to declare in favour of an attempt to recover all the provinces which had been ceded through necessity. These were composed of the remains of the late king's military officers and servants, who retained part of his ambition, and the remembrance of the figure which *Sweden* made during his reign; together with that prince's martial spirit. The faction called by the cant-appellation of *Night-caps* was directly opposite in political principles to the *Hats*. They declared absolutely for peace, were satisfied with the cessions made to *Russia*, thought the present system ought to be preferred at all adventures, and endeavoured by every possible means to establish the tranquillity, revive the commerce, and cherish the spirit of industry, which had of late appeared in the nation. As to the *Hunting-caps*, a third faction, the adherents of this party steered a middle course, and fell in with one or other of the former, just as their sentiments happened to coincide with what they deemed the true interest of *Sweden*. Violent debates arose in the assembly, but it was not long before the *Hats* gained a considerable majority; though their opponents maintained their ground with such obstinacy, as occasioned the diet, contrary to custom, to sit almost a whole year. Before the assembly broke up several senators were expelled, for having approved and assisted at the late treaty with *Russia*. The animosity of the public was heightened by the misfortune of major *Sinclair*, a *Scotch* gentleman in the *Swedish* service, who was reported to have been murdered by a *Russian* officer at *Nuremburgh* in *Silesia*, and stripped of all his papers. In vain did the czarina disavow so base an action; in vain did she make restitution of the papers; she was exclaimed against as a perfidious violator of the laws of nations, and protectress of a vile assassin, because she had not put the officer to death who had committed the murder; and indeed this tenderness afforded strong presumptions that the officer acted agreeable to orders.

War with *Russia*.

A. D. 1740.

To these were added several other circumstances, that tended to widen the breach between the two nations; among the principal of which may be reckoned the death of the duke of *Holstein*, who regarded himself, and was indeed generally considered, as the presumptive heir to the crown of *Sweden*. The death of the empress of *Russia*, which happened soon after, contributed likewise to assist the designs of the *Hats* in promoting a rupture. At last matters were carried to such a length, that hostilities commenced in the month of *July* 1741, which were succeeded by a variety of bloody engagements. Fortune every where declared against *Sweden*; the same superiority which her troops claimed over the enemy for the three last reigns, was now due to the *Russians*, who to numbers joined valour and conduct. The repeated defeats sustained from *Charles XII.* and the indefatigable endeavours of the czar *Peter the Great* to engage foreign officers in his service, and introduce discipline among his troops, made admirable soldiers of the *Russians*. Brave by nature, rough, strong, and hardy, they only wanted knowledge of the art of war to become equal to the *Swedes*; and this they acquired, both from experience, and the instructions of some of the best officers in *Europe*, collected from several nations. *Finland* was the theatre of war, and the subject of contention; the enemy were victorious almost in every encounter; the province was the reward of success; and the *Swedes* added to the loss of so fine a tract of country, the mortification of finding that their national spirit was sunk, and their enemies become their masters in that very art, for their excellency in which they were but a few years before the admiration of all *Christendom*. They now scarce ever turned the fortune of war; and to their other chagrins and disappointments was super-added the irreparable loss of their most gracious sovereign the queen; a princess who, to every quality that could adorn her elevated station, annexed the virtues that render private life amiable. Almost the whole *Swedish* army fell into the hands of the enemy, which, with the queen's death, threw such a damp on the national spirit, as reduced the king to the grievous necessity of soliciting peace upon the terms proposed by the conquerors. The affair was laid before the assembly of the states; and while it was under deliberation, another subject occurred to perplex the *Swedish* councils.

The *Swedes* unfortunate in the war.

Disputes about the succession.

It was hoped that establishing the succession would contribute to give a favourable turn to the melancholy situation of affairs. The diet, therefore, proceeded with great alacrity in this business; but the variety of candidates who offered themselves, destroyed the fruits of their endeavours, and had almost overturned the constitution, by dividing into factions the different orders of the states. The young duke of *Holstein* was strongly supported by the body of the nobility, the whole order of the peasants, and a considerable party

a party among the burgesſes; the clergy eſpouſed the intereſt of the prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, nephew to the king. The prince of *Denmark* was likewise a candidate, and had formed a strong intereſt, not only about court, but among divers perſons of the different orders of the ſtates, who imagined that an union of the crowns would prove mutually advantageous to *Sweden* and *Denmark*. There was beſides a private competitor, who was alſo of the royal blood; this was the duke of *Deux-Ponts*; but his intereſt was the weakeſt. The chief debates lay among the partizans of the three former: they were long and violent, and like every other point that becomes a party-affair, filled with acrimony and rancour, though they terminated in favour of the duke of *Holſtein*, who was declared ſucceſſor, by a majority of no more than two voices. As this prince reſided at *Peterſburgh*, had a powerful influence in *Ruſſia*, and claimed the ſucceſſion of the imperial crown of *Muſcovy*, it was hoped that his intereſt might be able to procure reſtitution of *Finland*. The uſe made of this argument by his adherents, was the chief motive with the *Swedes* for conſenting to his election, as they perceived that great inconveniences muſt ariſe from his claims on the crown of *Ruſſia*. Accordingly deputies were nominated to wait on his highneſs, with the offer of the reversion of the *Swediſh* crown, provided he would exert his utmoſt endeavours to induce the czarina to reſtore the grand duchy of *Finland*; but before their arrival at the court of *Peterſburgh*, the duke had embraced the *Greek* religion, to qualify himſelf to be put next in the ſucceſſion of the imperial diadem of *Ruſſia*.

Oct. 1742.

It was now expected that the duke of *Holſtein*'s diſappointed party would join intereſt with the adherents of the king's nephew, the prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, and thereby turn the ſcale in his favour; but it happened otherwiſe. The peaſants who had expreſſed ſo unanimous an attachment to the houſe of *Holſtein*, became no leſs warm and zealous in the intereſt of the prince of *Denmark*, to whom likewise great part of the clergy went over from the prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*. The contention now became more violent than ever; and it is difficult to conjecture what the iſſue might have been, had not other circumſtances interpoſed to divert the public attention from that ſingle object. The peaſants loudly inſiſted upon an enquiry into the conduct of the generals, who commanded the *Swediſh* armies in the two laſt campaigns, attributing the loſſes and diſgraces of the kingdom to their negligence, cowardice, or perfidy. They were ſupported by the whole faction of the *Hats*, who had ſo ſtrenuouſly promoted the war with *Ruſſia*, and now thought to vindicate their miſtaken councils, by throwing the blame on the miſconduct of the commanding officers. They cried out for vengeance, and appeared ſo eager, that nothing would ſatisfy them but the blood of the managers of the war, to whom they imputed its want of ſucceſs. Peace too appeared as remote as ever, though now eſſentially neceſſary to the good and ſecurity of the kingdom; but the diet could neither determine to cede *Finland* altogether, nor ſuggeſt the means of recovering a province which had already coſt more blood and treaſure than it was intrinſically worth to *Sweden*. The only probable method was the receiving it as an equivalent from the hands of her czariſh majeſty; to procure which his *Britanniſh* majeſty again interpoſed, at a critical juncture, in behalf of *Sweden*, offered his mediation, and by the weight of his influence prevailed on the parties to ſettle conferences at *Abo*, which terminated in a treaty, whereby *Ruſſia* conſented to make entire reſtitution of the province, except a ſmall diſtrict, and to renew the peace between the two nations upon one condition. This was no other than that the ſtates ſhould elect duke *Adolphus Frederic*, biſhop of *Lubec*, and adminiſtrator of *Holſtein*, ſucceſſor to the crown of *Sweden*; in which caſe the young duke of *Holſtein*, now preſumptive heir of the imperial diadem of *Ruſſia*, whom they had already elected, was ready to make a ſolemn renunciation of his right to the crown of *Sweden*. The conſideration of the advantages that would neceſſarily flow from ſuch a meaſure, bore down all oppoſition, and brought in courſe of time all the orders of the eſtates to eſpouſe the intereſt of the adminiſtrator of *Holſtein*, who was accordingly declared hereditary prince of *Sweden*. Several of the provinces, however, did not approve of this election; and *Dalecarlia* in particular ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported the claim of the province of *Denmark*, that the inhabitants took arms, and marched in a body to *Stockholm*, to diſannul the proceedings of the ſtates. The king tried every method to appeaſe theſe tumultuous peaſants, and was even willing to make unreaſonable conceſſions, rather than come to extremities, and hazard a civil war; but nothing leſs would ſatisfy the *Dalecarlians*, than that the king and ſtates would revoke the decrees of the diet, ſet the biſhop of *Lubec* aſide, and raiſe the prince of *Denmark* to the dignity of hereditary prince of *Sweden*. In this they perſiſted; and the king with regret beheld himſelf under the neceſſity of employing force. The army was drawn out, and a battle fought with the *Dalecarlians*, in the miſt of the capital, in which, after an obſtinate conflict, they were defeated with great ſlaughter, forced to lay down their arms, ſign their conſent to the decrees of the diet, and throw themſelves upon the royal clemency, which was extended to them.

The biſhop of Lubec elected.

June 23.
A. D. 1743.

Sketch of the Swediſh affairs to the preſent times.

them in the most ample manner, though the heinous nature of their offence might have a justified the utmost severity.

ONE would have imagined that the public repose was now established upon a solid basis. An advantageous peace was concluded with *Russia*, the succession was settled upon a footing agreeable to a majority of the people, and the king had given the strongest proof of his affection for his subjects, by the late general amnesty, which he granted; but all this proved insufficient to quiet the restless minds of the peasants. Disappointment in their favourite project of placing the prince of *Denmark* in the succession, had soured their temper, and they resolved to make the unfortunate noblemen, count *Lewenbaupt*, and baron *Baddenbroke*, the victims of their resentment. These two noble personages had been solemnly tried for misbehaviour in the two last campaigns; they were condemned rather to satisfy the minds of the people, than from proofs of their misconduct; yet the execution of the sentence had hitherto been deferred by the court, from a conviction of their innocence. But the current of popular indignation flowed at this time with such irresistible rapidity against the unhappy prisoners, that the court was forced to withdraw its protection, and a prince of the greatest clemency obliged to devote to destruction two faithful subjects, whose services he received with gratitude. Lieutenant-general baron *Baddenbroke* was brought to the scaffold on the 16th of *July*, where he lost his head, to the eternal disgrace of the *Swedish* nation; while the field marshal *Lewenbaupt* respited his fate by an escape, at which the court was supposed to connive. Prepossessed with this notion, the people became more outrageous than before, the strictest search was made for the count, he was taken, and executed agreeable to his sentence, notwithstanding the king, the court, the nobility, and the clergy interceded for his life. Nor did the peasants yield their entire consent to the election of the bishop of *Lubec*, until they were brought into good humour by these bloody sacrifices; now they appeared fully gratified, signified their assent to the election, requested that duke *Adolphus* might be invited over to *Stockholm*, and expressed the warmest demonstrations of joy on his arrival. From this time to the origin of the present war, in which *Sweden*, contrary to the whole system of her politics, has taken part with the confederates against his *Prussian* majesty, nothing occurred to disturb the tranquility of the kingdom. The king of *Denmark*, indeed, resented the elevation of the house of *Holstein*, and disappointment of his own son: he made vast preparations, and seemed inclinable to invade *Sweden*, but the unanimity of that kingdom, supported by the powerful empire of *Russia*, obliged him to lay aside his designs. It is perhaps the influence, possibly the fear of the court of *Petersburgh*, that has forced *Sweden* into the present measures, so contrary to her real interest, and espoused only by a faction. The mean figure she has made in *Pomerania*, the frequent repulses which her troops have met with from a handful of *Prussians*, proves either that the nation is by no means hearty in the war, or that the martial spirit, the strength, discipline, and valour of the *Swedes*, are on the decline.

THUS have we exhibited a faithful picture of the revolutions in the *Swedish* government, the series of the *Swedish* kings, the wars carried on with their neighbours, and every other circumstance requisite to the understanding the history of a people, who always made a principal figure in the affairs of the northern hemisphere. We have continued the sketch down to the present times, to supply this deficiency in the history of *Denmark*, and form a key to the present state of the northern kingdoms. *Sweden* was intimately connected of late years with the policy of *Russia*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*; and reciting the history of either is equally satisfactory, without being so prolix, as relating the history of each separate kingdom.

The HISTORY of POLAND.

S E C T. I.

Containing a Description of Poland; of the Manners of the People; the Religion, Laws, and Government; with every interesting Particular relative to its Present State.

^a **P**OLAND, called by the natives *Polſka*, is deduced from the word *Pole*, or *Poln*, which in the *Slavonic* signifies a country adapted to hunting, because the whole kingdom is composed of vast plains and forests, that yield excellent field diversion^a. In classic authors this country is known by the appellation of *Sarmatia*.

^b IN its largest extent it is bounded by *Pomerania*, *Brandenburg*, *Silesia*, and *Moravia*, to the West; and towards the East, by part of *Russia* and the *Lesser Tartary*; on the North it has the *Baltic*, *Russia*, the grand province of *Livonia*, and *Samogitia*; while its frontier towards the South is skirted by *Bessarabia*, *Moldavia*, *Transylvania*, and *Hungary*. Extending from forty-six degrees and a half to fifty-six degrees and a half northern latitude, it necessarily follows that the climate differs widely in the degrees of temperature. Intensely cold towards the North, the air gradually softens as you approach the southern quarter, where it may be deemed healthy, temperate, and serene, being less disturbed by violent storms than countries nearer the ocean, and abounding with larger mountains; and indeed it is remarkable, that in this vast extent of territory the only considerable mountains are the *Carpathian*, or *Crapach*, that craggy ridge which separates *Poland* from *Hungary*, from whence several considerable rivers flow to discharge themselves into the *Euxine* and *Baltick*. *Poland* has sometimes been complimented so far as to be called the vestibule of *Italy*, because of the beauty, the fertility of the country, and the mild temperature of the climate; but it was probably some honest *Russian*, struck with the superiority it had in these particulars over his own country, who made this observation: to the more southern and western inhabitants of *Europe*, *Poland* will not appear in so favourable a light.

Geographical description of Poland.

^c IT is with more reason that *Poland* hath been termed the granary of the North, no kingdom in *Europe* producing a greater quantity of grain. The corn of *Poland* formed the great staple commodity of the hanse-towns; it is now the chief article of trade at *Dantzick*, and supports great part of the *Dutch* commerce to the *Baltick*. Besides grain, *Poland* affords other exceedingly valuable commodities, the exportation of which composes the bulk of her commerce. The kingdom abounds in oxen, sheep, hogs, raw and dressed hides, flax, hemp, wood fit for house or ship building, honey, wax, amber, salt, vitriol, iron, copper, lead, nitre, coal, &c. yet such is the pride of the nobility who are above any attention to trade, and the ignorance or indolence of the peasant, that the imports greatly exceed the exports, and the balance of trade has and ever will be in favour of foreigners, until a total change be wrought in the manners and genius of the inhabitants.

Commodities.

^d THE general division of *Poland* usually made by geographers is the following. *Poland* Proper, *Lithuania*, *Samogitia*, and *Courland*, *Prussia*, *Masovia*, *Polachia*, *Polesia*, *Little Russia*, called likewise *Russia Rubra*, *Podolia*, and the *Ukrain*; but several of these divisions have been torn from the republic in the war with *Turkey*, *Russia*, and *Sweden*, as well as with the elector of *Brandenburg* and other princes of the empire. *Poland* Proper has two grand divisions, the *Greater* and *Lesser Poland*. The former contains eight palatinates; viz. *Poznania*, *Calish*, *Rawa*, *Bresty*, *Siradia*, *Lanschet*, *Plockow*, and *Inowlocz*. In *Poznania* is situated the city *Gnesna*, or *Gniesen*, an archiepiscopal see, which gives title to the primate of all *Poland*, and the most powerful subject of the republic. The treasure contained in this cathedral is deemed of great value: the building was plated over with silver by *Sigismund III.* and *Boleslaus II.* decorated it with beautiful gates of finely wrought *Corinthian* brass, brought originally from the monastery of *Corſuna*, in *Taurica Chersonesus*.

Division of Poland into palatinates.

^e As to the *Lesser* or *Higher Poland*, it contains only the three palatinates of *Cracow*, *Lublin*, and *Sandomir*: in the former of which stands the capital of *Poland*, bearing the name of the palatinate, and esteemed the largest, the most regular, and beautiful city in the *Polish* dominions. The historians of this country endeavour to deduce from the name, that this city must be of great antiquity. *Cracow*, they say, comes from *Cracus*, the first

^a *ÆNEAS SYL. Descrip. Polon. apud Pistor. Collect. MARTIN CROMER, ibid.*

duke of *Poland*, which pedigree they trace, but imperfectly, up to the *Roman Gracchi*.^a Here *Casimir the Great* founded an university, now composed of eleven colleges, and endowed with considerable privileges, though the sciences have made but little progress.

Description of
Lithuania.

THE great dutchy of *Lithuania* forms the third general division of the *Polish* dominions.^a It was united to the crown by *Jagellon* duke of *Lithuania*, who, on being elevated to the throne of *Poland*, assumed the name of *Ladislaus V*. This union was renewed in a general diet about half a century after, and confirmed in the reign of *John Albert*; yet may *Lithuania* be still deemed an independent state, rather allied than subject to *Poland*, governed by its own laws and officers, but subjected to the same sovereign and the same representative body of the whole dominion. *Lithuania* contains eight palatinates; *Wilna*, in which stands the capital of the dutchy; *Troki*, *Bressici*, or as some geographers write it, *Braslaw*, *Polosk*, *Novogrodeck*, *Minski*, *Meislaw*, and *Witesp*.^b We shall not enter upon particulars which are to be found in every modern writer; sufficient it is that *Wilna*, the capital of the whole province, is an episcopal see, hath an university, and was formerly the residence of the dukes and sovereigns of the province, where they still keep in repair a magnificent palace. By this we intend only such a general sketch of the topography as might be necessary to elucidate the subsequent history; the reader will probably be better pleased that we dwell upon the manners, religion, policy, and internal government of the *Poles*, which subject has been but vaguely treated by all the political writers we have perused, who have rather borrowed their accounts from modern travellers than deduced it from the *Polish* history. With respect to *Prussia*, we refer to a supplemental volume, and shall here close our geographical account with a short description of the city of *Dantzick*, of which frequent mention will occur in the ensuing narrative.^c

The city Dant-
zick.

DANTZICK, called by *Latin* writers *Dantiscum*, and *Gedanum*, is situated near the mouth of the *Vistula*, and is justly reputed among the chief in point of commerce of the hanse-towns, and indeed of *Europe*. In the twelfth century it was no more than a petty village, endowed with certain privileges by king *Primeslaus*, and walled round a century after by the knights of the *Teutonic* order, who at that time made a great figure in the North, and began to disturb the peace of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Russia*, and *Poland*. It encreased rapidly in wealth and power, and now is the principal, we may say the only, emporium of all the trade of *Poland*. The city is large and strong, the public edifices magnificent, and the private buildings commodious. The granaries are washed by the water, and the ships load and unload close by the walls. *Dantzick* hath passed into the hands of a variety of masters, the *Danes*, the *Poles*, and the *Teutonic* knights, all of whom enlarged the privileges of the city, sensible of its advantageous commercial situation. The inhabitants acknowledge the dominion of *Poland*; but they are governed by their own magistrates in all civil affairs: they are thought to exceed two hundred thousand souls; the greater number are *Germans*, and their jurisdiction extends forty miles round the city. The government is composed of twenty-six *Lutheran* and four *Calvinist* senators, all other religions, and the priests of all persuasions being excluded, from sensible experience of the encroaching spirit of the clergy. The office of senator is for life, and the four oldest are styled burgomasters, one of whom is annually elected president of the senate. The magistrates next in dignity are the thirteen consuls, who fill up from their body the vacancies in the senate, and choose all the inferior officers of the city, and among the rest the twelve *scabbins* or judges, from whom the parties may appeal to the consuls, from them to the senate, and finally to the court of *Poland*. His *Polish* majesty annually elects a burgrave out of the consular body, who represents his person in the senate, signs capital sentences, and executes other acts of sovereignty; while the thirtieth senator receives the compliments of foreign ministers, performs the functions of grand-master of the ceremonies, syndic and public orator or speaker of the city. To limit the power of the senate, the government has wisely provided that an hundred burgeses shall be annually elected, to inspect the senatorial decrees, as well as the conduct of the individuals of that body; but we are nowhere told how far the power of the burgeses extend with respect to reverting decrees and punishing delinquents. This council of a hundred appoint to all vacant ecclesiastical benefices within the jurisdiction of the city; but their nomination must be approved by the senate, and the candidates for perferment must all pass an examination before the college of ecclesiastics. We shall conclude the subject with observing, that *Dantzick* hath so frequently excited the jealousy and avarice of neighbouring states, as to have been reduced to the necessity of applying for the protection of the maritime states, of which we meet with a remarkable instance in the reign of *Charles XII*. of *Sweden*, as may be seen in our account of that monarch.^d

^a BUSCHING's Geograph. tom. i. Introd. p. 576, & seq.

^b Vol. xxxiii. Hist. Polon. Corp. tom. ii.

a We proceed now to the personal qualities, the general character, the policy and religion of the *Polish* nation, which we hope will afford some entertainment, on account of the scarcity of writers who have treated the subject accurately. This people have been long celebrated for their courage, their strength, and their longevity; no country in the world affording more extraordinary proofs of bodily vigour and an uninterrupted flow of health, which are justly ascribed to the temperature of the climate, the temperance of the vulgar, and the constant habit in manly exercises. The continual use of the cold bath, even in the coldest parts of *Poland*, is supposed likewise to contribute greatly to that muscular strength for which they are so remarkable. The nobility are open, affable, liberal, and hospitable; polite to strangers, rigid to their dependents, punctilious in points of honour, b vain, ostentatious, and magnificent in their apparel, equipages, and living, though that magnificence favours strongly of barbarism. They are early initiated in letters, speak impure *Latin* with fluency; but seldom make any progress in matters of taste or science. Passionately fond of liberty, the *Poles* live in a perpetual state of servitude to their avarice, their profusion, and their necessities, whereby they are rendered the infamous pensioners of foreign states, the creatures of their own monarchs, or the hireling tools of some political faction. Their political constitution has been the source of continual misfortunes; yet are they attached to it to a degree of enthusiasm, and especially those parts which produce the greatest inconveniences. Poor in the midst of a fertile country, they abhor the notion of improving their circumstances by trade, and are the only nation in the world c who have provided by law against raising a maritime power. Prodigality and debauchery are not reputed vices among this martial nobility: they borrow without intention of paying, with the same freedom they squander. Constant in their friendships, bitter in their enmity, open to imposition, unsuspicious, opinionated and haughty, their only care is to distinguish themselves in arms, in finery, equipage, and splendor. As to the vulgar, they are mean, mercenary, ignorant, indolent, and indigent to an extreme (A). Such are the distinguishing features of the people whose government we are going to describe.

Few political constitutions are so little understood as that of *Poland*, and yet no form of government better merits attention, on account of its singularity, and those particulars which bear no resemblance to any model of state ancient or modern. The people have a d sovereign, and yet the government is called with great propriety a republic. The nobility of this country have more power than the great of any other; yet they detest the thoughts of aristocracy, because they all reckon themselves upon a level, every *Polish* gentleman regarding himself as inferior only to the monarch. The republic is composed of the king, the senate, and the nobility or *Polish* gentlemen, the peasants being admitted to no share of the government. Upon every new election the royal prerogative has been retrenched, and the liberties of the diet and senate proportionably extended. This idea of independency is pushed so far as to hazard the general security of the kingdom, the monarch not being permitted to garrison even the most remote and necessary frontier towns: whence we see *Poland* has in all ages been made a kind of public route for the passage of hostile e armies. Upon the death of the sovereign, the whole body of the nobility assemble on horseback for the choice of a successor; and the unanimous voice constitutes a legitimate election, though there have been instances where a majority has been deemed sufficient. Here the nobility assume a power of altering the government, and imposing such conditions on the new monarch as they think proper, and these they call the *Pacta Conventa*. This contract is drawn up, methodized, and approved by the senate and nobility, after which it is read aloud to the king by the great marshal, and sworn to before the ceremony of his proclamation. We shall enumerate the principal articles, as this contract may be deemed the great charter of *Poland*, and the barrier of the privileges of the people against the encroachments of the crown. The first is, that the king shall not attempt to f encroach on the liberty of the people, by rendering the crown hereditary in his family; but that he shall preserve all the customs, laws, and ordonnances respecting the freedom of election: that he shall ratify all treaties subsisting with foreign powers which are approved by the diet: that it shall be his chief study to cultivate peace, preserve the public tranquillity, and promote the interest of the realm: that he shall not coin money, except in the name of the republic, or appropriate to himself the advantages arising from coinage: that in declaring war, concluding peace, levying troops, hiring auxiliaries, or admitting

Political gov-
ernment of
Poland.

c HAUTEVILLE passim.

(A) Nothing can be more abject or wretched than the peasants of *Poland*. If one lord kills the peasant of another, he is not capitally punished, but only obliged to make reparation by another peasant equal in value. The peasants have no property, and all their acquisitions serve only to enrich the master. They are indispensably employed in cultivating the earth; they

are incapable of entering upon any condition of life that might procure them freedom, without the permission of their lords, and they are exposed to the dismal and frequently fatal effects of the caprice, cruelty, and barbarity of their tyrannical masters, who oppress them with impunity, and lash them with a rod of iron, without dread of retribution.

foreign

foreign troops upon any pretext within the *Polish* dominions, the consent of the diet and senate shall be necessary: that all offices and preferments shall be given to natives of *Poland* and *Lithuania*; and that no pretence shall excuse or palliate the crime of introducing foreigners into the king's council, or the departments of the republic: that the officers of his majesty's guards shall be *Poles* or *Lithuanians*, and that the colonel shall absolutely be a native of *Poland*, and of the order of nobility: that all the officers shall be subordinate to the authority of the marechal: that no individual shall be vested with more employments than the law allows: that the King shall not marry without the approbation of the senate, agreeable to the antient laws of the constitution; and that the household of the queen shall be determined and regulated by the republic: that the sovereign shall never apply his private signet to acts and papers of a public nature: that to preserve his power and dignity, the king shall dispose of the offices both of the court and of the republic; and regulate with the senate the number of forces necessary for the defence of the kingdom, inspecting likewise the discipline observed in the army; that he shall administer justice by the advice of the senate and his council: that the expences of his civil list shall be the same with those of his predecessors, and possessed by his family only during the life of his sovereign: that he fill up all vacancies in the space of six weeks: that this shall be his first business in the diet, obliging the chancellor to publish his appointments in due form: that the king shall not diminish the treasure kept at *Cracow*, but, on the contrary, endeavour to augment that and the number of the crown jewels: that he shall borrow no money without the consent of the diet: that he shall not equip a naval force, without the consent and full approbation of the republic: that he shall profess the *Roman Catholic* faith, promote, maintain, and defend it, through all the *Polish* dominions: and finally, that all their several liberties, rights, and privileges, shall be preserved to the *Polanders* and *Lithuanians* in general, and to all the districts and provinces contained within each of these great divisions, without change, alteration, or the smallest violation, except by the consent of the republic. To these articles a variety of others are added, according to circumstances and the humour of the diet; but what we have recited form the standing conditions, which are scarce ever altered or omitted^d.

The oath taken
by the king.

To the observation of the *pacta conventa* the king swears, upon his knees at the altar, in the following manner. "We —, elected king of *Poland*, and great duke of *Lithuania*, *Russia*, *Prussia*, *Masovia*, *Samogitia*, *Kibovia*, *Volhinia*, *Podolia*, *Podlaffia*, *Livonia*, *Smolensko*, *Siberia*, and *Czernicovia*, promise before the Almighty God, and swear upon the holy Evangelists of *Jesus Christ*, to observe, maintain, and fulfil all the conditions stipulated at our election by our ambassadors with the senators and deputies of *Poland*, and of the great duchy of *Lithuania*, and confirmed by our plenipotentiaries; and to execute the same in all the clauses, points, articles, and conditions specified in that contract, in such a manner that the *speciality* shall not derogate from the generality; nor, on the contrary, the *universality* from the *particularity*; all which we promise solemnly to ratify on the day of our coronation."

NOTWITHSTANDING the king is without exception acknowledged, yet it is remarkable, that he cannot exercise all the functions of sovereignty before the ceremony of his coronation. The space between the election and coronation is a kind of interregnum, although the sovereign be vested with all the badges and external pomp of majesty. One very peculiar ceremony is observed during this period. The marechal, at all processions, carries his staff bent downwards before the king; whereas, after the coronation, it is always held erect; and this is regarded as a certain proof that the election is imperfect, until it be ratified by the ceremony of coronation, previous to which the king can neither dispose of offices or benefices, grant favours of any kind as a sovereign, nor apply the great seal of the chancery to any act, deed, edict, or ordonnance. He appoints the day for performing the ceremony of his coronation, and it is usually fixed on the day succeeding the funeral obsequies of his predecessor. All imaginable magnificence is observed in this solemnization; and a foreigner, unacquainted with the *Polish* constitution, would naturally conclude, that a monarch who ascended the throne with so much pomp and splendor, was necessarily vested with very extensive prerogatives. To the archbishop of *Gnesna* belongs the right of placing the crown on the king's head, and administering the oath; yet the history of *Poland* affords instances where this has been performed by the bishop of *Cracow*. Indeed it hath been disputed, whether a coronation solemnized by any other than the prelate of *Gnesna* be valid. But this question implies an absurdity; for as neither the king nor republic can appoint to vacant benefices, during the period between the election and coronation, the king could not be at all crowned, should the archbishop happen to die in the intermediate time, or refuse to perform that office. The archbishops have, indeed, claimed this right to themselves; but it has been set aside on particular occasions^e.

^d CROM. ANN. p. 97.

^e HAUTEVILLE, p. 124.

a As the king of Poland is tied down by the *pacta conventa* to consult his people, with respect to marriage; so their consent is necessary to the dissolution of the nuptial engagements. He can neither divorce the queen, nor separate from her bed, without the approbation of the diet, unless he was married before his election. Her majesty hath no distinct household, except a marechal, a chancellor, and some inferior domestics. She is furnished with money by the king to defray the expences of the civil list; and, with respect to her domestic œconomy, is little more than his housekeeper, or steward. The king's whole revenue, for the support of the regal dignity, does not exceed four hundred thousand crowns. Exclusive of which, there is a maintenance for the queen-dowager, his consort, and children, in case of his death; though the latter are denied the privilege of all other subjects, of rising to places of trust and profit, lest this should give them an ascendant in the future elections^b. The revenues appointed for the maintenance of dowagers arise from certain *starosties* applied to this purpose; but as they are often reversionary, and cannot be seized before the death of the possessors, the queens are frequently reduced to great distress.

Situation of the queen.

c We come now to the diet of Poland, which is composed of the king, the senate, bishops, and the deputies of the nobility or gentry of every palatinate, and called, in their collective capacity, *comitia togata*; that is, when the states assemble in the city without arms or horses; or *comitia paludata*, when they meet in the fields armed, as during an interregnum, at the diet of election^c. It is a prerogative of the crown to assemble the diet at any particular place, except on occasion of a coronation, which the custom of the country requires should be celebrated at the capital. For a number of years, indeed, the diet regularly assembled at *Warsaw*; but, on complaint made by the *Lithuanians*, it was agreed, that every third diet should be held at *Grodno*. The general rule is to meet once, at least, in three years, though there have been many exceptions. When it is proposed to hold a general diet, the king, or, in case of an interregnum, the primate, issues writs to the palatines of the several provinces, specifying the time and place of the meeting. A sketch likewise is sent of the business to be deliberated by the assembly, the senate is consulted in this particular, and six weeks are allowed the members to prepare themselves for the intended session. It is remarkable, that the diet never sits more than six weeks in the most critical conjunctures and pressing emergencies: they have been known to break up in the middle of an important debate, and to leave the business to a future meeting. This hath been justly esteemed one of the greatest defects of the *Polish* constitution, which probably owes its origin to convenience; but is superstitiously regarded from whim and caprice. On receipt of the king's writ, the palatine communicates the meeting of the diet to all the castellans, starostas, and other inferior officers and gentry within his jurisdiction, requiring them to assemble on a certain day to elect deputies, and take into consideration the business specified in the royal summons. These meetings are called *petty diets*, or *lantage*, in the language of the country^d, every gentleman possessing three acres of land having a vote, and matters being determined by a majority; whereas in the general diet decrees are only valid when the whole body is unanimous. The indigent gentry are always directed by some person of superior fortune, influence, or ability. They seldom examine the subject of debate; but remit it wholly to the judgment of their representative. Every palatinate has three representatives: the business devolves on one, who is elected for his ability and experience; and the other two are added only to give weight to this leading member, and do honour by their magnificent appearance to the palatinate they represent. As these deputies, since the reign of *Casimir III.* have seats in the diet, it naturally divides the general assembly into two bodies, the upper and lower; the one being composed of the senate, the superior clergy, and the great officers; the other of the representatives of the palatinates, who prepare all business for the superior body^e. f Thus we see how near an affinity the general constitution of the *Polish* diet hath to a *British* parliament, and indeed to the original form of government among all northern nations, however they may vary in particular circumstances, and be altered by the influence of time (A).

The general diet.

^b GUACHINI, p. 22. ^c BUSCHING'S New System of Geogr. tom i. p. 583. ^d BUSCHING'S Geogr. p. 583. ^e MART. CROMAR. lib. ii.

(A) It is usual to depute, from the general diet, sixteen senators, chosen out of the body of bishops, palatines, and castellans, to attend the king's person, serve him as a privy-council, and direct that he shall not infringe the constitution. Whatever is ordained by these deputies, and has the royal sanction, becomes valid, as an act of the whole diet. It is therefore adopted, as a part of the constitution, that four, at least, of the number shall constantly reside at court, as guardians of the public liberty, and inspectors of the king's conduct. Penalties are annexed to any remissness in their duty; and they are fined, for absence, at the rate of two thousand livres for a layman, and six thousand for an ecclesiastic (1).

(1) *Hauterville*, p. 131.

THE first business of the assembly is to chuse a marechal; upon which occasion the debates and tumults run so high, that the whole time for the session of the diet is consumed in altercation and wrangling about the election of a speaker, who has now nothing further to do than return quietly to his own home. The speaker must be a native of *Great* or *Little Poland*, or of the duchy of *Lithuania*. After his election, he kisses the king's hand; and the chancellor, as the royal representative, reports the matters to be deliberated by the diet. Then the marechal acquaints the king with the instructions of the deputies from their constituents, the grievances which they want redressed, and the abuses they require to be remedied. He likewise requests of his majesty to fill up the vacant offices and benefices, according to law; and he is answered by a set speech from the chancellor, who reports the king's inclination to satisfy his people, as soon as he hath consulted his faithful senate. There is something very peculiarly absurd in some of the customs observed by the *Polish* diet: one, in particular, merits attention. Not only an unanimity of voices is necessary to pass any bill, and constitute a decree of the diet, but every bill must likewise be assented to unanimously, or none can take effect. Thus, if out of twenty bills, one should happen to be opposed by a single voice, all the rest are thrown out, and the diet meets, deliberates, and debates for six weeks to no purpose^f. It is astonishing that a rule so contradictory to common sense, and attended with such fatal consequences, can maintain its place among a people by no means devoid of understanding.

To add to the other inconveniences attending the constitution of the diet of *Poland*, a venal inclination in the deputies, and a general corruption, hath seized all ranks and degrees in that assembly. Here, as in some other countries, the cry of liberty is kept up for the sake of private interest. Deputies come with a full resolution of profiting by their patriotism, and not lowering their voice without a gratification. Determined to oppose the most salutary measures of the court, they either withdraw from the assembly, protest against all that shall be transacted in their absence, or else excite such a clamour as renders it necessary for the court to silence them by some lucrative pension, donation, or employment. Thus not only the business of the assembly is obstructed by its own members, but frequently, by largesses from neighbouring powers, and sometimes by the liberality of an open enemy, who has the art of distributing his money with discretion.

THE usual form of passing laws and decrees, of any kind, is, that it shall be proposed by the deputies, and approved by the king and senate. First, it is revised by the marechal, attended by two of the deputies, or else by three senators and six deputies: then it is read in the senate in the king's presence; after which the chancellor asks, with a loud voice, whether the king, senators, and deputies, agree to have the bill sanctified by the royal seal, and the arms of the republic. Having passed through these forms, it is lodged in the register at *Warsaw*, or in the great chancery of the kingdom, until printed copies are made and dispersed among the several palatinates^g.

THE affairs of which the diet takes cognizance are, the declaring war, or concluding peace, the forming alliances, the election or marriage of the monarch, the imposition of taxes, framing of laws, and levying of forces, together with the final determination of civil and criminal causes, there being an appeal from all the inferior courts to the general diet. It is here too that foreigners are naturalized, and admitted to all the rights of natives; and peasants, who have wealth and ambition sufficient, are advanced to the rank of nobility. The afflux of people, which the diet occasions, is altogether astonishing. Wherever it happens to sit, thirty or forty thousand people are added to the usual number of inhabitants. Here the *Poles* rival each other in pomp and profusion. The nobility, who are not deputed, attend with their families for pleasure: they drink deep of their favourite liquor, *Hungarian* wine; and feasting and mirth are more pursued than the business of the state. In consequence of their festivity, the deputies come frequently intoxicated into the diet, affront the king, excite tumults, harangue with the most abusive and factious eloquence, and sometimes occasion the dissolution of the assembly^h. From this general view it appears how inadequate the diet is to the original intention. It was designed for the supreme senate of the nation: it is, in fact, little more than a factious corrupted mass, collected out of form, conducted with indecorum, and dissolved with as little reason as it was assembled; only because a certain number of weeks have elapsed, without regarding whether the business of the meeting hath been transacted. Such is the idea of the *Polish* diet: we have been able to acquire, from the careful perusal of the best authorities. It would almost be unnecessary to remark upon the absurdity of requiring an unanimity of voices to every bill, by which a power is lodged in every capricious corrupted member of rendering the meeting of this great assembly of the nation of no effect. This was intended as a barrier to liberty; but it has unfortunately been the channel of corrup-

^f ALEX. GUAGN. Veron. Hist. p. 49.^g HAUTEVILLE, c. xv.^h Id. ibid.

a tion, faction, and confusion. The *Poles* imagined, that by this regulation they should ever prevent the crown from gaining too great an ascendant; for though it was possible to obtain a majority, it was not at all probable the royal influence should ever be able to bribe every individual of the diet to surrender the rights and interests of his country. Thus, to avoid despotism, they in some measure give a sanction to anarchy. Indeed, so sensible are the *Poles* of the inconveniences of their constitution, that some reformati-
b ons have been frequently attempted; and the most sensible of the nation acknowledge, that, in almost all their wars with the *Turks* and *Tartars*, their preservation was intirely owing to the immediate interposition of the Deity, and not to human prudence or foresight¹. Yet, after all, it must be confessed, that a politic prince may mould this turbulent multitude
c agreeable to his inclinations, by soothing, cajoling, treating, and making pecuniary presents. Besides, it is seldom that an individual dares venture to exert his privilege of denying his assent to what all the other members have voted; the stronger party being sometimes extremely liberal of that most convincing of all proofs—a sound drubbing.

BESIDES the regular triennial great diets, the *Polish* constitution requires that a particular diet should meet, on the vacancy of the throne, in a large field in the neighbourhood of *Warsaw*. Upon the death, deposition, or abdication of the sovereign, the chief power devolves on the primate, archbishop of *Gnesna*, who issues circular letters to all the provinces, summoning the diet to assemble against an appointed day. A kind of booth, of prodigious extent, is erected, at the expence of the crown, to protect the electors against the
c weather; and this they call, in the *Polish* language, *Szopa*. Deputies are elected, in the usual manner, in the petty provincial diets. A marechal is chosen by order of the nobility, who must be confirmed by the approbation of the senate. This preliminary being adjusted, the senate and nobility form an association, which they confirm by the most solemn engagements, to keep fast in the same interest; not to nominate a king, until one of the candidates hath obtained the unanimous consent; to preserve all the rights and immunities of the republic; to declare whoever shall trespass upon public liberty an enemy to his country; to enter upon no engagements with any of the candidates, or their ambaf-
d sadors, until all the abuses, irregularities, and grievances of the republic be fully redressed; to insist upon the repeal of all the decrees of the several courts, and even of the royal statutes, that have any tendency to encroach on public liberty; to protest in favour of all judgments given previous to the publication of the interregnum, and support the court of justice established for preserving order, enforcing the laws, protecting the state, coining money, and performing all the functions of the executive power, during the vacancy in the throne; to prohibit all strangers from approaching the diet; to forbid the carrying fire-arms to this electoral assembly; to oblige the principal military officers to swear fidelity to the state; to exert no undue influence, and to use the army only against the enemies of their country, to defend the frontiers, and secure the honour and liberty of *Poland*, and the great duchy of *Lithuania*; to oblige the officers likewise to swear that they will assert the public interest, in case of any sedition or revolt; that they will restrain
e the soldiers from all violence; and that they will receive money upon no pretence or consideration from the clergy, laity, candidates, or their ambassadors. They also engage to oblige the officers not to advance to the heart of the kingdom with their troops; not to approach the diet; to review their forces in camp, and make an exact muster; and neither augment nor diminish the army, but by consent of the diet. Lastly, the treasurers of the crown are forbid issuing out money, without the approbation of the primate and his council, except for the pay of the army; and the deputies of certain cities refused a seat in the diet, until they have proved their title.

Diet of the
election.

WHEN the marechal is elected, and a court of justice or *kaptur* established, the diet then enters upon business, with drawing out their bill of grievances, abuses, and exorbi-
f tances, either with respect to the republic, or to individuals, which they intend shall be redressed. Then a certain number of senators are deputed to the army to keep them steady, and to assist the generals with their advice. Senators and deputies are appointed to take an inventory of the crown-treasure and jewels deposited in the citadel of *Cracow*, a report of which must be made to the diet. Eight senators are then charged with the treasure, and a particular seal and key given to each, that none of the keepers may have access singly. The same form is observed with respect to the crown-revenue, an exact estimate of which is given in to the diet².

DURING the session of the electoral diet, which is limited to fourteen days without prorogation, all courts of justice, except the marechal's, are suspended, and private affairs
g of property deferred until the ceremony of the coronation is over. Foreign ministers, and a legate from the pontiff, usually attend; and the diet assumes the title of *most serene* dur-

¹ CONNER'S Hist. of Poland, tom ii. lett. 3.

² HARTNOCH, l. ii. cap. i. p. 291.

ing this session, it being vested with all the sovereign powers of the republic. Formerly a the arrival of ambassadors was notified to the primate, who appointed them lodgings, and *Polish* gentlemen to inspect their conduct, under the mask of doing them all the duties of hospitality. At present the diet expresses less jealousy, and seldom observes this precaution. Still, however, the utmost delicacy of conduct is required in foreign ministers; and all who had their audience of leave before the death of the late monarch, are ordered by the archbishop of *Gnesna* to depart in eight days¹.

THE next proceeding is to give audience to the plenipotentiary of foreign powers, and the advocates of the candidates to the crown. The pope's legate is honoured with the first notice, as being the representative of *Christ's* vicar, the sovereign of princes. Next comes the ambassador of his imperial majesty, who is succeeded by those of *France*, and b other Catholic powers; *Spain* having declined, since the reign of *John III.* to send a minister to the diet. They make their harangues in *Latin*, and are answered by the primate, who presides at the senate, and the marechal of the deputies. Indeed, it is not eloquence, and the most persuasive oratory, that can gain the esteem of a *Polish* diet: the deputies desire more substantial arguments, and expect that their passion for money and wine shall likewise be gratified. Address in this particular, and in securing the interest of the clergy, are the chief qualities requisite in a candidate for the crown; and they judge of the disposition of the master by the liberality of his representative. Immediately before they proceed to election, public prayers are read, and the whole join with one voice in beseeching that heaven will direct their choice, and judge them according to the integrity with c which they conduct themselves in an affair of such consequence to the republic; than which nothing can be more absurd and impious before foreign ministers, who know that their voices are purchased, and the public good the least object of the diet's regard. Next the deputies of each palatinate give their votes in particular *rotas*, the archbishop alone preserving his seat. The first senator of every palatinate numbers the votes, which afterwards are transmitted in a roll to the nuncio-marechal. Should all the votes prove unanimous in favour of one candidate, the primate or president demands thrice, with a loud voice, whether the grievances have been redressed, and then proclaims the king, the marechals of the crown and duchy observing the same ceremonies. In case of a contested election and divided voices, the senate assembled in a particular part of the *Szopa*, labour by d persuasion, promises, and menaces, to bring all the electors to one opinion; and should this be found impracticable, the majority is declared, and their opinion passed for a legitimate election, notwithstanding this is diametrically opposite to the fundamental constitution. The *Polish* history affords a variety of instances of this violation of the rights of the republic; but the first and most notorious was in the election of *Stephen Batori*, prince of *Transylvania*. The election of a successor during the life of the monarch is no less contrary to the laws of *Poland*; yet an instance of this too occurs in the reign of *Sigismund I.* who had the address to have his son nominated to the succession in his own life-time. Foreign princes indeed generally oppose this breach of the constitution, which tends to exclude their right of offering themselves candidates; and in the year 1661, the emperor e sent an ambassador to the general diet, to oppose a measure which, by use, might terminate in rendering the crown hereditary. With respect to the candidates, it is now deemed a part of the constitution, that they shall not be natives of *Poland* or *Lithuania*; that they shall not be present at the election; that the elected be not an absolute neighbouring prince; that he be unmarried; and that he profess the Catholic faith, at least before his coronation. It is imagined, that the spirit of equality, which reigns among all the *Polish* nobility, gave birth to the law, that a native should not be raised to the sovereignty. Avarice, and the poverty of the gentry, probably rendered it convenient that the candidate should be rich and munificent; however, almost all these regulations have occasionally f been infringed, the religion of the monarch alone excepted. Upon the whole, it must be confessed that *Poland* might derive considerable advantages by retaining in the hands of the republic the right of election, were merit alone regarded; but as this circumstance weighs but little with the suffragans, the *Poles* feel all the inconveniences, with scarce any of the real advantages of their constitution^m.

The senate.

PERHAPS the most respectable department of the *Polish* government is the senate, composed of the bishops, palatines, castellans, and ten officers of state, who derive a right from their dignities of sitting in that assembly; in all amounting to one hundred and forty-four members, who are stiled senators of the kingdom, or counsellors of the state, and have the title of excellency, a dignity supported by no pension or emolument necessarily annexedⁿ. The senate presides over the laws, is the guardian of liberty, the judge of g

¹ HAUTEVILLE, p. 142. PIASECIUS ad an. 1632.

^m Idem, 1633.

ⁿ BUSCHING's New System of Geography, tom i. p. 579.

a right, and the protector of justice and equity. The members are nominated by the king, and they take an oath to the republic before they are permitted to enter upon their functions. Their honours continue for life : at the general diet they sit on the right and left of the sovereign, according to their dignity, without regard to seniority. They are the mediators between the monarch and the subject, and, in conjunction with the king, ratify all the laws passed by the nobility. The value they put on their dignities makes them despise all other honours : even the titles offered by the emperor have been rejected by *Polish* senators, who thought their present dignities superior to that of princes of the empire. “ We are gentlemen of *Poland*, said they, and have power to treat of peace and war with our monarch : your imperial majesty therefore injures us, by imagining that we shall be made greater by the flimsy title of princes of the empire, than we are as real senators of the republic of *Poland*.” Such was the answer of the senators who accompanied king *Sigismund* to the emperor, when his *Polish* majesty visited the court of *Vienna*. As a senator is bound by oath to maintain the liberties of the republic, it is thought no disrespect to majesty that they remind the prince of his duty. They are his counsellors, and this freedom of speech is an inseparable prerogative of their office. All the bishops are senators, in consequence of their episcopal functions, and they precede the secular members. Formerly the bishops amounted to sixteen ; now they are only thirteen in number, *Caminiec* being seized by the *Turks*, and *Smolensko* and *Kiowia* being in the hands of the *Muscovites* : still, however, the titular honours are retained, and eagerly sought after, because they give a right to sit in the senate. The primate, archbishop of *Gnesna*, sits at the head of the senate, and indeed is second only to the monarch in the republic : there have been instances where their ambition struggled for an equality of power and dignity. He is likewise apostolical legate, *ex officio* ; and possesses such a variety of privileges as gives him very extraordinary weight, not only in the senate, but in the commonwealth. It is capital to draw a sword, and even to speak irreverently in his presence. During the interregnum the primate coins money, under certain restrictions ; and has power to convoke the senate, and oppose the conduct of the monarch, whenever he acts contrary to the constitution. His marshal is a senator and castellan of the republic : the cross is carried before him, or held behind his chair, when he sits, by an almoner. When the primate visits the king, he is met at the bottom of the stairs of the palace by the chamberlain, or one of the chief officers of the crown. His marshal bows his staff only before the king. Another great officer attends him at the top of the stairs, and conducts him to the royal presence, while the king advances to meet him at the door. He receives the visits of ambassadors, without being expected to return their civilities : he is the head and sovereign of the republic during a vacancy of the throne ; he regulates the diet of election, issues out writs for holding the petty and general diets, and performs divers other acts of sovereignty, assisted only by the senate, the other members composing rather his council than his colleagues. It is probable that the *Poles* annexed these extraordinary privileges to the dignity of the primate, rather than to that of any lay-senator, or officer of state, because they were secured by his sacred profession from his aspiring at the crown ; and indeed it is obvious, from the court paid to him by the ambassadors of all the candidates for the sovereignty of *Poland*, that they imagine he has the principal direction of the diet, his negative alone being sufficient to render void an election, otherwise unanimous, and the most legitimate. Such are the privileges with which this prelate is endowed, both in his senatorial and archiepiscopal capacity.

The privileges annexed to the archiepiscopal function.

THE secular members of the senate are forty-six in number, including the ten state-officers who have seats in that august assembly. The first in rank are the thirty-two palatines, three castellans, and one starosta. Notwithstanding, however, that the palatine order is superior in rank to the castellan, there is one extraordinary exception in favour of the castellan of *Cracow*, who is the first member of the secular part of the senate, to which dignity he was elevated by *Boleslaus III.* in the year 1103, in consequence of some signal services performed for that monarch. The second and third places belong alternately to the palatines of *Cracow* and *Poznan*. It would be unnecessary to pursue all the inferior members through their rights of precedency : sufficient it is, that the quality of castellan and starosta is in general inferior to that of palatine ; yet there are four among the former who possess almost the first seats, as lay-senators.

THE better to elucidate our subsequent history, we shall, in a few words, describe the several offices and the powers annexed to the dignities of palatine, castellan, and starosta, independent of their senatorial capacity. A palatine may be regarded as the governor of a province, who levies and leads the troops of his own jurisdiction to join the army of the republic. His civil power is likewise considerable, as he presides at the assemblies of his

Palatines.

palatinate, rates the prices of all commodities and merchandize in the province, regulates the weights and measures, and judges and defends the *Jews* within his jurisdiction. This part of his function is particularly specified, that a set of men the most useful and industrious in *Poland* may not be oppressed; the king being likewise obliged, by his oath, to afford them the protection of the laws and his sovereignty. Under him is appointed a substitute, or vice-palatine, who takes an oath to his superior, and must be possessed of a land-estate to a certain value.

Castellans.

As to the castellans, they are likewise divided into the great and sub-castellans, the former amounting to thirty-two, and the latter to forty-nine in number. They act as senators, as lieutenants, or as deputies of the palatines, and heads of the nobility within their respective jurisdictions. In war they command a certain portion of the provincial forces: hence they derive their names, and not from the *Latin* word *castellanus*, as the affinity would seem to indicate.

Starostas.

STAROSTAS are military officers of certain districts, either with or without civil jurisdiction. Those who have any jurisdiction are governors of fortresses and royal cities, who hold lesser courts every fortnight, and greater once in six weeks. Their jurisdiction extends equally over the gentry and peasants within certain precincts: they are charged with levying the king's revenue, and deduct a fourth for their salary. They have judges, clerks, and bailiffs, subject to their orders, to enforce justice, in case of resistance. The starostas without jurisdiction have some peculiar privileges: they act as limited justices of the peace in trivial affairs; but are greatly inferior in dignity and power to the former, who, besides the rights mentioned, are the executive ministers of all sentences, see public executions performed, are the conservators of the peace, and unite the functions of judges, justices, and sheriffs, with certain restrictions.

Privileges of the Polish nobility.

THOUGH we have already described the general character of the *Polish* gentry, it will be necessary to enter more particularly on their privileges, in order to convey a distinct idea of the situation of this republic, and the nature of her civil government. The nobility or gentry possess all the lands and offices in the kingdom of *Poland* and duchy of *Lithuania*. The peasants are slaves, and the burghers regarded as mere mechanics, who possibly may possess some estates in houses, and small parcels of land round the several towns and cities; but not sufficient to place them upon an equality with the gentry, who are the guardians of all the different departments of the state, the protectors of the laws, the constitution, and the sovereign; who bestow the crown and sceptre upon whom they think proper; who appoint counsellors to the king, frame their own laws, and determine the degree of obedience which they owe to the prince, and the reciprocal duties they are to expect. They are, in fact, like the freeholders of *Great Britain*, who, being too numerous to assemble in one body, devolve their rights upon a certain number of representatives, whose conduct they may limit by instructions. This is a degree of importance to which no foreigner can ever attain, let his services be ever so considerable. He is deprived the benefit of ever becoming a land-holder; nor can he even rise in the army above the rank of major-general, and colonel of a regiment, except by the decree of naturalization, which likewise is clogged with a variety of restrictions (A).

THE *Polish* gentry are warlike by inclination; yet they cultivate peace with the neighbouring powers from views of policy. Their frontier lies exposed, the whole kingdom is naked of fortresses and towns of strength, and might therefore become an easy prey to an aspiring potentate in the vicinity of the republic. When such events happen, the king assembles the *pospolite*, or *Polish* gentry, by circular letters, to oppose the enemy; but unhappily the constitution requires that three such circular letters shall be sent, as stated periods, to each palatinate, before which time the enemy may possibly over-run the kingdom. The land-holder is exempted from the public service, unless he be the chancellor or starosta of frontier places. The *pospolite* is not obliged to march above three leagues beyond the limits of the *Polish* dominions; nor can the nobility be legally compelled to remain in arms above six weeks at a time, whence result manifold inconveniences. It is likewise observable, that during this state of hostile preparation, an intire stop is put to the course of justice, all tribunals are shut up, and every case, whether criminal or civil, whether relative to life or to property, must be deferred until the dissolution of the *pospolite*. These are defects in the *Polish* constitution too obvious to require animadversion: but yet there is scarce a possibility of removing them without producing greater enormities, except by new modelling the whole constitution.

NOTHING can have a more formidable appearance than this army of military nobility, fighting, *pro aris & focis*, for religion, liberty, property, and life, nor like hirelings who

P HAUTEVILLE, cap. x.

Q CONNOR, p. 35, 61, 68.

(A) Count *Brühl*, a *Saxon* officer, affords a living instance of the breach of this law.

a let out their bodies at a certain price to the government, either to oppose the enemies of the kingdom, or trample upon the liberties of the people, just as they are ordered by an ambitious monarch; but the *pospolite* want discipline to direct and regulate their strength and valour. They are mounted on horseback, and generally form only a tumultuous body, difficult to resist at the first onset; but, if once broken, easily overthrown. Of this we shall speak more minutely, when we come to treat of the army of *Poland*, and the military power of the republic.

b It is the privilege of the *Polish* gentry not to march against the enemy at the command of the sovereign, until he has redressed all the grievances of which they complain; and it is not uncommon for them to seize occasions of the greatest public danger for presenting remonstrances to the throne. They claim another privilege, attended with equal bad consequences. A *Polish* gentleman cannot be arrested upon the most heinous and probable accusation. He must first be cited to a tribunal: if he refuses to obey the summons, he is declared contumacious; if he appears, and is convicted, he is then arrested, imprisoned, and afterwards tried more legally and formally. Thus, should he be conscious of his guilt, the greatest risk he runs is the being declared contumacious, in consequence of his not paying the proper regard to the citation. There have been occasions, however, where this privilege hath been infringed; and M. *Hauteville* relates, that he was witness to an instance of this nature, though he says the crime was so heinous that the nobility could not, without shame, avoid waving their privilege^{*}.

c - WHATEVER appearance of injustice this part of the constitution may have, there is another privilege attached to the rank of a *Polish* gentleman, still more grievous to the nation, and destructive of the first and simplest principles of equity, of natural right, and the doctrines of Christianity: we mean the absolute and despotic authority with which every gentleman is vested over his vassals and peasants. They have the power of life and property in their hands, which they sometimes abuse in a manner the most gross and wanton, reducing this unhappy order of people to a state scarce above the brute creation. Their wives and daughters are exposed to the most brutal usage from a drunken or lascivious master, without presuming to make the least resistance, or express the smallest resentment. But we shall drop a subject so shocking to humanity, to take notice of one d more considerable privilege claimed by the *Polish* gentry (A). It is, that no soldier or officer of the army can be quartered upon them; and should any of the military gentlemen attempt to violate this privilege, he is summoned before the first general diet, and condemned to death, or at least infamy, being deprived the benefit of ever acquiring a vote, or holding any office or employment. Such are the immunities of the *Polish* gentry, some of which they ought to surrender from a regard to the dignity of human nature, and compassion for the species. That is but a wretched authority that extends only over the most abject slaves^{*}.

e We have observed, that every *Polish* gentleman must be possessed of a landed property, or a share in the salt-works, or the revenues of the port of *Dantzic*, which is attended with equivalent advantage to an actual estate in land. In general, the *Polish* estates are royal, ecclesiastical, or patrimonial. The greater number, and indeed the most considerable, consist in starosties, which must be given away by the crown six months after a va-

^{*} HAUTEV. p. 79, 119.

^{*} CONNOR, tom ii.

f (A) M. *Hauteville* relates, that a gentleman who is desirous of cultivating a certain piece of land, builds a little wooden house, in which he settles a peasant and his family, giving him a cow, two horses, a certain number of hens, geese, &c. and a small quantity of rye, to maintain him for the first year, and to improve for his own future subsistence, and the benefit of his lord. In return, he obliges him to till a certain quantity of land, and to pay such a number of live animals out of the produce of the original stock. In the autumn all the peasants are employed in cutting down and reaping the master's harvest, who appoints overseers to reward the diligent, and punish with stripes the indolent. Pillories are erected in every village, on which these wretched beings are frequently obliged to stand for a whole day for crimes very trivial in their nature. One blessing, however, attends the unhappy situation of the *Polish* peasants, which is their insensibility. Born slaves, and accustomed to hardships and severe labour from their infancy, they scarce entertain an idea of better circumstances and

more liberty. They regard their masters as a superior order of beings, and hardly ever repine at that severe lot which has deprived them of all the comforts of life, in order to heap them on a cruel, despotic, and unworthy tyrant. They seldom want for provisions, and they reckon that a man can never be very wretched while he can eat. A total want of sentiment, and of the enjoyments of the mind; prevails through the whole order, as if Providence had wisely mixed the stupifying drop, to render more tolerable the nauseous draught of servitude. The peasant children are bred up like the young of the brute creation; and it is indeed confidently reported, that they are frequently suckled by bears in the woods. Until they are four or six years of age, they go naked as when they were born, are washed almost every day in cold water, without regard to the season of the year; and M. *Hauteville* relates, that he hath frequently seen them playing naked upon the ice, without their parents apprehending any bad consequences (1).

(1) *Hauteville*, c. xxii. & *passim*.

cancy, without the sovereign's being able to appropriate the revenues to himself a single day longer. They are regarded as the rights of old military officers, and the rewards of their long and faithful services, as the word *starost*, old age, imports. Each *starosta* pays a fourth of his revenue to the republic; but, with good interest at court, may secure the reversion of his *starostie* to his wife and family. Ecclesiastic estates consist of benefices, bishoprics, abbeys, priories, canonries, curacies, and all the land possessed by the regular clergy, to a vast extent. Some of the bishoprics exceed one hundred thousand livres yearly: an immense sum of money in a country that does not abound in specie. As to the patrimonial estates, these compose the real solid wealth of the *Polish* gentry, because they are intirely independent on the court, and descend by inheritance from generation to generation. They consist of lands, houses, towns, villages, woods, and especially peasants, which are valued, as in our colonies, at so much a-head, according to their age, strength, constitution, and capacity. In general, they are reckoned worth a hundred livres each yearly to the master, and have only one chance for becoming free, by entering into orders, and enrolling themselves in the long catalogue of priests and friars; to intitle them to which a slender portion of learning is required. It is the interest of the master to disqualify them early from a function which would destroy so much of his property: with this view, therefore, he obliges his peasants to marry at an early age, and by this means not only preserves but increases his wealth, by the multiplication of the species. It is not customary in *Poland* to lease out farms and estates for a certain annual rent in money, except those of beer, brandy, and public inns and taverns. All other rents are paid in corn, fish, poultry, and cattle, which the peasants rear up with the utmost care, being answerable to the master for every loss that might possibly be attributed to negligence. Upon every manor a *podstarosta*, or inferior gentleman, officiates as steward on the estates, and collects the corn, cattle, and other rents, part of which he sends to his master's kitchen, and disposes of the rest, for which he is accountable to the land-holder. From this it appears how difficult it is to ascertain the yearly revenue of *Poland*, or of any individual. We shall therefore only observe, that some of the nobility are reputed to possess an annual income of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, with which they have attended the diets with a train of a thousand persons, and have maintained occasionally, for the service of the government, a corps of three thousand able bodied men.

Of the Polish
army.

ONE of the most extraordinary parts of the *Polish* constitution is the manner of raising and maintaining an army, which has nothing similar in any civilized state on the face of the globe. In the infancy of the *Polish* government, the people were rather forced by an arbitrary power than directed by indulgent laws, to defend their country and extend their frontier. Since the reign of *Boleslaus III.* every palatinate and district hath been obliged to raise a certain number of horse for the public service, and every town and city a company of a stated number of men, to be ready at the shortest notice, with their provisions and ammunition. We have already mentioned the time allowed to the palatine to get his troops in readiness: this is what is termed the *pospolite* or militia of *Poland*, assembled at an appointed place to obey the commands of the king, assisted by his senate or council. Originally *Poland* was an open country as at present, without castles, fortresses, or places of strength. In course of time the government ordered fortifications to be erected in the cities, to oppose the incursions of the enemy. They were subject to royal authority, and defended by regular well appointed garrisons. This it was found strengthened the hands of the monarch, and composed a kind of standing army, with which some ambitious prince might destroy the liberties of the people. The citadels and fortifications were therefore neglected, and some of them demolished: they were then usurped by neighbouring lords, who by this means extended their authority over burghers and citizens, as well as over the peasants on their own estates. Governors and garrisons were sometimes kept up by the government; but as the governors were generally chosen out of the neighbouring nobility, they applied the revenues to their own purposes, and suffered the garrisons to make excursions for their maintenance into the adjacent country. This was the practice in the few remaining fortresses in *Poland*, from which the garrisons were frequently absent above half the year; so that in fact *Poland* is intirely an open country, liable to be over-run without resistance by an enterprising and rapid enemy, as was apparent in the last general war with *Sweden*. These are evils which the government cannot remedy, because they affect the interest of the body of gentry in general, who compose the bulk of the legislature.

WHEN upon any pressing emergency circular letters are dispatched to the palatines, all landed gentry able to bear arms, are obliged to attend the orders of the government; all gentlemen who live in cities or towns upon the interest of money; all tenants who have procured leases for a term of years (a thing extremely rare in *Poland*;) all the king's

† Id. ibid. HAUTEVILLE, c. xxii.

‡ HARTNOCH, lib. ii. c. iii. iv.

tenants;

a tenants; the ecclesiastical *sculets*, or advocates in the spiritual courts; and in cases of imminent danger, all citizens in general, and even the gentry imprisoned for high crimes and misdemeanors, are dismissed to attend the *pospolite*, being bound afterwards to return to their confinement, to stand trial, and suffer the just punishment of their crimes, unless they have merited pardon by some signal acts of valour and gallantry in the service of their country.

b At present the *pospolite* is entirely composed of cavalry; formerly every twentieth peasant was armed with a long gun, a scymetar, and a pole-axe, as a foot soldier; and now there is a small body of infantry raised occasionally, though seldom applied to any useful purpose. This foot corps is raised at the expence of citizens worth four thousand florins; burghers more wealthy being obliged by the constitution to find a horseman completely armed. In the great duchy of *Lithuania*, the clergy are obliged to fit out a number of men, in proportion to their temporal and spiritual possessions; but only the temporal estates of the clergy are subjected in *Poland*. Persons possessing estates in different palatines, are obliged to appear only in behalf of one manor. The poorer gentry may either appear in person, or subscribe to equip one horseman for a certain number of small estates. Brothers, who are joint proprietors, may depute one person to represent the whole fraternity. The king's court and retinue are exempted from public service, unless his majesty takes upon him the command of the army. Several of the queen's court are likewise exempted from taking the field. The primate is also vested with a power c of protecting a certain number of the gentry within his jurisdiction from appearing in a military capacity; and this privilege is sometimes claimed by the bishop of *Cracow*, and other prelates, if their attendance be otherwise required by the republic. Starostas left in garrisons, and their tribunes, claim an exemption from serving in the field; and lastly, the governor of the citadel of *Cracow*, with his deputy, the burgraves, and two captains of foot, may refuse to obey the general summons to take arms and march against the enemy. Several palatinates have, besides, peculiar privileges; and in the palatinate of *Massovia* six brothers, though they should happen to have as many distinct estates, send but one representative to join the *pospolite*.

d THE numbers that appear at the general rendezvous of the militia of *Poland* are formidable. *Bosko*, a writer of that country, alledges, that in his palatinate only two thousand cuirassiers and four thousand light horse took the field in the reign of *Boleslaus III.* and *Starovolscius* relates that *Uladislaus* led one hundred thousand horse against the knights of the *Teutonic* order, besides great numbers left for the defence of the provinces. It is certain indeed that *Poland* can at this day arm an equal number of horsemen, and the duchy of *Lithuania* above sixty thousand cavalry, well appointed, exclusive of infantry, upon whom the *Poles* place but little dependance. *Starovolscius* and *Fredro* are both of opinion that *Poland* and *Lithuania* united can send two hundred thousand men against the enemy, without depopulating the country*.

e EXCLUSIVE of this prodigious national force, the *Polish* government has frequently taken twenty or thirty thousand foreign auxiliaries into service; and king *Stephen* in particular employed sixteen thousand *German* and *Hungarian* mercenaries, all cavalry, in his expedition against the *Swedes* to *Livonia*. We have already mentioned the manner of assembling the *pospolite*, by circular letters from the king to the palatines; it is sufficient to observe in this place, that the *Polish* gentry are annually mustered and registered by proper officers, in order to inform the crown what strength can be drawn forth on critical junctures. It is however equally difficult to get the *pospolite* under arms, and afterwards to make them wield them with discipline, obedience, and the necessary regard to subordination. Every man believes himself qualified for a general, and aspires at an independent command. All are ambitious of being officers, and none can be brought to support with f temper the rank of a private soldier; whence proceed perpetual plots, conspiracies, and desertions. No magazines are ever formed for the subsistence of the army; and hence it is that the *Polish* soldiers are reduced to the most distressed circumstances in every expedition, and the most important enterprizes frequently relinquished just as they are on the brink of being brought to a happy issue.

g THE *pospolite* of every palatinate being assembled at the place appointed, they are led by their proper officers to the general rendezvous, where the palatines surrender their several charges to the commander in chief. In their march they are not to be quartered on the gentry, but obliged to encamp in the open fields. The *Polish* nobility squander the bulk of their estates in making a magnificent appearance on these expeditions, and furnishing themselves with glittering arms, fine horses, rich trappings, and elegant apparel, as well as in the maintainance of a numerous retinue. Frequently their own fortunes

* CONNOR, tom. ii. lib. vi. STAROVOLSCIUS, p. 92. HAUTEVILLE, chap. 21.

are insufficient to defray all their charges, as they receive no pay for some time, and this obliges them to squeeze and oppress the wretched peasants, entirely despoiling them of the hard earned reward of patience and labour. This species of oppression prevails thro the whole army, the superior officer defrauding his inferiors of their share of those contributions levied upon the public to supply the deficiencies of regular pay from the government, and this obliges the soldiers to rob and pillage wherever they happen to be quartered. Repeated remonstrances have been made to the diet to remedy an evil so gross and enormous; but they all proved fruitless. It has been proposed to keep the army encamped, under strict discipline; but neither the temper of the *Poles* will brook this military servitude, nor does the diet chuse to throw so much power into the hands of a general, who holds his commission of the king as well as the republic, and whose interest it is to close in with the measures of the court. Thus the soldiers continue to rob, pillage, and destroy the country with impunity, and without the least prospect of redress; nor can we avoid attributing the whole to the mismanagement of the finances, and the irregular manner in which subsistence-money is issued out to the forces. A soldier seldom is paid above once in the year, often once in two years, half of which time he lives upon his own credit and adds in pillaging and defrauding the peasant, who makes up for all deficiencies, and suffers for all mistakes in the constitution, or mismanagement in the administration.

WHEN pay is issued out from the treasury for the army, commissioners are deputed by the diet to regulate the division, and endeavour to make some abatement or saving for the government, or rather for themselves, because they are seldom accurate in their accounts. Should the government happen to prove unusually remiss in advancing the arrears, then the soldiers enter into confederacies, and bind themselves with an oath to obtain justice. Having sent remonstrances to the diet, which are possibly neglected, the inferior officers assemble and form what they call a *rokosz* in the *Polish* language, or a general desertion from the commander in chief. They chuse out of their own number a marshal and a lieutenant, to whom they swear obedience, until the causes of the confederacy are removed, and the army paid to the last farthing. The consequences are dreadful; the estates of the nobility are over-run and laid desolate, with all the fury of an enraged enemy, and necessity is made the pretext of the most terrible disorders and shocking inhumanities. While a foreign enemy perhaps is laying waste the extremities of the republic, the *pospolite*, her natural protectors, are tearing her very bowels, and gnawing her vitals. There is indeed a law which renders these confederacies capital, and declares the estates of all who accede to them forfeited; but this is a law which the constitution has not power to enforce, and which would be in itself unnecessary, were there more regard paid to the management of the treasury.

ANOTHER flagrant defect in the military constitution of *Poland* is, that the commander in chief holds his employment for life, and cannot, even for misconduct, be superseded by the royal authority, or the power of the republic (A): besides, the dignity is frequently conferred on some powerful nobleman, wholly unacquainted with the art of war, but formidable by the number of his dependents: need it therefore be matter of surprize that the *Poles*, with all their strength and courage, should meet with frequent defeats from an enemy greatly inferior in numbers and personal courage, but better disciplined, more unanimous, and obedient. To this we may add, the little regard paid to the orders of the government for assembling at a certain day. Scarce half the army is found at place and time appointed. The officers drop in with their corps perhaps a month after the army should have taken the field, and retire home again before half of the campaign is finished. This is one of the unhappy consequences of that ill-directed liberty of the *Polish* constitution, which hath so often rendered the republic a prey to her enemies, and to her own subjects.

WE come now to a more particular description of the *Polish* army, which is entirely composed of cavalry; for as to the infantry, it is called the foreign army, though possibly more than half the troops may have been natives of *Poland*: however, as they receive their orders in the *German* language, and are paid in the manner of that country, they are regarded as auxiliaries. The cavalry is divided into *hussartysz* and *tavarsysz*: the former are chosen men and horses, both defended by close armour; the latter covered only by a breast-plate, gorget and helmet. Lances, sabres, and pistols are the arms of the *hussartysz*; and carabines, bows, and arrows, of the *tavarsysz*: the former dart their lances at a considerable distance, and if they miss their aim, recover them by means of a silk cord wound round the wrist. All the cavalry are stuck over with the wings of storks and other large

(A) Dr. Connor, in his history of *Poland*, alleges, that a new constitution passed in his time, limiting the duration of the general's office to the space of three years (1). We have however been told, that the pa-

latines complained of this as an infraction of their rights, and had influence enough to have the general's commission placed upon the antient footing.

(1) Connor, lib. vi. tom. ii.

a birds, and cloaked over their armour with the skins of wild beasts, to give them a fierce appearance and terrify the enemy's horses, who unaccustomed to so extraordinary a spectacle, cannot be brought up to the charge. As to the *Polish* light horse, they differ in little else from the other troops than the name, being armed like them with coats of mail, helmets, &c. they are however sent upon all foraging parties and expeditions which require celerity, because they are less incumbered with baggage and equipages. No sutlers being admitted into the camp, every *Polish* officer must be provided with provision, and whatever can be wanted in the course of a campaign, which he is obliged to carry about in his march at his own expence, providing waggons and horses, without any assistance from the government.

b THOUGH the great art of war consists in celerity; a knowledge of the enemys motions, a perfect acquaintance with the situation of the country, and the most profound secrecy, the *Poles* give themselves no trouble about these matters. They pay little regard to opportunity, seldom reconnoitre the enemy or the ground, and ostentatiously publish all their designs to the whole world, depending upon strength and courage, and despising the thoughts of clandestinely seizing an advantage, which they think reflects highly on the national honour. Thus an expert and cunning enemy is certain of victory; but it has been the fortune of the *Poles* to have waged their most bloody wars with nations as unskilful as themselves; with the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Muscovites*, who have only of late years studied the military art. Yet with all these inconveniences, the *Polish* cavalry have performed prodigies of valour in action; and we shall see in the subsequent history small parties of the *pospolite* dispersing numerous armies of *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Walachians*, and *Russians*.

c To conclude this account of the *Polish* forces, we must observe, that when the king does not command in person, that dignity devolves to the great general of *Poland*, and his rival in power the great general of *Lithuania*, each of whom have particular lofty titles. The authority of these generals is mutually independent; they act in concert, rather from inclination than in virtue of their instruction. Each possesses the entire conduct of his own army, and may march where he pleases without consulting the other; whence have flowed manifold inconveniences. Their commissions give no title to a voice in the senate; but they are generally chosen out of that assembly, in order to impart respect and dignity d to the office. On some occasions the generals have been senators, great marshals, or great chancellors, uniting all the dignities, and thereby gaining a very extraordinary influence over the army. At present this commission is bestowed on palatines and castellans, who enjoy no court places, or offices in the republic. Each of the generals has his lieutenant-general, who enjoy all their power in the absence of the superior. Besides these, the *Polish* constitution requires there should be generals of the frontier guards, distinct in office, and wholly independent on the former, though subordinate in rank and authority. They receive orders only from the king and the diet. The power of the general of the *Cossacks* was established in the year 1661, and remains the same at this time; inferior in rank to the great generals, but not subject to their orders. Next in rank stands e the colonel of the king's guards, who usually takes the name of general; and nearest to him in dignity is the general of artillery, called the great master of the ordnance. He is immediately followed in rank by the *piszcak* or *intendant*, the great standard-bearer, the camp-marshal, the captain of the guard or watch, and the majors generals, who are immediately above the colonels. We must take notice of two officers which always attend the *Polish* army, extremely useful in themselves, but in a manner peculiar to the *pospolite*; these are a camp-notary and the *rota majster*. The one takes every three months an exact account of the number of troops in the whole army, and reports the deficiencies in particular corps; and the other, being a centurion of the frontier guards, sends the government a faithful estimate of the situation of the borders, and the forces left for their f defence. Upon the whole, the military power of *Poland* is extremely formidable; but it stands at present upon such a footing as renders all her strength contemptible, and places this nation in the lowest rank in point of discipline, knowledge, œconomy, and all that constitutes the art of war, of any people in *Europe*. This is fully evinced by the present conduct of the republic, conscious of her own inability to repel the insults of the contending northern powers, and suffering her monarch to be stripped of his hereditary dominions, on the one hand by *Prussia*, and the *Polish* dominions to be traversed with impunity by multitudes of barbarous *Russians* on the other. In a word, she sits the tame spectator of a bloody contest, which may one day terminate in her servitude, by permitting the czarina to gain a footing in the empire, which she never could effect, while the *Poles* g exerted any degree of that spirit, which once eminently distinguished the nation, and compensated the errors of the constitution.

Religion.

WE proceed now to the religion of *Poland*, and the administration of justice, topics of at least as much consequence as any we have yet treated. In the reign of *Miceflaus I.* about the year 964, the *Poles* were first converted from idolatry to the Christian religion. *St. Adelbert*, afterwards archbishop of *Gnesna*, was the great instrument of this happy revolution; and the arts of the church of *Rome* have kept the *Polish* government fast in the interest of the pontiff since that time, and the most strenuous advocates for his supremacy and infallibility. The Catholic doctrines may be termed the national religion, as persons of that persuasion only are permitted to sit in the senate, rise to eminence in the army, or preside in the courts of justice; yet the government not only tolerates, but is bound to protect *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, *Jews*, *Armenians*, and *Greeks*. Formerly *Poland* was over-run with sectarists of all denominations, *Hussites*, *Picards*, *Arians*, *Anabaptists*, *Tritheists*, *Manicheans*, *Phorians*, *Ebionites*, *Brunists*, *Nestorians*, and *Socinians*: now these sects are almost extinguished, and *Socinianism* suppressed by the government (A). The bulk of the Protestants reside in *Polish Prussia*, at *Dantzick*, *Elbing*, *Thorn*, and *Marienburg*, where they enjoy privileges of which they are deprived in all the other provinces. The *Poles* gave them the appellation of *Saxons*, because *Luther* taught in *Saxony*, though they sometimes distinguish the *Calvinists* by the name of *Zborocoi*, from the *Polish* word *Zbor*, signifying an unlawful assembly.

IN *Poland* the monks are wealthy, profligate, debauched in their manners, and irregular in their morals. They are often seen drunk, and led from taverns, without apprehending any disgrace to the sacred function, or dreading the censure of their superiors, who themselves require equal indulgence. Their fasts consist in abstaining from eggs, milk, and boiled fish at night: in any other manner they are permitted to eat that species of food, which forms almost the whole aliment of other *Roman Catholics* on fast days. We may indeed affirm, that though no clergy on earth are so attached to the see of *Rome* as the *Polish*, yet they prefer good living even to the opinion of the pontiff, and therefore very prudently confine their abstinence from animal food wholly to the evening, believing that quite sufficient to their future salvation.

As for the secular clergy, they admit of pluralities, and hold profitable benefices in the most distant parts of the kingdom, without being ever supposed to perform any of the duties of their function. A canon gives two pence to a poor scholar or a monk for going through the drudgery of prayer as his substitute. Even the bishops are so negligent about the due execution of episcopal duties, that they are forced to wink at the enormities of their inferiors. With all this carelessness about religion, the *Poles* put on all the exterior of devotion. The few clergy who attend the duties of their sacred profession have all the appearance of piety; and the laity make up for every other deficiency by their bounty to the church. They will grind the face of the poor to enrich a monastery; cheat, cozen, and defraud, for the blessing of beautifying or enriching an altar. In these particulars, *Poland* is now what the more civilized nations of *Europe* were two centuries ago: their adoration is paid not to the Almighty, but to the ministers of his holy word, whom they regard as the mediators between God and man. The presents which have been made to them are immense: all their churches are built by donations: they are in general rich and magnificent; and the Jesuits at *Leopold* have a chalice set with jewels, said to be worth a million of livres. So zealous are the *Poles* in the Catholic faith, that they draw their swords at mass, in testimony of their readiness to defend their religion. Formerly they would not intermarry with heretics, contract any alliances with them, nor accept of their assistance in war; and the bishops preside in the senate for no other purpose than to watch that no decree shall pass which is contrary to the Catholic doctrines established by law. As to the erudition of the clergy, it consists entirely in that species of sophistry known by the name of school-divinity, in an unmeaning metaphysical jargon, and the most useless logical distinctions. The divines of this country pique themselves on adapting the metaphysics of *Aristotle* to the doctrines of Christianity, by which they render the latter in all respects as profound and unintelligible as the former. They pay no regard to church history, but solve all difficulties by the affirmations of the *Stagyrite*, and the decisions of the

(A) The anti-trinitarian doctrines of this sect sprung from *Faustus Socinus*, a native of *Sienna* in *Italy*, about the year 1574, and were first brought into *Poland* by *Spicillus* a *Dutchman*, a disciple of the celebrated *Erasmus*, a master in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* languages, and generally known in history by the name of *Fricius*. It is true his doctrines, though similar to those of *Socinus*, were not then termed *Socinianism*, but usually confounded with *Calvinism*, in which sense they were embraced by the monarch, and dispersed with as-

tonishing rapidity over the face of the country. More than half the nobility of the kingdom embraced the tenets of *Spicillus*; the palatine of *Podolia* erected a printing-house, and founded an academy for the use of the sect; their catechism was published, and their boldness at length demanded the attention of the government. In consequence they were expelled by *John Casimir* in 1658, and only three years allowed them to dispose of their estates.

a pontiff. In a word they are ignorant, obstinate, opinionated, and superstitious; a mixture of pride, arrogance, stupidity, avarice, and low cunning^z (B).

It has been repeatedly observed, that the peasants are the abject slaves of their lords, who hold courts within their several jurisdictions. Indeed the civil courts are in the hands of a variety of judges. The starostas hold courts within the extent of their several territories; and every city enjoys a privilege of giving judgment in certain cases. The starosta's court sits the most constantly; but the palatine, mareschal, and chancellor have likewise their courts; and, in truth, every gentleman holds a tribunal of justice upon his own estate. Civil or criminal causes of greater importance, are finally decided by the king, senate, and diet, or the general courts of the nobility, of which there are two for Poland, and one for the great duchy of Lithuania: the former holding their sessions at Piotrow or Lublin, and the latter at Minsk or Vilna. These courts are composed of a certain number of the clergy and laity of each palatinate. Judgment is given by a plurality of voices; but in matters purely ecclesiastical, the number of clergy must be equal to that of the laity. The lay members are elected every four years, the ecclesiastics once in two years. At Radem and Vilna are likewise courts relative to the finances, where all matters of property between the crown and the subject are debated. The affairs of merchants and foreigners come before the marechal's tribunal; they belong wholly to his jurisdiction, and seldom are brought to any other court, tho' indeed the officers of justice shew so barefaced a partiality to Poles against strangers, that it is almost unnecessary to bring the matter in dispute to a legal trial, the event being perfectly known before the parties make their appearance in court. This co-operates with a variety of other reasons to depress industry, and prevent commerce from ever lifting up her head among this haughty indolent people.

To conclude, the errors of the Polish constitution are gross and numerous; but they are not incapable of reformation. Were the true interest of the kingdom known, and duly pursued, this republic might still become one of the most formidable powers in the North. The revival of the antient spirit of the people, assisted by their greater progress in science and the arts, would produce an intire change; one able monarch or minister might raise Poland from its present despicable situation, to a very respectable height of power and authority in the scale of Europe. Would a spirited diet once revoke the absurd tribunative power of the *liberum veto*; were ambitious foreigners and perfidious subjects cut off from the possibility of frustrating the laudable intentions of the republic, and opposing the designs of men who are able and willing to promote the interest of their country, Poland would thereby recover a real active government, be happy in its internal constitution, and respectable in its external policy, which at present are the contempt and pity of all Europe.

S E C T. II.

Containing the History of the first Class of Polish Monarchs, from Lechus or Lecht, to the tragical Death of Popiel.

A PASSION for removing their origin to the remotest antiquity, has involved the earlier ages of all nations in fable and absurdity; we have had repeated occasions to confirm the truth of this remark in our history of the northern kingdoms, whose annals were for centuries intrusted wholly to oral tradition, and couched in the songs and tales of those bards and *shenacheighs* maintained for the pomp and amusement of the great. Poland wants even this feeble assistance; it was not the practice of the country to entertain itinerant poets, and we are obliged wholly to the neighbouring states for the imperfect accounts transmitted of the series of the first Polish monarchs (C). The writers of Denmark and Sweden reflect considerable light on our subject; they are serviceable in filling up chasms, but not sufficient materials for a complete and uninterrupted thread of history. It is to Guagnini, Cromer, and Matthew of Michovia, we are obliged for the most regular deduction of narrative, though they are so replete with fiction, that it is difficult to determine what to retain and what to reject.

^z Vid. Auct. sup. citat.

(B) No country on earth contains such a number of Jews as Poland, and they are indeed the only industrious body of people in the kingdom. Their number hath been computed at two millions, and the pay fifty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six rix-dollars yearly, for the protection of the government, besides the general imposts (1).

(C) The learned Pistorius hath collected into one large volume, all the treatises wrote upon the origin and remote history of the Polish nation, and to this useful compilation we are indebted for a variety of facts which have not been mentioned by any modern historians.

(1) Busching's Geography, tom. i. p. 573.

THE first sovereigns of *Poland* were only called dukes, or generals (*duces* in *Latin*) as if their office was properly to lead the armies into the field. For a great number of years the ceremony of coronation was unknown, and *Boluslaus Chobry* is said to have been the first of the princes who assumed all the badges of royalty. Historians are unanimous in placing *Lechus* or *Lecht* at the head of the *Polish* princes; and to render his pedigree more illustrious, they pretend to call him a lineal descendant from *Japhet* the son of *Noah*. He is said to be the founder of the nation; and some writers think that he migrated, at the head of a numerous body of men, from some of the neighbouring countries, and settled in *Poland*; but all allow, that both the prince and his people were the descendants of the *Slavi* or *Scalvi*^a. To this day the *Tartars* call *Poland* the kingdom of *Lechus*, by which name it is distinguished by a variety of eastern nations (D.) Little more is recorded of this prince, than that he founded *Gnesna*, now the archbishop's see; and *Posnan*, the capital of *Posnania*. The manner of his death, and the name of his successor, are disputed. One writer alledges^b, that a son called after his own name succeeded to his dominions; another affirms^c, that, like *Alexander the Great*, he left his authority to the most deserving; and a third^d scruples not to write a kind of life of *Viscimir*, as the nephew and successor of *Lechus*. We have adhered to the last as the most approved and plausible opinion, though numberless stories are related of this prince, which savour strongly of fable.

Lechus.
A. D. 550.

Viscimir.

He is reported for instance to have extended his conquests to the very bowels of *Denmark*, subduing provinces and building cities, particularly the city *Wisnar*, which he called after his own name. Our author pushes matters so far, as to describe a battle fought between *Viscimir* and the *Danish* monarch, in which, after a bloody contest, victory declared for the former, and the latter was taken prisoner, and carried in triumph to *Poland*. After obtaining his liberty, through the generosity of *Viscimir*, the *Dane* still thirsted for revenge, and joining the *Swedes* and *Holsteiners*, marched directly for *Poland*, met *Viscimir*, gave battle, and was a second time defeated, in consequence of which the *Poles* again overran *Denmark*, and carried desolation wherever they appeared. *Viscimir* besides kept a powerful fleet, and in particular one large ship, which proved the terror and destruction of all his enemies: however, it is remarkable that not a trace of these wars is to be met with in any of the *Danish* historians, nor the least mention of a *Polish* prince of the name of *Viscimir*. After a long and glorious reign, this hero resigned his last breath, leaving his people in the utmost distress and confusion, on account of the disputes that arose about a successor, and whether the same form of government should be continued.

The ducal government abolished, and twelve palatines appointed.

ALTHOUGH there are strong reasons for doubting whether the ducal government was abolished on the death of *Viscimir*, yet the unanimous voice of history declares, that the nobility were on the point of electing a sovereign, when the people, harassed with the wars carried on by *Viscimir*, oppressed by his victories, and almost ruined with his conquests, unanimously demanded a different form of government, and that they should no longer be made the sacrifices of ambition and tyranny. It was easy for the nobility to conjecture that they should be able to profit by this humour of the people; they pretended however to yield reluctantly to their solicitations, and at last determined upon a mode of government which brought the whole power into their own hands. Twelve palatines or vaivods were chosen, and the *Polish* dominions divided into as many provinces. These vaivods assumed a despotic authority within their several jurisdictions, and aggravated the misery consequent on their tyranny, by perpetual wars among themselves, and a series of the most deplorable civil dissensions. The people soon perceived that they had only changed one tyrant for a number; and, disappointed of the liberty which they expected under the vaivods, they were eager to return to the old form of government, held a general assembly for this purpose; but could for a long time come to no agreement, on account of the opposition made by the palatines, and their struggles to be continued in their dignities. The people however determined upon electing a prince; but the choice was attended with a thousand difficulties. To restore order, to repel the invasions of neighbouring nations, to reconquer the territories wrested during the late troubles from the *Polish* dominions, and re-establish the national honour, required a prince of extraordinary talent in the field and the cabinet. Affability and generosity were wanted to engage the af-

The ducal government restored.

^a Ant. Univ. Hist. vol. xvii. GUAGN. apud Pistor. tom. i. MATH. de Michov. ibid. tom. ii. KAD-LUBKEN pref. p. 8. ^b MAT. de Michov. p. 7. ^c LAURENT. Corvin. apud Pistor. tom. iii. p. 49. ^d GUAGN. p. 52.

(D) The learned German professor *Busching*, in his New System of Geography, lately published, gives an account of the origin of the *Poles* somewhat different, and rejects as fabulous all the dukes of *Poland* before *Piafius*, though it doth not appear upon what authority. *Sarmatia*, he observes, was an extensive country, inhabited by a variety of nations of different

names. He supposes them to be the descendants of the *Lazi*, a people who lived in the antient *Colebis*, near the *Pontus Euxinus*; hence the *Poles* are called *Po-lazi*, which he falsely spells *Polacy*. Crossing several rivers they entered *Posnania*, and settled on the borders of the *Warta*, while their neighbours, the *Zechi*, settled on the *Elbe*, in the 550th year of *Christ*.

a fections of the people, firmness and stability of sentiment to suppress the machinations and plots of the vaivods, and courage and a martial spirit to check the insults of foreign enemies, and recover all the losses which the commonwealth had sustained. So many qualities are seldom found united in the same person. The *Poles* however cast their eyes on *Gracus* Cracus I. or *Cracus*, whose wealth, popularity, and ability had raised him to the highest pitch of credit among his countrymen. The *Poles* alledge, that he was a native of *Poland*, and one of the twelve vaivods; on the contrary, the *Bohemians* claim him as theirs; and they agree only in deducing his origin from the *Roman Gracchi*, who, according to them, were banished into this county during the monarchical state of the city. We are told by *Mathew* of *Michovia* that he first signalized himself in a dreadful battle with the *Franks*, who had overrun *Pannonia*, and threatened destruction to all the northern kingdoms. Cracus was scarce seated on his throne, when he raised an army, marched against the barbarians, and after one of the most obstinate conflicts recorded in history, obtained a complete victory, and drove the enemy out of the province. It was with the spoils of the *Franks* that he built the city *Cracow*, which he made his own residence, and the capital of his dominions. Cracus anticipated every wish of his happy subjects; he was always victorious in war, and consummately prudent in peace; he framed many admirable laws, was the darling of his people, and the terror of his enemies. Without extending his frontier, he rendered his dominions powerful merely by dint of good order, unanimity and harmony, in all the different departments of the government. At last, oppressed with years, and covered with glory, he expired, or as some writers alledge, was assassinated by a nobleman who aspired at the sovereignty. It is remarkable, that *Cracus* ordered his remains to be buried on the summit of a high hill in sight of *Cracow*, that the inhabitants might always have their founder in view, and cherish his memory * (E).

CRACUS left three children, who succeeded by regular succession to his dominions. Cracus II. The reign of *Cracus*, the eldest son, was short. He fell a victim to his brother's ambition, by whose hands he perished. Lecht or Lechus, the fratricide, was raised to the supreme dignity, by the unanimous voice of the people, who were ignorant of the horrid crime he had committed; but Providence did not suffer him long to enjoy the fruits of his villany, nor to hold the reins of government with those hands that were polluted with the blood of his lawful prince and sovereign. The nature of *Cracus's* death was discovered by an accident; the murderer's own conscience betrayed him; he was deposed with all possible marks of ignominy, deserted by society, and suffered to perish with remorse and grief, in want and obscurity †.

It is a proof of the attachment of the *Poles* to the memory of the excellent *Cracus*, Vanda. that upon the deposition of *Lechus*, they raised his sister, and the youngest child of *Cracus*, to the highest dignity in the commonwealth. This princess indeed merited the most extraordinary distinctions, possessing, in an eminent degree, all the beauty and softness of the female, joined to manly sense and truly masculine courage. She was prudent, just, temperate, and eloquent: her affability secured all the hearts which her beauty gained. She reigned with glory, and her people were enjoying all the blessings of tranquillity, and a wise administration, when *Rithogar*, a *Teutonic* prince, sent ambassadors to demand her in marriage, and to declare war against *Poland* should *Vanda* reject his proposals. He was in hopes that the terror of his arms would force the princess into compliance; but he was mistaken. *Vanda*, according to some historians, had rendered herself incapable of entering upon the nuptial state, by a vow of perpetual virginity. Other writers alledge, that she was too prudent and too ambitious to share her authority with a husband; while a third historian is equally positive, that her lofty spirit would not suffer her to think of a barbarian, who had presumed to address her with menaces. Certain it is, that she prepared for war, assembled an army, animated her troops, and in person led them against

* MAT. de Michov. in Collect. Pistor. tom. ii. lib. i. cap. v. DUGLOS. lib. i. MICRAL. lib. ii. † Michov. ibid. p. 11.

(E) There are different opinions about the period when this prince flourished. Some will have it, that *Lechus* I. lived about the year 550 of the Christian æra, and *Cracus* towards the beginning of the seventh century; while *Duglossius* and *Michovia* place the latter four hundred years before the birth of *Christ*. This is a wide difference; and, in truth, both chronologies appear to be erroneous; for admitting the former opinion, there would be only three reigns, and a short inter-regnum, to fill up a period of near two centuries; and if we embrace the assertion of *Duglossius*, the chronology will be still more defective, and a chasm of above a thousand years unnecessarily introduced into

Polish history. We must besides observe, that all that is related of this prince by *Guagnini*, hath so much the air of the marvellous, that we cannot give it a place in our text; though it may be proper to mention it in the notes. According to this superstitious writer, a terrible dragon infested the neighbourhood of *Cracow*, and with his poisonous breath killed thousands of the inhabitants. A stratagem contrived by *Cracus* rid *Poland* of this monster. He ordered the hide of an ox to be filled with combustibles, upon which the dragon seized as a prey, and devouring it greedily, was consumed by the fire kindled in his bowels (1).

(1) Guagn. p. 55. tom. i. apud Pistor.

the enemy, over whom she obtained a complete victory, without striking a blow. At the head of her army she harangued *Rithogar's* troops with such irresistible eloquence, that the officers, enchanted with the beauty of her person, and the force of her persuasion, refused to lift their hands against so amiable a princess. Even the savage breasts of the soldiers were softened into complacency: they quitted their ranks, and threw down their arms before *Vanda*, whom they worshipped as a divinity. *Rithogar* himself was stung with remorse; and, yielding to the violent impressions of despair and shame, plunged his sword in his own bosom. Having pardoned the hostile army, and dismissed her enemies enraptured with her virtues, she returned in triumph to *Cracow*, to reap with her subjects the fruits of that tranquillity, which she had now established by the powerful influence of her wit and beauty. *Mathew* of *Michovia* alledges, that, repenting of the vow of virginity she had made, she resolved to atone for it by the sacrifice of her life. Others affirm, that she was deeply afflicted at the unfortunate end of *Rithogar*; with the elegance of whose person she was smitten, at the very moment he struck the fatal blow, and that in despair she flung herself from the bridge into the *Weissel*. All agree, that she was drowned in this river; though they differ about the circumstances which occasioned this violent death*. From this princess the surrounding country took the name of *Vandalia*, according to *Michovia*; though, if we admit the etymology, she could not have flourished so late as the year 750, the period assigned by the bulk of historians.

Twelve vai-
vods.

Premislaus.

A. D. 750.

THE tragical death of the amiable *Vanda*, and intire extinction of the family of *Cracus*, left the *Poles* a second time at liberty to enjoy the sweets of freedom, had they understood how to profit by the opportunity. They had already experienced the consequences of divided power, and electing a number of sovereigns; but they attributed the calamities they felt more to the misconduct of the persons, than to the fault of the constitution; or, rather, they became the dupes of the superior policy of the ambitious nobility. They determined, as before, upon an aristocratical form of government, chose twelve vaivods, divided the state into as many provinces, and had, as before, cause given them in a short time of repenting that instability of disposition which induced them to prefer a worse mode of government, only because it was more novel. The vaivods abused their power: *Poland* became the theatre of bloody wars, and a scene of the most grievous oppression. Equally exposed to external enemies and internal factions, destitute of leaders, of troops, and of conduct, the *Poles* had almost fallen the victims of their own imprudence, when *Premislaus*, a private soldier, delivered them from all their misfortunes, and was raised to the supreme dignity, in reward of his extraordinary services. *Poland* was at war with the *Hungarians* and *Moravians*, whose numerous forces were opposed by a handful of men, who, on the enemy's approach, were ready to surrender at discretion. *Premislaus*, whom some call *Leskzo*, a goldsmith by trade, resolved to supply the want of numbers by address and stratagem. This hero, whom a natural intrepidity of mind, and fertility of genius, joined to long experience, had formed for the salvation of his country, observing that the *Hungarians* were wrapped in security; that they preserved no discipline, but lived careless, as if they had already been conquerors, assembled his friends, represented the calamities of his country, the necessity of some extraordinary exertion of valour, and the facility of gaining a complete victory, if they would take the resolution to attack the enemy unprepared. To make his corps appear more numerous, he contrived helmets and breast-plates of the bark of trees, which he daubed over with some glittering paint, and fixed upon poles in such a manner, that the eastern sun should reflect upon them. Then dividing his band, he attacked the enemy about dawn, in several quarters, with the utmost impetuosity. The alarm immediately spread through the camp, that a numerous army was advancing: all was in confusion; fear deprived the *Hungarians* of the means of defence; they were totally defeated, prodigious slaughter was made, and victory and the sovereignty of *Poland* were the rewards conferred on *Premislaus* for this single proof of his courage, conduct, and patriotism (F). He was no sooner raised to the supreme authority, than he studiously cultivated the arts of peace, and the means of rendering his people happy: the reputation of his warlike genius preserved them unmolested by foreign enemies; but with respect to the duration of his government, and the manner of his death, history is silent. We only know, that he died deeply regretted, and without issue; by

* GUAGNINI res Polon. p. 56. Michov. ibid. HERBURT de Fulsin. p. 12.

(F) The manner of gaining this victory is variously related. One writer says, that the *Hungarians*, upon seeing rows of helmets, mistook them for the *Polish* army, and advanced to give battle: upon which *Premislaus* ordered the helmets to be removed, and retired to a thick wood behind; whither he was pursued by

the enemy. Here their superiority of numbers could be of no advantage to them: they were incapable of extending their flanks, or forming regularly. The *Poles* attacked them on all quarters from concealed places, and obtained an easy and complete victory (1).

(1) *Herburt de Fulsin*, p. 12.

which

a which *Poland* once more became a scene of confusion: fortune, however, prepared a successor^b.

SEVERAL lords, of nearly equal merit, influence, and power, aspired at the sovereignty; and with their factions and contentions threatened the nation with a civil war. To prevent the calamitous effects of a scene of domestic discord, the *Poles* assembled, and unanimously declared they should acknowledge him for their prince who surpassed all the rest in the swiftness of his horse. Antient history makes mention of a nation who chose their king by the neighing of his horse. The *Poles* determined upon this as the most effectual method to prevent fraud; but they were deceived. A stone pillar was erected in the neighbourhood of the capital, upon which were laid all the badges of the ducal authority; and at the same time a herald declared him sovereign who should first reach the goal from the river *Pruderic*, whence the competitors were to start. A *Polish* lord, named *Lechus*, resolved to secure fortune by a stratagem; for which purpose he ordered iron spikes to be driven all over the course, reserving only a path for his own horse. The fraudulent design was accidentally discovered by a young man, for whom fortune designed her favours; but he did not immediately divulge his discovery, in hopes of turning it to his own advantage. The day appointed for the trial arrived, and the competitors started; but some were suddenly arrested in their course, as if by the hand of fate; others were dismounted, and severely hurt by their fall; while *Leacknochus* alone flew like lightning to the goal, and was crowded amidst the acclamations of the people. Just as this ceremony was performing, the peasant, who had discovered the artifice, had the courage to oppose the pretention of *Lechus*. His boldness, and the confidence with which he insisted upon the fraud, determined the people to suspend their judgment, and examine the fact, which was found to be really as the peasant had described. Resentment at the insult offered their understanding immediately took place of admiration: they tore *Lechus* to pieces, and raised the informer to the supreme dignity^c.

THE name of this prince too was *Lechus*: he governed with great wisdom, and the happiness which the people experienced under his administration soon obliterated the memory of the meanness of his birth. *Lechus*, however, never forgot that he was born a peasant; and, in order to secure himself from the seducing attacks of pride, he caused the despicable habit he wore, before the *Poles* vested him with the ducal dignity, to be constantly carried before him on all public ceremonies. His humility had the desired effect: *Lechus* was more esteemed than if he had procured his elevated station by birth-right. He studied not only the qualities of a pacific prince, but he obtained the reputation of a warrior: he repelled the enemies of the state, and removed the seat of war from his own frontier to the heart of their country. The *Bohemians* and *Moravians* felt the weight of his prowess: he defeated them in several battles, extended his dominions, and became the terror and admiration of all the neighbouring powers. In a word, *Lechus* was prudent, moderate, brave, liberal, the patron of merit, and the protector of the injured. In the decline of life he was forced into a war, for the defence of his dominions, against the encroachments of the enterprising emperor *Charlemagne*; and some writers relate, that he fell in a battle fought with this powerful monarch. *Mathew* of *Michovia* is, however, of opinion that he died a natural death, when he was so advanced in years that the springs of life were intirely decayed^d.

It is the concurring opinion of historians, that *Lechus* was succeeded by his son of the same name, and the rival of all his father's virtues. After acquiring great reputation, by the wisdom and spirit with which he crushed an insurrection that appeared in the provinces, he led his army against the *Italian* and *Greek* legions, who had over-run *Pannonia*. Here he displayed all the talents of a great general, having first reduced the enemy to great extremities, gained the advantage of situation, and then forced them to a battle upon unequal terms, in consequence of which they were totally defeated. Nor was the clemency of the victorious *Lechus* less glorious than his valour. He dismissed all his prisoners without ransom, demanded no other condition than their promise never again to disturb the peace of his people, or of the allies of *Poland*. Incontinence is the only vice with which this great prince is charged. He left about twenty natural sons, and but one legitimate child, who inherited his dominions. It was perhaps the most impolitic act, during the whole reign of *Lechus*, that he invested his natural sons with the sovereignty of divers provinces, upon the sole condition of paying homage to their brother. This was laying the foundation of perpetual contentions, and can only be excused by paternal affection. Similar errors had almost occasioned the ruin both of *Denmark* and *Sweden*^e.

LECHUS was succeeded by his only legitimate son *Pompilius*, *Popiel*, or *Offerich*; by all which names we find him mentioned by historians. *Popiel* was a moderate, wise, and

^b MAT. de Michov. cap. vii. lib. ii. p. 59.
^c Hist. Bohem. cap. xi.
MOD. HIST. VOL. XII.

^d HERBURT de Fulstin, p. 13.

^e Id. ibid. GUAGNINI,

pacific prince, who never had recourse to arms, but from necessity, either to support the honour of the nation, or to defend his frontiers against the attacks of ambitious enterprising neighbours. He transferred the seat of government from *Cracow* to *Gnesna*, and from thence to *Cruswitz*, a city which he had newly founded, confining himself intirely to the interior administration of the kingdom, preserving order, distributing justice, promoting industry, rewarding merit, and securing that repose to which he was naturally inclined^m.

Popiel II.

THIS excellent prince was succeeded by his son *Popiel*, a minor. While *Poland* was governed by a regency, the people were scarce sensible of the loss of their gracious monarch: the guardians of the young prince closely pursued the maxims of the sage *Popiel*, and their administration was fruitful of numberless blessings to *Poland*; but as soon as young *Popiel* was of age to take into his own direction the helm of state, he removed his uncles from the government, treated them with the utmost contempt, banished them the court, and suffered a disposition naturally bad to be seduced into worse measures by the artful insinuations of an ambitious designing woman, to whom he was unfortunately married. This lady, not satisfied with removing the faithful uncles from the court and administration, represented to the credulous *Popiel*, that they had formed a design upon his life, and projected the means of getting the reins of government into their own hands. "Will you suffer them, says she, to supplant you in the affections of the people; and while these steps are continually approaching your throne, will you take no measures to disappoint their unnatural ambition? To what purpose is their popularity, which they so assiduously cultivate, but to deprive you of your authority? Even their services are calculated to this effect; and, under the pretence of promoting your interest, they are laying a solid foundation of glory to themselves, that will one day prove your ruin. Should their views upon your person be baffled, you ought to tremble for your children; and prudence dictates, that you ought to sacrifice to the safety of your family a knot of daring, ambitious, and cunning men, who seize every opportunity of rendering you odious to your people, by making comparisons between your conduct and their own administration." The weak and voluptuous *Popiel* could not resist insinuations enforced with all the blandishments of feigned love and artful beauty. He fell into the snare laid by his ambitious wife; and the more easily gave credit to her suggestions, that his uncles had just remonstrated to him upon his mistaken measures, and unmanly conduct. Determined on revenge, *Popiel* put on the hypocrite, pretended indisposition, kept his bed, and assembled his uncles, under the pretext of wanting their advice in the present critical conjuncture. "Should it please the gods to cut him off in the bloom of years, his people, he said, would be left without a head, and oppressed with all the miseries consequent on a long minority. They had already exhibited proofs of their wisdom and integrity; they stood high in the opinion of the people; and he should esteem himself happy, if they would take charge of his infant son, and govern the nation with the same masterly conduct they had shewn during his own minority." In a word, the false *Popiel* acted his part with so much address, that his uncles, entertaining no suspicion of his design, promised all he required; and at parting drank off a cup of poison, which he ordered to be administered. The uncles died under the most excruciating torments, and the cruel *Popiel* extended his inhumanity beyond death itself. Under pretence that he had only anticipated the designs of his uncles, extinguished a formidable conspiracy, and caught them in the snares laid for him, he prohibited the last honours to be paid to their remains. Some writers alledge, that *Popiel* propagated a report, that the terrible death of his uncles was a just judgment inflicted on them by the gods, for the treacherous projects they had set on foot against him and his children. To grant them the usual honours paid to the dead, would, he said, be opposing the will of heaven. Accordingly the bodies were left exposed to the open air; but the disfigured remains soon produced the avengers of the crimes of this brutal prince. All historians agree, that a swarm of rats issued from the putrid carcases, pursued *Popiel*, his wife, and children, wherever they went, through fire, water, and the strongest barriers. Nothing was capable of screening the murderers from their vengeance. First the children, next the wife, and at last *Popiel* himself, became the victims of the resentment of these animals: they were instantly devoured, and their memory consigned to infamy (G). Nor was the anger of the gods appeased with the punishment of the guilty *Popiel* and his family: their thunder was poured down on the heads of his innocent people. *Poland*, destitute of a chief, soon became the scene of dis-

Extinction of
the first class
of princes.

^m MAT de Michov. cap. xi. lib. ii.

(G) Notwithstanding the concurring testimony of all writers, this tragical story favours so much of fable, proposed shewing how superstition, ignorance and hypocrisy disfigured the earlier annals of all nations.

Civil wars in Poland.

a cord and blood. Contending interests produced a civil war, in which rapine, murder, and devastation, with every other act of the most cruel oppression, were committed with impunity. All the nobility strove for superiority; different factions daily reared their heads, and the weakest became a prey to the more powerful. The enemies of the nation cherished those divisions, and converted them to their own advantage. They assisted the weakest, with a view of sacrificing all; and held the ballance so long equal, that both parties were exhausted; upon which they appeared in the field, and openly avowed their designs. Happily, however, this apparent misfortune proved the greatest blessing to Poland. It not only carried with it its own remedy, but proved an effectual cure to all the other disorders which had reduced the state to the verge of destruction. The nobility, b struck with the impending ruin, united for their mutual defence. A regard to the general welfare extinguished every spark of particular animosity. They had no other alternative than either becoming the slaves of a perfidious enemy, or suddenly dropping their ambitious purposes, and joining in the election of a prince, whose courage, prudence, and popularity, should be able to stem the torrent of misfortune, and associate those independent chiefs in the general defence of the state. Before we proceed to the particulars of this election we shall close the section; as with *Popiel* ended the first class of the dukes of Poland, according to the general division of preceding historians ^a.

^a MAT. de Michov. cap. xi. lib. ii. HERBURT de Fulstin, lib. i. p. 14. FLOR. Polon. cap. xii. p. 22.

S E C T. III.

Containing the History of the second Class of the Sovereigns of Poland, concluding with the Extinction of the Posterity of *Piaſtus*, in the Persons of *Casimir III.* and of *Lewis*, King of Hungary, elected King of Poland.

Second class of princes.
A. D. 830.

THE family of *Popiel* being extinct, the nation threatened by powerful foreign enemies, and the nobility jealous of each other, all ambitious of the crown, and now united only from motives of necessity, a general assembly of the nation was held at *Cruswitz* for the election of a sovereign. Great disputes arose; and the multitude of people, d together with the long continuance of the session, occasioned such a scarcity of provision, that even the most wealthy nobility were unable to purchase sufficient supplies. In this situation the assembly was relieved from their distress, and directed in their choice of a prince, by a miracle, if we may credit the superstitious historians of those times. The story is variously related. *Duglossius* alledges, that in the extremity of famine, when the people were dropping dead in the streets with hunger, two angels in human forms came to *Cracow*, and took up their residence with one *Piaſtus*, a wheelwright, the son *Cosſiſco*, a citizen of *Cruswitz*. *Piaſtus* was celebrated for his piety and extensive charity. He had nothing left but a small cask of the common liquor of the country, and this he presented to his new guests, who, charmed with his hospitality, promised him the crown of Poland. e The faith of *Piaſtus* was equal to his other virtues: he implicitly believed the word of his guests, and piously followed their directions in every particular. He was ordered to distribute the liquor out of his little cask to the multitude: he did so, and found that it was inexhaustible. The people were astonished; all cried out, *A miracle!* and the electors determined to chuse a person in whose favour heaven had so visibly declared: *Piaſtus* was accordingly taken from his shop, and raised to the ducal dignity ^a.

Piaſtus raised to the ducal dignity.

SUCH is the relation of the canon of *Cracow*, which differs in many particulars from the account given by *Guagnini* ^b, and several other historians. According to them, *Piaſtus* had prepared a small collation, to entertain some friends assembled at the birth of a child. Two pilgrims, *Paul* and *John*, afterwards murdered at *Rome*, came about this time to f *Cracow*. They begged charity at the door of the election-hall, and were rudely repulsed; upon which they stumbled on the house of *Piaſtus*, and were kindly received. The miracle we have mentioned was wrought by them; and the two pilgrims, and not angels, were the instruments of the elevation of the hospitable wheelwright. Though we pay but little regard to the marvellous means by which *Piaſtus* ascended the ducal throne of Poland, it would be presumptuous entirely to omit a fact attested by all the writers upon this subject: we have therefore given it a place in our history, and leave the rest to the reader's judgment.

PIASTUS, being now raised to the supreme dignity, was not intoxicated with his prosperity. The same charity, benevolence, and sweetness of disposition remained: nothing E was altered but his power of doing good. He was truly called the father of his people. The injured never returned unredressed, nor merit unrewarded. *Piaſtus* wiped the tear

^a DUGLOSS. lib. i. ^b GUAG. p. 64. HARTNOCH, lib. i. cap. ii. MAT. de Michov. cap. xii. lib. ii. from

from the eyes of the widow; and was himself the guardian of the orphan, and the general patron of the poor and distressed. His excellent inclinations served him in the room of great abilities, and the happiness that his people enjoyed made them forget that their prince was not born a statesman and a warrior. Several intestine commotions arose during his administration, all which he quelled by the mildness and clemency of his nature: his nobility were ashamed of rebelling against a sovereign who devoted his whole life to render his people happy. He removed the court from *Cruswitz*, a city which he detested, because it was the scene of *Popiel's* crimes and tragical end, and fixed his residence at *Gnesna*, where he died, beloved, esteemed, and even adored by his subjects ^a (A).

A. D. 861.
Ziemovitus.

PIASTUS had, some years before his death, associated his son *Ziemovitus* with him in the government, on account of his age and infirmities. By this means the young prince ^b was early initiated in the mysteries of the cabinet. His heart was formed by the admirable example and the wholesome instructions of his father, while his understanding was improved and his capacity enlarged by business and experience. The people reaped the fruits of this happy education. *Ziemovitus* no sooner ascended the throne, and took upon himself the intire management of public affairs, than *Poland* experienced a vast accession of importance. The nation was happy in the late reign; now it was formidable. The prince maintained a respectable army, and took great pains to acquire a perfect knowledge of the art of war. He was the first who introduced any kind of discipline among the *Polish* troops, who divided them into distinct regiments and companies, and established degrees of subordination among the officers. It was the eager desire of *Ziemovitus* to distinguish himself, as a war was kindled between the republic and the *Hungarians*, *Moravians*, and other nations of the *German* continent. In all his battles he was victorious; and he gained not only what had been lost during the civil wars subsequent to *Popiel's* death, but considerably extended his dominions. Upon the whole, he was the greatest prince who had ever filled the ducal throne: magnanimous, warlike, wise, and just: he died at *Gnesna*, the darling of his subjects, the terror of his enemies, and the admiration of mankind ^c.

Lechus V.

THOUGH the ducal dignity was almost invariably continued in the same family, yet the people claimed the right of election. Accordingly, on the death of *Ziemovitus*, they assembled at *Cracow*, to appoint a successor; and their choice was unanimous in favour of the son of the late glorious prince. *Lechus* was a minor when he was raised to the supreme authority, and this obliged the diet to appoint a regency. When he was of age to take upon himself the government, he closely imitated the example of his grandfather; was just, pacific, and pious, like him; and died as much the idol of his subjects as the beneficent *Piaſtus*, after a reign of twenty-one years, undisturbed by a single accident.

Ziemomislauſ.

OUT of respect to the memory of *Lechus*, and from motives of justice to the merit of his son, the people raised *Ziemomislauſ* to the ducal dignity. His disposition was mild and gentle, and, like his father, he studiously cultivated peace; but without incurring the imputation either of timidity or indolence. A certain dignity in his manner, a firmness of mind, and boldness of expression, when occasion required, convinced all men that his love of peace proceeded from an attention to the interest of his subjects, rather than from any deficiency in point of courage. He died in the year 964, was buried at *Gnesna*, and succeeded, without opposition, by his son *Mieczslauſ*, surnamed the *Eye of Christianity* ^d.

Mieczslauſ I.

THIS prince was born blind, and restored to sight in a manner deemed miraculous at that time; whence the magi and sages of *Poland* predicted, that some extraordinary events would occur in his reign. It was indeed a little extraordinary that he should gain his sight at the age of seven years, without the assistance of art; nor need we be surprised that such a circumstance, however natural it might be, should, in that age of superstition, be construed into a miracle. About this period several of the northern nations began to embrace the doctrines of Christianity. *Bobemia*, and all the adjacent states, had in particular abjured idolatry; and *Poland* was on the point of being received into the bosom of the church. There are a variety of accounts of the manner in which this happy conversion was effected. The most probable is, that *Mieczslauſ* having, by ambassadors, made his addresses to the princess *Dabrowka*, daughter of the duke of *Bobemia*, the lady rejected his hand, unless he would first consent to be baptized. The duke's passion was

^c Id. ibid.

^d DUBRAV. lib. v.

^e DUBRAV. lib. v. HARTN. lib. i. cap. ii.

(A) It is in memory of this excellent prince, that all the natives of *Poland*, who have been since promoted to the ducal or regal dignity, were called *Piaſtes*, in contradistinction to the foreigners (1). ^g

(1) Vide Hartnoch, lib. i. cap. ii. Connor, tom i. lett. ii. p. 23. Mat. de Michov. cap. xii. lib. ii. p. 15. apud Pistor.

a strong: he determined, at all events, to obtain the princess; accepted her conditions, was instructed in the principles of her religion, and then declared himself a Christian; upon which the nuptials were celebrated^f. *Mathew de Michovia* relates, that *Mieczslaus* had seven wives, previous to the offer of marriage which he made to the princess of *Bohemia*; but having no children, he was told, by some itinerant sages, he could never expect issue until he divorced all his pagan wives, and married a Christian princess. This determined him to the alliance with the court of *Bohemia*. The same writer alleges, that he was voluptuous and indolent on his first accession, devoting his whole time to women, and paying little regard to the affairs of government; but that, after his conversion, he became a true apostle, propagated the gospel by his own preaching, broke down the idols of superstition with his own hands, and confirmed, by his practice, the truth and divine origin of the doctrines which he recommended. He founded the archbishoprics of *Gnesna* and *Cracow*, and appointed St. *Adalbert*, sent by the pontiff to propagate Christianity in *Poland*, primate of the whole republic. On the birth of his son *Boleslaus* he redoubled his zeal, founded new bishoprics, and several monasteries; ordering likewise, that, when any part of the gospel was read, the hearers should half draw their swords, in testimony of their zeal to defend the truths of Christianity. In truth, *Mieczslaus* was too superstitious a Christian to execute all the duties of a sovereign. He spent his whole time among the clergy, and suffered his dominions to be torn from him by his barbarous neighbour the duke of *Russia*. If he has been transmitted to posterity as a prince of great virtues, we may attribute a character which he did not merit to his extraordinary liberality to a set of men, who measured the piety of princes by their donations to the church, and estimated merit by the number of convents founded. With all his complaisance for the clergy, he could not obtain the regal dignity from pope *Benedict VII.* tho' he had warmly solicited that honour; but it was afterwards conferred on his son, who succeeded to all his dominions^g.

B O L E S L A U S I.

d *BOLESLAUS*, surnamed *Chrobry*, was of a character very opposite to his father's. He professed and cherished Christianity; but he did not commence preacher and apostle. His valour was unquestioned as his faith: nothing was too arduous for the courage of *Boleslaus*, and the severest toils of war constituted his greatest pleasure. The first transaction of his reign, however, was in that strain of piety which formed the religion of his times. He removed the remains of a saint from *Prague* to *Gnesna*, which he had purchased at a considerable price. The emperor *Otho III.* made a pilgrimage, on account of a vow, to the tomb of this saint. He was hospitably received by *Boleslaus*, whom, in return, he vested with the badges of royalty; an act that was confirmed by the pontiff. His new dignity added nothing to the power of *Boleslaus*; but it increased his consequence with his own subjects. The vulgar are always attracted by appearances. The king affected more state than usual: his body-guard was considerably augmented, and he was constantly attended by a numerous and splendid retinue, whenever he stirred out of his palace. *Boleslaus* was a politician; he had his designs in this, and they produced the expected effect. Hitherto the *Poles* had scarce maintained any wars with the *Russians*, except in their own defence: they had been frequently victorious; but they knew and dreaded the power of that vast and barbarous people. The king was desirous of inspiring them with a high opinion of their own importance; and he perhaps could not take a more effectual method than dazzling their eyes with the splendor of a court. As soon as he had sufficiently prepared their minds, and levied an army, he was meditating an attack on *Muscovy*, when some disturbances on the side of *Bohemia* diverted his intentions.

A. D. 999.

Boleslaus Chrobry I. raised to the regal dignity.

f THE duke of *Bohemia* saw with jealousy the elevation of *Boleslaus* to the regal dignity, and his alliance with the imperial family by marrying *Rixa*, niece to the emperor. He regarded those marks of distinction paid to his rival as affronts to himself: it seems he had demanded the badges of royalty, and was refused. Filled with resentment, he entered *Poland* at the head of a numerous army, without so much as declaring his reasons for so extraordinary a proceeding, and marked his way with blood and desolation. The king flew to the defence of his dominions, and the *Bohemians* retired at his approach with the utmost precipitation. Scarcity of provision, and the inclemency of the season, prevented *Boleslaus* from pursuing; but as soon as circumstances altered, he marched at the head of a well-appointed army into the enemy's country, with a full resolution of taking ample revenge. He endeavoured, by every possible stratagem, to draw the duke to a battle; but neither the ravages committed by the *Polish* army, nor the destruction of their cities, could inspire the *Bohemians* with sufficient courage. *Boleslaus* laid siege to *Prague*,

His military exploits.

^f CROMER, lib. iii. p. 44.

^g MAT. de Michov. lib. ii. cap. iv.

He conquers
Bohemia and
Moravia.

and the inhabitants made an obstinate defence; but were forced to surrender their city to be pillaged, after they had for two years withstood all the king's efforts. The reduction of *Prague* was a signal to the lesser cities to yield to the victorious arms of *Boleslaus*; but though he was in possession of almost all *Bohemia*, the king could not believe his conquests complete, until he made himself master of the duke's person. This unfortunate prince had shut himself up, with his son *Jaremir*, and a numerous garrison, in his only remaining fortress of *Wissogrod*, where he imagined he should be able to foil all the attempts of *Boleslaus*. The event shewed he was mistaken: the *Polish* monarch invested the place, and advanced his approaches with such rapidity, that the garrison, apprehending a general assault, refused to stand the consequences. The duke used promises, prayers, and arguments, to keep them in their duty; but the terror of *Boleslaus* made a deeper impression than all his rhetoric. The garrison capitulated, the duke and his son surrendered prisoners, and *Boleslaus* stained his victory by his cruelty. It is reported, that he put out the eyes of the old duke, and sent his son into perpetual and close confinement^h. *Moravia* followed the fate of *Bohemia*: this province acknowledged the power of *Boleslaus* the moment he appeared on the frontier, and his clemency confirmed to him the acquisitions of his valour. All his conduct breathed nothing but the most consummate prudence and humanity, his behaviour to the duke alone excepted.

Attacks Russia

THE king's success in *Bohemia* and *Moravia* rendered him the more eager for conquest. He now thirsted after the reputation of a warrior, and burnt with a desire of raising *Poland* above all the powers of the North. Filled with this notion, *Boleslaus* resumed the intention of attacking *Russia*, and a fairer opportunity could not offer, as that country was divided into factions, and cruelly oppressed by a civil war, which had raged with violence among the children of duke *Volodomir*. Paternal affection had induced that prince to make an equal partition of his dominions among his sons: the elder repented the injury done to his birthright: he took up arms against the father, gained some advantages, and broke the heart of his aged parent. *Jarislav*, for that was the name of the young prince, was afterwards defeated by his brother; but recruiting his army, he gave battle a second time, and by a stratagem obtained so complete a victory as obliged the vanquished *Suante-polk* to seek refuge in *Poland*. Here he exerted all his address and eloquence to persuade *Boleslaus* to undertake an expedition for which he had before prepared. The pretext, however, was now more plausible than before: it was given out, that the king had no other object in view than reinstating in his dominions a prince who had claimed his protection. A numerous army was levied, the king moved towards the frontiers of *Russia*, and soon penetrated to the very heart of that vast country. At last he found his career stopped by the river *Bog*, on the opposite banks of which prince *Jarislav* was encamped with a prodigious army. For several days, assisted by the rapidity of the river, he kept the *Poles* at bay: divers attempts were made to cross; but they were all baffled by the activity of the *Muscovite*, and the difficulty of the enterprize. *Boleslaus* grew impatient, and resolved to hazard all, rather than be checked in the midst of conquest. Summoning up all his skill and intrepidity, he formed his cavalry in the best manner for breaking the stream, and exposed his own person to the utmost violence of the torrent. Fired by his example, the *Poles* imitated his conduct, and advanced breast-high in water to the opposite shore, from whence the enemy gave them all the annoyance in their power. The *Poles* at last gained the bank, and soon obtained a complete victory, obliging *Jarislav* to retire to *Kiovia*. This city was immediately invested; but the *Russian* prince was too expert a general to suffer himself to be cooped up within walls: he retired farther into the country to recruit his army, while *Boleslaus* continued the siege, and at length compelled the half-famished garrison to surrender at discretion. Here the immense treasures which had for years been collecting by the dukes of *Russia* became the reward of *Polish* valour. The king seized the booty, and distributed great part of it among his soldiers.

He subdues all
his enemies

THOUGH *Boleslaus* was now in possession of the greater part of *Russia*, he was sensible of the difficulty of retaining the conquest, except by placing a natural sovereign over the inhabitants. This consideration it was that induced him to reinstate the fugitive *Suante-polk*. His pretensions, however, were still disputed by *Jarislav*: he had formed a flying camp, and meditated a project of surprising and carrying off his rival brother; but this scheme being defeated by the vigilance of the *Polish* monarch, the unfortunate *Muscovite* retired to *Novogrod*, where the attachment of the inhabitants enabled him to make some shew of resistance, until he was again attacked and defeated by *Boleslaus*ⁱ.

SUANTEPOLK had no sooner attained to the height of his ambition than he forgot his obligations to the *Polish* monarch, and repaid all his services with the most perfidious

^h MAT. de Michov. lib. ii. cap. v. apud Pistor. p. 23. lib. iii. p. 49.

ⁱ HERBERT de Fulstin, lib. i. cap. iii. CONN.

ingratitude.

a ingratitude. He considered himself as a kind of dependent on *Boleslaus*, and therefore resolved by any means to get rid of a prince, the lustre of whose glory intirely obscured his own grandeur. He regarded the king as his greatest enemy, for no other reason than because he could not repay his favour; and he set on foot a conspiracy for massacring him and his whole army. The execution of this barbarous project was already begun when intelligence came to the king, who mounted his horse, assembled part of his army; and marched against the insidious enemy. His approach intimidated *Suantepolk*, who wanted sufficient resolution to support so horrid a crime; he placed his safety in flight; *Boleslaus* entered *Kiev* a second time, which he delivered up to be pillaged; after which he led back his army to *Poland*, loaded with glory and the spoils of all *Russia Nigra*.

b *BOLESLAUS* had no intention of retaining *Russia* as a conquest; but he imagined himself perfectly secure from any attacks in his retreat, having, as he supposed, given a decisive blow to the power of the two brothers. The active *Jarislav* had however as-

The Russians revolt, and are defeated.

c assembled fresh forces, and came up with the king on the *Boristhenes*, just as half his army had crossed the river. Prudence and valour were equally necessary to keep up the spirit of his own troops, and to resist the enemy: both were exerted in an extraordinary manner on this occasion. The king drew out his remaining forces, animated the officers and soldiers by a short spirited harangue, placed himself at the head of a chosen battalion, begun the attack, performed prodigies of valour, and bore down all before him; but the superior numbers of the enemy, and the intrepidity of *Jarislav*, kept the victory

d long in suspense. The battle raged for several hours, and both princes broke and discomfited the enemy wherever they appeared. Each side fluctuated between hope and fear, when at last part of the *Polish* army repassed the river, attacked the enemy in flank with irresistible impetuosity, pushed on to the center, and intirely broke, routed, and dispersed the whole *Russian* army. A dreadful carnage ensued; the numbers reported to have been slain in the pursuit are incredible; and *Jarislav*, in the hurry of flight, was obliged ingloriously to quit the ensigns of his dignity. The victory was complete, but it was not decisive. The vast extent of the *Russian* dominions furnished the vanquished *Jarislav* with fresh resources, and the spirit of that prince seemed to rise with his misfortunes. Other concerns, however, called upon the attention of *Boleslaus*, who withdrew his army, and suffered the brothers to exhaust themselves, and ruin their dominions by bloody civil wars. It is not impossible that prudence dictated this retreat: the king had sufficiently experienced the valour, activity, strength, and perseverance of his enemy, to know that *Russia* would not be an easy conquest. One defeat would have blighted all the laurels he had collected with so much toil and bloodshed: he therefore determined to relinquish the enterprize, for another as glorious, and less hazardous. It was this, and the desire of continuing his troops in the habit of victory, that drew the *Polish* army into *Saxony*. The inhabitants of this country had resisted all attempts on their freedom, and they now struggled hard for liberty; but were at last forced to acknowledge the sovereignty of the *Polish* monarch, and receive the laws dictated by *Boleslaus*. After a variety of un-

Boleslaus conquers Saxony, Pomerania, and Prussia.

e fortunate battles and skirmishes, the brave *Saxons* were forced to retire into an impenetrable wood, leaving the country to be desolated by the conquerors. Here they defended themselves against all the efforts of *Boleslaus*; but were, in the end, compelled by famine to quit their retreat, yield to their fate, and bow their necks to the yoke. But it was only during his short residence in *Saxony* that *Boleslaus* exerted the prerogatives of sovereignty. On withdrawing his army, he left the people to their liberty, and contented himself with a rich booty, and fixing the boundaries of his dominions on the banks of the *Elbe*, where he erected two iron columns, which likewise answered the purpose of transmitting the memory of his conquests to posterity.

f WHEN the king had brought the *Saxon* war to this happy issue; he meditated the reduction of *Prussia* and *Pomerania*, the latter of which provinces had in the former civil wars been dismembered from *Poland*. It had been given by *Lechus IV.* to his natural sons; as a fief of the ducal crown of *Poland*; but these petty princes taking advantage of the distracted state of the republic, after the death of *Popiel*, threw off their allegiance, and claimed an independency, which they maintained until *Boleslaus* forced them again to obedience. Besides the recovery of this province, the king had another motive for undertaking the war. Idleness would enervate the courage of his soldiers; and the mere want of employment give birth to cabals, revolts, and conspiracies among their leaders. It was necessary to keep them in action to make sure of their loyalty; for which purpose *Boleslaus* once more assembled his army, and put himself in motion towards the frontiers of *Pomerania*. The very terror of the conqueror's name effected all the purposes of an army: he had no occasion to strike a single blow; the princes acknowledged his sovereignty, and received his conditions, the moment he appeared. Nor did *Prussia* make more resistance: the people equally feared and admired the *Polish* monarch; and willingly entered into

the

the subjection of a prince whose reputation was sufficient to protect them against all their enemies. a

Conquers Russia a second time.

A. D. 1025.
His death and Character.

It was now full time to sheathe the sword; the character of *Boleslaus* could not be raised higher by conquest; and to fill the measure of his glory, nothing was wanting besides a display of his pacific talents. It was now his care to enjoy with his people the fruits of so many victories, and to render them happy as he had made them powerful. With this view he gave the closest application to the interior government of the kingdom; he framed excellent laws, and saw them rigidly executed; but in the midst of this happy tranquillity a new war was kindled by the restless *Jarislav*, and the venerable king was once more obliged to cover his hoary head with a helmet. Age had indeed enfeebled the arm of this glorious monarch; but he still retained the fire and ardour of youth, tempered by wisdom and experience. He knew the great abilities and implacable resentment of *Jarislav*; he received intelligence that the most numerous army which *Russia* ever assembled was ready to enter *Poland*; but he was not intimidated. With admirable composure he collected his army, and marched with confidence against an enemy tripple his number. He came within sight of *Jarislav*, on the banks of the *Boristhenes*, a river rendered famous by the former defeat of that prince. He reminded his troops of this circumstance; taught them not to fear, but at the same time advised them not to despise their enemy. While the armies lay in sight, an accident brought on a battle before the princes had determined upon their measures. The *Poles* crossed the river by swimming, and attacked the enemy before they were drawn out in order of battle, with such impetuosity as soon produced a complete victory. A panic had seized the *Russians*, and all the endeavours of *Jarislav* could not stop their flight. He was hurried away by the torrent, and almost trampled to death in the tumultuous croud of fugitives. *Boleslaus* had checked the ardour of his soldiers, and put a stop to the carnage; but several thousand prisoners were taken, and *Jarelaus* forced to receive the conditions dictated by the conqueror. They proved however extremely moderate; the king contented himself with inconsiderable tribute; he dismissed the prisoners without ransom, after he had engaged their esteem by his kind usage: in a word, his well-timed clemency produced a better effect than all his victories; the *Russians* admired his virtues, and voluntarily became his subjects. Having thus by prudence and valour extended his dominion with the addition of a vast empire, *Boleslaus* resigned his last breath, with the character of the greatest monarch of his age, after a glorious reign of twenty-five years. It would be unnecessary to enter upon a detail of the virtues of this prince, as the whole series of his conduct speaks his panegyric; it is sufficient that he obtained and justly merited the surname of *Great*^k. His moderation was not the least of those shining virtues which were united in the person of *Boleslaus*; and it redounds more to his honour than all the victories, that he never made the smallest attempt upon the liberty of his subjects. It was his saying, that he chose to be the sovereign of a free people, and the *Poles* shewed their gratitude to his memory by the regard they expressed for his family. The assembly of the nation met at *Posnania* immediately upon the death of *Boleslaus*, and with one voice chose his son to succeed to his crown and dominions. d e

Mieczslaus II.

M I E C Z S L A U S II.

MIECZSLAUS was in the prime of life when he was appointed to direct the helm of government, and the people entertained the highest expectations from a prince bred under so great a master in the art of reigning as their late sovereign. He was scarce seated on the throne, when an occasion offered for the full exertion of his abilities. The death of his father was the signal of a general revolt of all the *Polish* conquests in *Russia*, *Bohemia*, *Prussia*, *Moravia*, and *Saxony*. No longer awed by the dread of that hero, they all prepared to attempt the recovery of their liberty, and began with refusing payment of the shameful tribute imposed by *Boleslaus*. The two brothers *Jarislav* and *Mieczslaus*, dukes of *Russia*, were the first who took the field with numerous forces; they penetrated into *Poland*, laid all waste with fire and sword, reduced and pillaged *Czerwiensko*, overwhelmed the kingdom with consternation, carried some thousands of the inhabitants into captivity, and threatened the entire destruction of *Poland*. The approach however of the *Polish* army stemmed the torrent. *Mieczslaus* forced the *Russian* frontier, seized the persons of several of the chief nobility, and retained them as pledges of the fidelity of all their dependents. This spirited measure broke the scheme of the dukes, and for a time suppressed, though it did not extinguish, the sparks of a rebellion. f

MATTERS went otherwise on the side of *Bohemia*. This country continued to pay a tribute to *Poland* from the time it was conquered by *Boleslaus*. That prince had retained

^k HARTNOCH, lib. i. p. 74. MAT. MICHOV. apud Pistor. lib. ii. cap. vii. p. 24. HERB. de Fulstin, lib. ii. CROMER, lib. iii. Hist. Bohem. p. 52. CRANTZ. Annal. lib. ii. cap. xxxvii. DUBRAY. lib. vi. one

a one of the duke's sons as a hostage: he bred the young prince at his court, with all the attention paid to the education of his own children, and when he grew up he distinguished him by very particular marks of his regard. *Udalric* was an entire master in the art of dissimulation; and he so far insinuated himself into the esteem of the *Polish* monarch, that he was not only suffered to return to *Bohemia*, but sent back with a superb retinue, and furnished with the means of supporting his dignity with great splendor. During the life of *Boleslaus* he put on the exterior of the deepest gratitude; but *Poland* was no sooner deprived of her sovereign, than *Udalric* resolved to throw off his dependency, which he effected in a manner equally treacherous and cruel, ordering the *Polish* garrisons to be barbarously massacred, while they were wrapped in profound security. The *Polish* monarch, b it was soon perceived, did not possess any of those great qualities which had so eminently distinguished his royal parent. They saw that his indolence, profusion, and debauchery, rendered him contemptible to his natural subjects. The success of the revolt in *Bohemia* kindled the same spirit in *Moravia*, and the flames of war soon diffused themselves into *Prussia*, *Pomerania*, and *Saxony*. So general a commotion would have given full employment to the vast capacity of *Boleslaus*; but it was disregarded by *Mieczslaus*, too voluptuous, and too indifferent about national honour, to regard what became of the provinces, provided their defection put no stop to the course of his pleasures. In consequence of his inactivity, the *Polish* garrisons were forced and barbarously massacred or carried into slavery. c The governors of these territories assumed the title of sovereignty, disavowed all obedience to *Poland*, and supported their usurpation by the aid of their *German* neighbours, with whom they were connected by commerce and a variety of intermarriages. At last the clamours of the whole *Polish* nation awaked *Mieczslaus* out of that insensibility in which he had continued since the *Muscovite* expedition. He was prevailed, from the apprehensions of a rebellion of his natural subjects, to attempt chastising the insolence of the provinces. He levied an army, began his march against the rebels, and was attended by three *Hungarian* princes, who proved the chief instruments of his success. The spirit, discipline, and emulation in glory, excited in the *Polish* troops by *Boleslaus*, was not yet extinguished. They entered *Pomerania*, and soon obliged this province to acknowledge the sovereignty of *Mieczslaus*; after which this prince, as if he had fully secured his frontier, completed d the reduction of the provinces, and acquired immortal glory, shut himself up in his palace for the remainder of his life, where, devoting himself to his former voluptuous courses, he was seized with a phrenzy that terminated only with his dissolution, in the year 1034¹.

Death of
Mieczslaus.*

HOWEVER vicious *Mieczslaus* was in his own disposition, he was not insensible of the benefits of a virtuous education. His son *Casimir* was therefore bred up under the most learned and prudent persons of the age, and he is reputed to have been the first of the *Polish* princes who had acquired a taste for letters, and made a progress in science. His natural disposition was good, his understanding excellent, and improved by all that education could impart; yet the contempt in which the people held his father occasioned his being set aside at the ensuing election. The assembly of the states met to fill the vacancy in the throne, and some of the nobility proposed *Casimir*; but the people fearing e he might devote himself to the vices of *Mieczslaus*, suspended his election, without disqualifying him from wearing the diadem, and put the reins of administration into the hands of his mother *Rixa*, who was declared regent of the kingdom. Thus endeavouring to avoid one error, they fell into a worse, and dreading a voluptuous sovereign, they chose a tyrannical regent. *Rixa* soon exhibited specimens of her arbitrary disposition. The people were overwhelmed with taxes, and fresh exactions raised upon frivolous pretences. *Germans* were preferred to all places of trust and profit, and the administration was entirely in the hands of foreigners. These composed her council, and directed all f her measures. Many had amassed great fortunes in the space of a single year, with which they retired out of the kingdom. The *Poles* complained, and fruitless remonstrances daily beset the throne. *Rixa* not only refused to redress their grievances, but treated with contempt those who had the courage to stand up in defence of the privileges of the nation. Incensed at her conduct, the *Poles* flew to arms, and broke through those feeble ties which had bound them to their sovereign. *Rixa* was banished the kingdom; but, as if she had foreseen her fate, she first sent away the immense treasures amassed by the victories of *Boleslaus*, and by means of her wealth laid claim to the emperor's protection.

The kingdom
put into the
hands of a
regency.

THE crimes of *Rixa* drew down the vengeance of the *Poles* upon her innocent son; g *Casimir* was driven out of the kingdom, and the people fell into confusion and anarchy, the deserved punishment of their unjust rigour. The consequent disorders were innumerable,

¹ Vide CROMER, MAT, de Michov. HARTNOCH, GUAGN. &c. in locis citat.

merable, and almost fatal. The kingdom was filled with blood; every man aspired at the crown; no means were thought too base or cruel to gain their purposes; the laws were disregarded; the most enormous crimes committed with impunity; all subordination ceased; the nobility oppressed the peasants, and these retaliated by murdering their masters; the public roads were impassable; barefaced robberies, and the most barbarous murders, were daily committed; no asylum was sacred from the depredations of numerous bands of desperate villains, who infested every quarter; even the churches were plundered, and the ministers of *Christ* massacred by those impious wretches. A foreign war completed the calamities of *Poland*, and rendered the people more miserable if possible. The duke of *Bohemia* seized this opportunity to wipe off the disgrace sustained under *Bolleslaus*; and the young prince *Bretislaus*, copying the ingratitude of his father, entered the *Polish* frontier, seized *Wratislaw* and *Pofnan*, and laid those cities, with the whole surrounding country, in ashes, after having massacred or enslaved the wretched inhabitants. The archiepiscopal see of *Gnesna*, and the finest city in *Poland*, shared the same fortune; it was sacked and plundered with all the eager avarice of barbarians, and the unhappy citizens were murdered on the spot, or reduced to cruel servitude. Women of all degrees and ages were defiled, and the altars polluted with the most savage acts of brutality. In a word, every thing of which the most ungovernable rage, lust, and avarice of an uncivilized nation was capable, was committed at *Gnesna*, and that flourishing city brought to the deepest abyss of misery.

HOWEVER horrible the scene acted by the cruel *Bohemians* might appear, it was nothing to what was transacting in another quarter of the kingdom by the incensed *Jarislau*, at the head of a numerous army of *Russians*. It exceeds the power of imagination and language to describe the ravages he committed in the palatinate of *Mazovia*, from which he did not withdraw his troops before he reduced the provinces to a heap of ashes, burning houses, woods, corn-fields, men, women, and children, without discrimination. These calamities at length opened the eyes of the unfortunate *Poles*, and they saw clearly the injustice of punishing the innocent *Casimir* for the crimes of his cruel mother. His youth had promised all they could require in a prince; and why, said they, may he not inherit the virtues of his royal grandfather, as probably as the vices of his father and mother. Misfortune had softened their hearts; they were stung with the keenest remorse, and regarded all they had suffered as the just punishment of their iniquitous sentence passed on *Casimir*. They determined to recal him, as the best expiation of their crime; but they first resolved to carry their complaints against the cruelty of the duke of *Bohemia* to the pontifical throne; an event which laid the foundation of that vast power which the see of *Rome* hath ever since maintained in *Poland*. At this time the popes were in the zenith of their power, exercising the most despotic authority over the consciences of princes, establishing their influence over temporal as well as spiritual jurisdictions, assuming to themselves the right of adjudging the differences of sovereigns; of releasing subjects from their allegiance; of disposing crowns at pleasure; and of robbing and plundering whole nations, under the pretence of securing the gates of heaven to wicked tyrants. The anathemas of the church of *Rome* were dreaded as the most terrible of all calamities; and the pontiffs did not want the art of keeping up the credit of their spiritual thunder. The *Poles* thought to profit by their complaisance to the holy see; their presenting their grievances to the pope was an acknowledgment of his power to redress them. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to *Rome*, and a bitter remonstrance presented to the pontiff of the cruelties and sacrileges committed by the duke of *Bohemia*. Their complaints were at first favourably heard; the duke and the bishop of *Prague* were cited to appear before the pope, and their ambassadors and agents, apprehensive of an excommunication, promised ample restitution and intire compensation of their losses to the *Poles*. Mean time, the influence of gold was tried, and it succeeded. Presents were distributed with a judicious liberality, and the holy see made to forget exacting the performance of the duke's promises. The disputes about the pontifical throne greatly favoured the general corruption; and *Clement*, *Benedict*, *Sylvester*, and *Gregory*, were all equally in want, and equally rapacious^m.

DISAPPOINTED of revenge in *Bohemia*, harrassed with foreign and domestic wars, and reduced to the most piteous situation, the nobility again turned their thoughts to some expedient for easing themselves from the load of calamity. All acknowledged that a prince was necessary for *Poland*; and it was unanimously agreed that some compensation of his sufferings should be made to *Casimir*, the innocent victim of the people's just resentment against his parents. Policy as well as repentance dictated this measure, as it was equally dangerous to raise one of the nobility to the supreme dignity, and to bestow it on a foreign prince.

^m Michov. apud Pistor. t. ii. cap. ix. HARTN. l. i. p. 67.

C A S I M I R I.

THE difficulty was how to make *Casimir* acquainted with the resolution of the people. He had been absent from the kingdom for the space of five years, and no one was acquainted with the place of his retreat. When he was banished *Poland*, he retired into *France*, applied closely to his studies at the university of *Paris*, whence he passed to *Italy*, and for the sake of bread entered into a monastery, and took upon him the habit. He afterwards returned to *France*, and obtained some preferment in the abbey of *Clugni*. All this was utterly unknown to the *Poles*; they sent an embassy to the mother of *Casimir*, to acquaint her with their intention, and procure a direction for the young prince, on obtaining which they repaired with all expedition to *Clugni*: but the sacred function of *Casimir* was an insurmountable obstruction to his ascending the throne of his ancestors, without a dispensation from the see of *Rome*. Ambassadors were for this purpose dispatched to *Benedict IX.* or as some writers affirm, to *Clement II.* who, moved with the misfortunes of the kingdom, granted the request of the people, and discharged the prince from all his sacerdotal engagements, on his consenting jointly with his subjects to pay the capitation-tax, called *Peter-pence*; an exorbitant imposition levied in those days upon almost all the nations of *Europe*. The pontiff likewise made some other conditions of less consequence, perhaps with intention of covering his principal design, that of robbing the kingdom; these were a promise that the *Poles* should shave their heads and beards, and wear a white linen stole at the chief festivals, like all the other professors of the *Roman Catholic* faith. Preparations were made for the magnificent reception of the young prince, who was regarded as the tutelar angel of the state, come to banish misfortune, and restore plenty, peace, and harmony. He was met on the frontier by the bishops, nobility, and forces of the nation, who conducted him to *Gnesna*, where he was crowned by the hands of the primate-archbishop, with more than usual solemnity. *Casimir* no sooner ascended the throne than he applied his attention to the establishment of public order, and enforcing the laws. He attacked with great spirit the impudent troop of banditti who infested the highways and streets, besieged and demolished their strong holds, seized their chiefs, and punished them capitally. The rest were pardoned, to avoid shedding blood unnecessarily, a few examples of severity being thought sufficient to restore the authority of the government. Now people of all ranks pursued their several functions unmolested; the peasant returned to cultivate his land; the merchant engaged afresh in commerce, and the mechanic reaped securely the fruits of his industry; the cities were enlarged and repopled; the laws punctually executed; civil society was re-established, and the arts and sciences began to be cultivated, where they were before unknown, under the auspices of their royal patron. All cause of contention with *Russia* was cut off by the king's marriage with the princess *Mary*, sister of duke *Jarislav*; and thus an alliance was contracted with the bitterest and most formidable enemy of *Poland*. Religion too employed part of the care of the monarch; he had not forgot that he once embraced the sacred function, in commemoration of which he founded the abbey of *Tiniez*, on the *Vistula*. Upon the whole, the kingdom flourished more than under any preceding reign: it was wealthy by industry, and not from the spoils of conquest; it was respectable from the wisdom and stability of the administration, rather than by numerous armies and bloody victories. *Casimir* cultivated peace; but he gave sufficient proofs of the firmness of his mind and his courage in reducing the banditti (B), and establishing the public tranquillity. After a happy reign of sixteen years, he died honoured, beloved, and deeply regretted.^a

A.D. 1040.
Casimir I.

Death of Casimir.

BOLES LAUS II. surnamed the B O L D.

CASIMIR left three sons, the elder of whom was crowned king of *Poland* the day immediately succeeding his father's funeral. A strong party of the nobility were for deferring the coronation, under various pretexts; but *Boleslaus* was espoused by the majority of the people, who determined, out of respect to his father's memory, and in compliance with the solicitations of the queen his mother, immediately to entrust him with the reins of government. The young monarch soon distinguished how well he merited the confidence of his subjects; and his name in a few months became so famous, that all the unfortunate oppressed princes in the neighbouring states of *Poland*, retired to his court as to a sanctuary, where they were sure of protection, and of that pity which misfortune ever excites in

Boleslaus II.

^a MAT. de Michov. ibid. HERBERT de Fulstin. 1. iii.(B) *Casimir* likewise approved his courage in subduing the insolence of one *Maslav*, who, from a private soldier in the service of the late king, rose by dint of effrontery and the queen's patronage, to the highestoffices of the state, at last assumed the title of prince of *Mazovia*, threw off his allegiance to *Poland*, and was conquered by *Casimir*.

generous

He ravages war
with the duke
of Bohemia.

generous minds. *Jacomir*, son of *Briteslaus* duke of *Bohemia*, *Bela* brother to the king of *Hungary*, and *Zaslau* duke of *Kiovia*, eldest son of *Jarislau* duke of *Russia*, and cousin to the king of *Poland*, all took refuge under his wing, against the defection of their subjects, or the ambitious designs of their relations; they were unfortunate, and that was sufficient claim to his countenance. It would be digressing from our subject to recite the discontents in their several countries, which compelled these princes into banishment; it is sufficient for our present purpose to relate the measures which *Boleslaus* took to redress their grievances. With respect to *Bohemia*, hostilities first commenced from that quarter. *Boleslaus* was only revolving in his own mind what he should do to serve *Jacomir*, when the duke of *Bohemia*, dreading the consequences of his brother's escape, and irritated at the kindness shewn him by the king of *Poland*, regarded *Boleslaus* as his enemy, and determined to anticipate his projects. With this view he assembled an army, and, previous to any declaration of war, marched through the *Hercynian* forest, desolated *Silesia*, and penetrated the frontiers of *Poland*, which he laid waste with fire and sword. He did not long continue these ravages; *Boleslaus* marched with a slender army to give him battle, and by mere dint of superior capacity, forced the duke to take shelter in a wood, where he cooped him up, and reduced his forces to great necessity. The duke made proposals for accommodating the differences, which were rejected with disdain by *Boleslaus*; upon which he employed every stratagem of war to extricate himself from his present distressed situation, and succeeded. Ordering fires to be kindled in his camp, as if he proposed continuing there, he retired with the utmost silence under cover of the night thro narrow defiles, and marched several leagues before *Boleslaus* received advice of his retreat. The king pursued, but in vain; he was forced to return, after having ravaged the frontiers of *Moravia*. Early in the spring he marched with a numerous army into *Bohemia*, determined upon taking signal vengeance; but his resentment was appeased by the duke's concessions; a negotiation was set on foot, which terminated in a treaty of marriage between the duke and the king's sister. *Boleslaus* however did not withdraw his protection from *Jacomir*; on the contrary, he stipulated several advantages for him in the treaty, and saw the articles minutely executed.

He defeats the
Hungarians.

HAVING concluded the affair with *Bohemia* to his satisfaction, he determined to succour the fugitive *Bela*, brother to the king of *Hungary*. This prince had for some time been solicited, by a body of the disaffected nobility, to return to that kingdom, and had the strongest assurances given him that his appearance would occasion a general insurrection of the people, who detested the tyrannical disposition of his brother; but he waited until *Boleslaus* had brought the war with *Bohemia* to an issue, relying chiefly upon his support. He knew the king's generosity and compassion, which, with his ardor for glory, would easily engage him in his interest; nor was *Bela* mistaken in his judgment; the king raised an army, and both princes entered *Hungary* by different routes, at the head of separate numerous corps. *Andrew* king of *Hungary* was not discouraged or disconcerted by this formidable invasion; he was powerfully assisted by the emperor, and commanded a prodigious army. A body of *Bohemians* had likewise come to his succour, in direct violation of the late treaty between the duke and *Poland*; but all these forces served only to procrastinate his fate, and render the struggle more bloody. At last a decisive battle was fought, in which the *Germans* performed prodigies of valour, though they were forced to yield to the fortune of the *Poles* and the treachery of the *Hungarians*, who in the heat of the engagement deserted their king, and went over to *Bela*. Almost all the foreign auxiliaries were slain in the field, the king was seized in his flight, and treated with so much insolence by his perfidious subjects, that he died of chagrin a few days after the battle. This event opened a clear path for *Bela* to ascend the throne of *Hungary*, where he was scarce seated before the peasants revolted, but were soon subdued by the *Polish* army, and the ringleaders put to death, after which *Boleslaus* returned to his own dominions.

It was now that he turned his thoughts to securing the succession of his crown in his own family by marriage; and though he was upon the eve of a war with *Russia*, he espoused a princess of that country. The pretext for this rupture was to obtain justice to *Zaslau* duke of *Kiovia*, who took refuge at his court, and claimed his protection; but the truth was, that *Boleslaus* had married a *Russian* princess only to strengthen his claim to the ducal crown, which he derived from *Mary* queen of *Poland*, sister of duke *Jarislau*. Perhaps a desire of emulating the glory of *Boleslaus the Great*, and recovering a vast extensive country, lost by the inactivity of *Mieczslau*, his grandfather, stimulated him to undertake the arduous conquest of *Muscovy*. His late victories inspired him with a notion that his arm was invincible; he was in possession of money, troops, and every requisite for the enterprize; and he was seconded by a prince of *Russia*, who still retained a powerful

° MAT. de Michov. apud Pistor. ibid.

a influence in that country. At the head of a numerous well-appointed army he bent his march towards the *Russian* frontier, and was opposed by *Wisseslaus*, who had usurped the duchy of *Kiovia*, with a prodigious army. The king however continued to advance, and the *Russian* duke, intimidated at the multitude and discipline of the *Polish* forces, withdrew privately from his army with a slender retinue; upon which the *Muscovites*, destitute of a chief, broke up camp tumultuously, and dispersed themselves. The king, suspecting a stratagem, advanced in good order to *Kiovia*, with intention of laying siege to that important city. On his approach, he found that the inhabitants, deserted by their prince, had invited his brothers *Suantoslaus* and *Wszewold* to their assistance. These princes however interposed as mediators, and procured pardon from *Zaslaus* for their rebellion; upon which b they opened their gates to receive their natural prince and the king of *Poland*. With the same facility the two princes recovered all the other dominions usurped by *Wisseslaus*, the terror of the *Polish* arms obliging all the cities to submit, without striking a blow, or making the least shew of resistance. *Premislaw* alone had the courage to stand on its defence. This was reputed the strongest fortress in the North, and the richest city in the *Russian* dominions, its wealth being now increased by the vast quantities of treasure lodged in it by the friends of *Wisseslaus*, as in a place of perfect security. The waters of the river *Sona*, which had now over-flowed its banks, and laid the adjacent country under water, rendered all approaches almost impracticable, yet the ardour of *Boleslaus* determined to surmount every difficulty. He invested the city, and carried on his works with unremitting c diligence. The besieged made vigorous sallies, in one of which they penetrated to the heart of the king's camp, but were repulsed and driven back within the walls with prodigious slaughter; after which *Boleslaus* ordered the town to be stormed in three different quarters. The preparations made for this purpose terrified the besieged, they hung out a flag of truce, entered into a negociation, and obtained more favourable terms, out of regard to their valour, than in such circumstances they could expect.

He conquers great part of Russia.

WHILE the *Polish* monarch was in the full career of conquest, the revolt in *Hungary*, consequent on the death of *Bela*, demanded his attention and presence. To assist the children of his deceased friend, he marched into that kingdom with his army, contrary to the advice of many of his officers: and by the influence of his reputation only, established d the public tranquillity, and fixed the young princes in peaceable possession of their paternal dominions.

Establishes the peace of Hungary.

HE no sooner procured repose to *Hungary* than he turned back to complete the conquest of *Russia*, where, during his absence, the three brothers were again embroiled, *Zaslaus* being a second time driven from *Kiovia*. It was necessary now to resume the work afresh; all the conquests he had made the preceding year were lost, and *Suantoslaus* and *Wszewold* were more powerful than ever. The king's vigour however soon disconcerted all their measures; he ravaged those territories which now compose the palatinates of *Lusac* and *Chelm*, formed the siege of *Wolyn*, reduced that strong city, after an obstinate defence of six months, and transported all the rich booty to *Poland*. He finished the campaign with e giving battle to *Wszewold*, which proved so bloody, that though *Boleslaus* gained the honour of a victory, he was too much weakened to pursue his conquests. In the winter he returned to *Poland*, made fresh levies, and returned in the spring with numerous forces to *Russia*. He began his operations with the siege of *Kiovia*, a city which had already cost *Poland* an immense quantity of blood and treasure. The attack and defence were equally vigorous; desperate sallies daily filled the trenches with carnage; but the king had at length effected a breach, and was preparing to storm the town, when he suddenly altered his resolution, on advice that famine began to appear among the besieged. This induced him to convert the siege into a blockade, not doubting but so numerous a garrison would be soon forced to surrender at discretion, without his sacrificing the lives of multitudes f of brave soldiers. His conjecture proved right, rich and poor perished in crowds with hunger, and at last the garrison submitted upon such conditions as the king thought proper to impose. The moderation exerted by *Boleslaus* on this occasion redounded more to his honour than all his victories. Instead of punishing their obstinacy, he highly applauded the courage of the citizens, and rewarded those bold sons of freedom, by strictly prohibiting his troops from pillaging or insulting the inhabitants, and by distributing corn and provisions among them with the utmost liberality. He led his troops in triumph indeed into the city; but such was the esteem that his generosity inspired, that he was received amidst the acclamations of the people as their deliverer and not their conqueror. In this instance especially he equalled the glory of his predecessor *Boleslaus the Great*, and proposed g a striking example to princes, how much the horror of conquest may be diminished and the glory of victory exalted, by the godlike virtues of humanity.

A. D. 1074.

P HARTNOCH, lib. i. cap. ii. GUAGN. p. 63. apud Pistor.

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6 A

UNFORTV-

*He is corrupted
with the luxu-
ry of Kiovia.*

*Conspiracy of
the Polish wo-
men.*

Consequences.

UNFORTUNATELY *Boleslaus* lost his reputation in the same city where he had acquired a immortal honour, and, like another *Hannibal*, suffered himself to be subdued by the pleasures of the most sensual luxury. *Kiovia* was the richest, the most voluptuous, and dissolute city in the North. Most of the inhabitants were *Greeks*, the religion of that church was embraced by all, and the corrupt manners of that people soon succeeded. Before this last siege the *Kiovians* had preserved some portion of their rough ancient spirit; now they surrendered themselves to the most debauched pleasures; the *Poles* received the contagion, and from a bold hardy race, became a luxurious, emasculated, debauched multitude: even *Boleslaus*, who had hitherto supported the dignity of his crown with distinguished lustre, abandoned himself to the most sensual and voluptuous pleasures. In consequence b his temperance, diligence, intrepidity, affability, and prudence, were now absorbed in luxury, and he became proud, indolent, and despotic. He affected all the imperious state of an eastern monarch, and degenerated into a relish for the most depraved debaucheries. The wealth, which was the fruit of his victories, was dissipated in the gratification of his appetites; and the conqueror of *Kiovia* became a slave to the manners of its inhabitants, and an apostate from those heroic qualities which had raised him upon a level with the greatest monarchs of *Europe*. The consequence had almost proved fatal to *Poland*. This and the *Hungarian* war had employed the king and his army for the space of seven years, during which time he returned only once to his own dominions, and then made but a short stay of three months. This long absence introduced confusion, and filled the country c with events as extraordinary as any recorded in history, and scarce credible if they had not been paralleled by something similar in well attested antient annals. The *Polish* women, exasperated at the indifference of their husbands, and the preference given to the females of *Kiovia*, resolved on signal revenge, and raised their slaves to the beds of their masters. The whole sex conspired in the same infamy, entered into solemn obligations of general prostitution, and thereby dishonoured themselves and family from motives of revenge and jealousy. *Margaret*, the wife of count *Nicholas* of *Zemboisin*, alone withstood the universal corruption, and preserved her fidelity. She resisted all solicitations, and refused covering herself with crimes because her husband had possibly given way to temptation. Advice of this strange revolution was received at *Kiovia*, and it excited terrible commotions. The soldiers laid their dishonour on the king; and forgetting that themselves had given way to d the torrent of corruption, exclaimed against *Boleslaus* as a prince who had stained his former glory by the most shameful voluptuousness, who had reaped no other fruits from the conquest of *Russia* than those of shame, and who had been the chief instrument of the irreparable dishonour of his whole army. The effect of these violent prejudices and resentments against the king was a general desertion. Almost the whole army, impatient of revenge, returned to *Poland*, leaving their sovereign alone in the heart of *Russia* e.

BEFORE their return the women had endeavoured to screen themselves against the repentment of their husbands, by persuading their lovers to take arms; and they had indeed seized upon most of the strong fortresses, in which they withstood, and for a long time foiled all the attempts of the conquerors of *Muscovy*. The women, actuated by despair, fought f by the sides of their gallants, formed themselves into battalions, seemed animated with a fury altogether irresistible, sought out their husbands in the heat of battle, and endeavoured to efface the stain of adultery by the most cruel parricide. They were however on the point of being subdued, when *Boleslaus* arrived with his few remaining *Poles*, and a vast army of *Russians*, to heighten the scene of horror, and inflict equal punishment on the women, their gallants, and his own soldiers, who had deserted his camp. The king's cruelty united the women, their husbands, and slaves; several desperate battles were fought, the country was overflowed with the blood of its children, the rebels were at length subdued, and the few who had escaped the sword, died in loathsome prisons, or under the excruciating pains of torture.

To add to the calamities of *Poland*, the schisms, which had for some time divided the church of *Rome*, found entrance into this kingdom; and the animosity of the parties became vehement, in proportion to the frivolousness of their differences. At last it became an affair of property, and a contention for wealth and power between the king and the clergy. This soon gave occasion for bloodshed; and the bishop of *Cracow* was massacred in the cathedral, while he was performing the sacred duties of his office. Some writers alledge, that *Boleslaus*, giving way to all those vices which policy, the busy scene in which he was engaged, and the love of conquest, had hitherto suppressed, became not only the most dissolute prince, but the bloodiest tyrant of his age. *Kiovia* had only washed off a varnish of hypocrisy, and displayed his natural disposition in its genuine character. The g murder of the prelate, and other enormous crimes, were soon succeeded by vengeance; the

^a Id. ibid. MAT. de Michov. p. 27, 28.

^e Id. ibid.

^a clergy joined with one voice in pouring out their complaints to the pontiff, and demanding a punishment adequate to the guilt of the royal assassin. *Gregory VII.* took them under his protection, thundered out the most dreadful anathemas against the king, released his subjects from their allegiance, deprived him of the titles of sovereignty, and charged the kingdom with a general interdict, which the archbishop of *Gnesna* saw punctually enforced. In vain did *Boleslaus* oppose his authority, and recal that spirit which had rendered him terrible to the neighbouring states, and the admiration of his subjects. Superstition clouded the minds of his people; they yielded implicitly to the dictates of the pontiff, and deemed it a less heinous crime to rise in rebellion against their sovereign, and fill the kingdom with slaughter, than oppose the tyranny of the holy see. A king under the censure of the church was regarded as a monster, and avoided with abhorrence. Conspiracies were formed against his government and person. *Poland* became a scene of confusion; *Boleslaus* was abandoned by all men, even those reptiles who basked in the radiance of his prosperity; he could not with safety continue longer in his own dominions: and the unfortunate monarch was forced to fly precipitately with his son *Mieczslaus*, and seek refuge in *Hungary*. Nor did the pontiff's vengeance stop with having driven him from a throne; it pursued *Boleslaus* to his retreat, plunged him into the abyss of misery, and forced him to earn a scanty subsistence by the mean occupation of a cook in a monastery in *Carinthia*, in which office he died (C); a signal instance of the caprice of fortune, the exorbitant power of the papal dignity, and the irresistible influence of luxury and sensual pleasure over the noblest minds, and the most liberal sentiments. Valour, generosity, and ambition, rendered *Boleslaus* a hero; impiety, power, and profligacy, made him a tyrant. He began his reign with extending his protection to all the unfortunate; he ended it with the most cruel oppression of his own subjects, of whose resentment his crown and life became the victims (D).

ULADISLAUS, surnamed HERMANNU S.

THE pontifical resentment was not appeased by the misfortunes and death of *Boleslaus*: it extended to his son, and the whole kingdom of *Poland*. The former was excluded the succession, and the latter still continued under the most rigid interdiction, which could only be removed by the force of gold, and the most abject concessions. Besides the tax called *Peter pence*, *Poland* was subjected to other oppressive impositions, as an expiation of the horrid murder committed on the bishop of *Cracow*. At length, the pontiff having satiated his avarice, and impoverished the country, he consented that the brother of the deceased monarch should be raised to the supreme dignity, on condition, however, that he should be satisfied with the ducal title. It was no difficult matter to convince the meek spirited unambitious *Uladislaus*, that he ought to be implicitly obedient to the pontifical mandate; he accordingly accepted the terms proposed, and began his administration by sending an embassy to *Rome*, to beseech *Gregory* to withdraw the cruel interdict. This request was granted; but all his endeavours to recover the regal dignity proved fruitless. The pope having, in conjunction with the emperor, bestowed that honour upon the duke of *Bohemia*. This preference was extremely mortifying to *Uladislaus*; but it was absorbed in considerations of more importance, and in misfortunes which equally affected his own person, and the happiness of his dominions. *Russia* took the opportunity of the late civil disturbances, to throw off the yoke; and this revolt drew after it the defection of *Prussia*, *Pomerania*, and other provinces. The appearance of a *Polish* army, and a trifling check, soon however reduced the smaller provinces to obedience; but the duke had no sooner returned to *Poland* with his army than they again broke out in rebellion, and secured their families and effects in impenetrable forests. *Uladislaus* quickly began his march to *Pomerania*, with a full resolution of taking ample vengeance. He surrounded the forest; but was unfortunately surprised, defeated, and forced back to *Poland*, covered with shame and confusion. Next year, however, he had his revenge. Penetrating the province with a numerous army sooner than was expected, the rebels submitted to a power which they could not resist, and surrendered the ringleaders of the revolt, to be punished as the duke thought proper.

ULADISLAUS had no sooner secured the dignity of the commonwealth, by the reduction of the turbulent *Pomeranians*, than civil divisions appeared, to poison the felicity which he expected would be the result of his pacific disposition. These proved the more

* GUAGNINI, apud Pistor. lib. iii. HARTNOCH, lib. ii.

(C) Authors differ widely respecting the end of this monarch, some affirming, that he was murdered by the clergy, as he was hunting in *Hungary*; others, that he committed suicide in a fit of despair; while the greater number, and indeed the most approved authorities, adhere to the relation we have given; nor is the circumstance at all improbable, considering the im-

placable resentment of the ecclesiastics in those times, and the spirit which the pope excited in *Hungary* (1):

(D) *Mathew of Michowia* relates that *Boleslaus* wandered about in the woods of *Hungary*, lived like a savage upon wild beasts, and was at last killed and devoured by dogs (2).

(1) *Hartnoch*, lib. i. cap. ii. *Mat. de Michow.* p. 38. *Herbert de Fulstin*, lib. iv. p. 45. *Pistor.* lib. ii. cap. xx.

(2) *Apud*

irksome,

Civil wars in
Poland.

irksome, because they were excited by his own son, and supported by the palatine of *Cracow*, and some of the first nobility in *Poland*. *Sbigneus* was the name of this young prince, the issue of *Uladislaus* by a concubine. He was destined for the church, and his brother *Boleslaus*, the duke's legitimate son, was considered as his successor. The discontented nobility, however, drew *Sbigneus* from the monastery, where he was finishing his education, and placed him at the head of an army, to subvert his father's government, and dispute his brother's claim to the succession. They invested *Wratistaw*, and by dint of corruption gained possession of the city. *Uladislaus* took the field, and obliged the rebels to take sanctuary in *Cruszwiczia*, where they were powerfully supported by the *Prussians* and *Pomeranians*. *Sbigneus*, when his army increased, ventured to give battle to his father, and met with the fate which he merited. He was defeated with great slaughter, took shelter in *Cruszwiczia*, withstood an obstinate siege, and at last was taken prisoner, and confined; but released, on condition that he should join his father in punishing the insolence of the palatine of *Cracow*. The palatine perceived the approaching storm, and had the address to break it, by purchasing a reconciliation with the duke; but *Sbigneus* and his brother *Boleslaus* could never forgive certain injuries which they imagined he had done them, or suffer that the power of a subject should eclipse their own glory. Here was laid the foundation of a war between the father and the children, the former having privately quitted his palace, and joined the palatine, who had suddenly become his chief favourite. He resolved to hazard every thing in support of his minion; and the young princes were equally determined upon vigorous measures, and the keenest revenge. They had already gained possession of *Cracow*, and other considerable places; and were preparing to besiege their father in *Plocsko*, when the archbishop of *Gnesna*, who was honoured by all parties for his wisdom and moderation, interposed and effected a reconciliation. The palatine, however, was the sacrifice of this union: he was banished to *Russia*, and the children acknowledged the former authority of their parent. It was after this that *Boleslaus* marched with a powerful army to chastise the *Prussians* and *Pomeranians*, for having presumed to lay waste the *Polish* frontiers during the late civil commotions. In this expedition he proved himself a great warrior, and the heir of the king his grandfather's extraordinary military talents. The enemy every where fled before him, and the two provinces were wholly over-run and subdued in the space of a few weeks, *Boleslaus* returning laden with spoils and glory. Towards the end of the year *Uladislaus* died, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, with the reputation of a pious, mild, and virtuous prince, wholly under the influence and direction of parasites and favourites.

Death of
Uladislaus.
A. D. 1103.

Boleslaus III. **BOLES LAUS** III. surnamed *CRIVENSTUS*, or *WRY-MOUTH*.

ULADISLAUS made no difference between his legitimate and natural children. An equal partition of his dominions was made, with the consent of the states, between the brothers, which soon involved the nation in a civil war. Without the capacity, *Sbigneus* had all the ambition of his brother, and impatiently sought the opportunity of coming to a rupture, which he hoped would terminate in placing him in the quiet possession of all *Poland*. *Boleslaus* saw his brother's design; but his regard for the public welfare obliged him to conceal his sentiments until *Sbigneus* became quite intolerable, and insolently demanded the whole treasure of his father, which was deposited in *Plocsko*, a city comprized within his share of the partition. This demand was not only refused, but resented by *Boleslaus*; and the two brothers were on the eve of a rupture, when the primate again seasonably interposed, and persuaded them to an equal division. However the archbishop's endeavours accomplished nothing more than a temporary reconciliation. The princes were mutually enflamed, and nothing but bloodshed could cool the ardour of their passions. *Sbigneus*, incensed that he was disappointed in his designs upon the whole treasure, and dissatisfied with half those dominions which his ambition claimed intire, he traduced his brother's conduct, raised up enemies to his administration, was at the bottom of perpetual cabals and conspiracies to disturb his government, and endanger his person; and at last prevailed on the duke of *Bohemia* to assist him with a numerous body of forces. He likewise excited disturbances in *Saxony* and *Moravia*, procured an army of auxiliaries from these countries, and made such formidable preparations as threatened the destruction of *Boleslaus*, and the intire conquest of *Poland*. *Sbigneus* carried on his intrigues in the neighbouring countries with such secrecy, that his brother was astonished upon advice that the troops of *Bohemia*, *Saxony*, and *Moravia* were ready to overwhelm his frontiers. He was not destitute of courage; but having no forces proportioned to the imminence of the danger, he had recourse in his extremity to the *Russians* and *Hungarians*, who readily embraced his cause, in expectation of turning it to their own advantage. The resources he found

* MAT. de Michov. apud Pistor. lib. iii. cap. vii. p. 48.

a in these countries enabled him to act offensively: his presence alone dispersed the *Prussians* and *Pomeranians*, who had likewise been seduced by the promises of *Sbigneus*; his troops ravaged *Moravia*, and in one campaign effectually broke and disunited the league. Early in the spring he fell upon his brother by surprise, defeated his army, reduced all his fortresses, and then generously laid aside his indignation; and, satisfied with depriving *Sbigneus* of the power of hurting him, left him the duchy of *Mazovia* in quiet possession, to support the dignity of his birth^a.

THE good fortune and merit of *Boleslaus*, and particularly his kindness, rendered his brother quite desperate: instead of being reclaimed by the lenity and liberality of *Boleslaus*, he became furious from a sense of his own inferiority, stuck at nothing to facilitate his revenge, and formed a new conspiracy, with a view to recover his dominions, and depose his brother: but the plot being discovered, he was seized, banished, and declared a traitor, if he ever again presumed to set foot in *Poland*. Even this rigour did not produce the desired effect; *Pomerania* armed to avenge the prince's injuries; *Sbigneus* entered *Poland*, was defeated, and taken prisoner a second time; when *Boleslaus's* clemency saved him from the rigour of the law, and was contented with the same punishment before inflicted, that of banishment. Almost all the nobility were unanimous in opinion, that he should be put to death; but *Boleslaus* could not be prevailed on to pollute his hands with fraternal blood, however unworthy and corrupted. He even was moved with pity at seeing *Sbigneus* wander a vagrant from province to province, took him back to *Poland*, assigned him a handsome maintenance, and had soon reason to lament his generosity; for the unnatural brother formed a fresh conspiracy, and at last suffered the just punishment of his treachery and ingratitude (E).

Civil wars in Poland.

BOLESLAUS was now in hope that he might have enjoyed the blessings of repose; but he had scarce extinguished the wars kindled by his brother, when a more powerful enemy appeared, and he found himself under the necessity of opposing the ambition of the emperor *Henry IV.* and succouring the king of *Hungary*, who had generously espoused his cause when he was reduced to the greatest extremities. It was with this view he made a powerful diversion in *Bohemia*, and repeatedly defeated the Imperialists. Fired with the desire of revenge, the emperor assembled all his forces, ravaged *Silesia*, penetrated the frontiers of *Poland*, and injudiciously invested the strong town of *Lubusz*, which baffled all his attempts, and obliged him disgracefully to raise the siege. Much time was lost in the pursuit of this impolitic measure; but *Henry* was not discouraged. He penetrated farther into *Poland*, and was laying all waste before him, when the superior skill of *Boleslaus* compelled him to retire, after having ruined his army with fatigue and famine, without once coming to action. Enraged at this disappointment, the emperor laid siege to *Glogaw*, in hope of drawing the *Poles* to an engagement before he should be obliged to evacuate the country. The place was defenceless; but the spirit of the inhabitants supplied the want of fortifications, and gave the Imperialists an unexpected vigorous reception. They were at length, however, under the necessity of yielding to superior power, and signing an agreement that they would surrender, if they did not receive succours in the space of six days. This was precisely what *Henry* desired: by a general battle, he doubted not but he should retrieve all the honour he had lost during the campaign. *Boleslaus* determined not to suffer so brave a garrison to fall a sacrifice to their loyalty. He assembled his utmost strength, and was reinforced by a body of *Russian* auxiliaries. With this army he advanced, by forced marches, to give battle to *Henry*; but all his endeavours would have been fruitless, as the time limited must have expired before his arrival, had he not prevailed on the besieged to break the capitulation, rather than surrender just as they were on the point of being delivered. All this was transacted with the utmost secrecy; and the emperor, on the day appointed, advanced to take possession of the city; but he was received by a furious discharge of arrows and javelins, which so incensed him, that he resolved to storm the place, and give no quarter. On the approach of the army it was matter of astonishment to see not only the breaches filled up, but new walls secured by a wet ditch reared behind the old, and erected during the suspension of hostilities by the industry of the besieged. The attack however went on; but the inhabitants, animated by despair, performed such prodigies of valour as almost exceed belief, and obliged the Imperialists to break up the siege with great precipitation. Next day *Boleslaus* arrived, pursued the fugitive emperor, came up with him in the neighbourhood of *Warsaw*, and con-

Boleslaus defeats the emperor of Germany.

^a MAT. de Michov. apud Pistor. lib. iii. cap. xiv.

(E) The accounts of this prince's death are contradictory: some affirm that he was slain in a tumult of the people; some, that he was put to death by order of the nobility; while others are equally positive, that he was condemned to lose his eyes, and to perpetual imprisonment, in which he died of grief and vexation (1).

(1) Cromer, lib. iv. Hartnoch, lib. ii. Guagnini, lib. iii. apud Pistor.

strained him to have recourse to an ignominious flight, which terminated on the frontiers of the empire, after having wholly evacuated *Poland* (F).

THIS was the most glorious campaign which hitherto had appeared in the *Polish* annals, as the duke fought with regularly disciplined troops, and not the tumultuous savage rabble over which his predecessors had triumphed. It was followed by a peace, in which *Boleslaus* dictated his own conditions to the first monarch of *Europe*, and crowned his glory by receiving in marriage the emperor's sister *.

A. D. 1118.

WE are told of an expedition which *Boleslaus* made into *Denmark* about this period; but as it is wholly omitted by the *Danish* and *Polish* historians of best authority, and favours strongly of fiction, we shall wholly omit the relation. Certain however it is, that the duke took part in the general madness of *Europe*, which at this time began to shew itself, and that ardent zeal which was displayed for the recovery of the Holy Land, though we are not informed of the particulars of the *Polish* crusades.

IT was about the year 1135 that the good fortune of *Boleslaus* began first to abandon him, and suffer him to become the dupe of his own credulity. He was imposed upon by an artful story patched up by a certain *Hungarian*, who insinuated himself, through the door of compassion, into the duke's affections. To this stranger he gave the government of *Wislica*, a strong town on the *Nida*; but the villain betrayed his trust to the *Russians*, who pillaged and burnt the houses, and carried the inhabitants into slavery. *Boleslaus* was incensed, and entered immediately upon a war with *Russia*, by which he only heaped one calamity on another. The enemy, knowing the capacity of the duke, and the valour of his forces, despaired of withstanding them in the open field; they therefore had recourse to the most perfidious stratagems. A deputation was sent from the inhabitants of *Halitz*, to implore his assistance in favour of a young prince, who had been banished into *Poland*. *Boleslaus* marched to their relief with a choice body of troops; but as he was preparing to enter the town, he was attacked by the whole *Russian* army, that poured out upon him like a torrent; and, after a violent conflict, overwhelmed the *Poles* with numbers, the duke saving himself with much difficulty by flight. Thus, after having been conqueror in forty battles, *Boleslaus* was at last defeated by the cunning of a set of barbarians whom he despised: a misfortune which some writers attribute to the misconduct of the palatine of *Cracow*, to whom the king, after the engagement, sent a hare-skin and spinning-wheel. Certain it is, that this inglorious check to his conquests filled the duke with grief, and is generally allowed to be the cause of his death, after he had reigned for the space of thirty-six years, with a renown that even eclipsed the glory of his predecessor *Boleslaus the Great*. *Boleslaus* was brave, open, liberal, and a strict observer of truth and equity; but he had a credulity that sometimes led him into errors, and is the amiable weakness which too frequently accompanies generous minds.

NATURAL affection seduced *Boleslaus* into the same error committed by his father: notwithstanding his own experience had shewn him the fatal consequences of a partition of his dominions, he assigned equal portions to his four sons. To *Uladislaus*, the eldest, were given the provinces of *Cracow*, *Sirad*, *Lencici*, *Silesia*, and *Pomerania*. *Boleslaus*, the second son, had for his share the palatinates of *Culm* and *Cujava*, with the duchy of *Mazovia*. The palatinates of *Kaleszb* and *Poznania* fell to *Mieczyslaus*, the third son; and to *Henry*, the fourth son, were assigned those of *Lublin* and *Sandomir*. *Casimir*, the youngest child, then an infant in the cradle, was intirely forgot, and no provision made for him, though his tender age required particular indulgence.

ULADISLAUS II. surnamed the DRIVELLER.

Uladislaus II.

THE funeral obsequies of the late duke being solemnized, the four princes made application to the diet to ratify the will of the deceased, and confirm them in their several possessions: besides which the states were to elect a successor to the ducal throne, their choice falling, after warm debates, upon *Uladislaus*. The brothers were confirmed in their duchies, and the whole will of *Boleslaus* was ratified, except what related to the equality

* MAT. de Michov. apud Pistor. lib. iii. cap. xiv. GUAGNINI, lib. iii. HERBURT de Fulstin, lib. iv. HARTNOCH, lib. i. cap. ii.

(F) Some historians relate, that *Boleslaus* entered upon this war with dread, and offered advantageous proposals of peace, on the emperor's approach to his frontiers, which were contemptuously rejected. It is added, that *Henry* led *Scarbicus* the *Polish* ambassador to his treasury, and, pointing to the gold, told him, that he there saw enough to bring the duke to any concessions he pleased; with which the *Pole* being highly affronted, took a gold ring from his finger, and threw

it into the treasury, saying, "There's more gold, which your majesty values so highly; yet, whatever your opinion may be, I doubt not but the *Polish* iron will prove the better metal (1)." The same writers add, that, upon the ambassador's return, *Boleslaus* gave battle, and obtained a complete victory near *Breslau*; which must certainly be an error, as the emperor did not command in person against the *Poles* in *Silesia*.

(1) *Herburt de Fulstin*, lib. iv. p. 55.

a established among his children. Now all the brothers were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of *Uladislaus*, who was declared duke of all *Poland*: they were restrained from forming alliances, declaring war, or concluding peace, without his approbation: they were obliged to take the field with a certain number of troops, whenever the duke required; and they were forbid meddling with the guardianship of the infant prince *Casimir*, whose education was wholly referred to the sovereign. The harmony of the princes was soon disturbed by the ambition of *Christina*, the consort of *Uladislaus*, the daughter and sister of two emperors. She formed a scheme to get possession of all *Poland*, and deprive the younger children of the benefit of their father's will. She had an intire influence over her husband, and easily roused his ambition to a level with her own. To give b an appearance of justice to her projects, she assembled the states, and enlarged eloquently on the danger of the late partition of the *Polish* dominions, so contrary to the fundamental laws of the commonwealth, and so likely to produce fatal effects. She alledged that all endeavours to unite a state, divided under so many chiefs, would prove impossible, should the common danger ever require such a measure: and she reminded them, that the commotions excited by *Sigismund* had almost brought *Poland* to the verge of ruin, and should have prevented the states from ever again acceding to so impolitic a partition of power. She concluded her harangue with demonstrating the necessity of revoking their ratification of the late duke's will, in order to insure the obedience of the princes, provide against foreign incursions, and secure the tranquillity and honour of the republic. Thus the *Poles* were c solicited immediately to commence a civil war, in order to avoid the inconveniencies of domestic faction.

It was appatent to many of the nobility, that *Christina's* ambition, and not her patriotism, had dictated these measures. They expressed their resentment, and some had the courage to upbraid her for presuming to require that they would dishonour themselves by revoking a decree, solemnly passed by the whole assembly of the nation. They refuted every argument in her speech, and obliged her and *Uladislaus* apparently to relinquish their designs. Mean time they resolved to take another method, and for that purpose entered into private engagements with the *Russians*, whom they invited into *Poland*. *Uladislaus* then used his influence with the nobility to join him; some he seduced by interest, others d he drew over by fear, and a few he convinced by his arguments. A noble *Dane*, who possessed great wealth in *Poland*, alone presumed to espouse the young princes cause, by which he incurred the resentment of the cruel *Christina*, who had him seized as he was celebrating the nuptials of his daughter, deprived of his sight, and thrown into a loathsome jail, after being mangled in a shocking manner* (G).

THIS was the signal to other violences. Immediately the duke attacked *Boleslaus*, and drove him from *Plocko*. Next he marched against *Henry*, and dispossessed him of his territories, obliging both the brothers to take refuge with *Mieczslaus* in *Poznania*, where they stood a siege. Several of the nobility interposed, and used all their influence to effect a reconciliation; *Uladislaus* proved as inexorable as if he had conceived himself injured. He e insisted that the besieged princes should surrender at discretion, and submit to the laws dictated by the conqueror. He despised their numbers, and thought himself perfectly secure of the completion of his ambitious projects. This drove the princes to despair, and set them upon executing the most vigorous resolutions. They sallied out, and attacked the duke's camp with such impetuosity as put all in confusion, and obtained a decisive victory, having destroyed some thousands of the enemy, and taken all the king's baggage and valuable effects. Flushed with success, the brothers improved the opportunity, regained possession of their own dominions, and laid siege to *Cracow* before the duke could collect his scattered disheartened forces. The *Russians* now entirely abandoned him, and evacuated *Poland*, which obliged *Uladislaus* to throw himself into *Cracow*; but finding f this city little disposed to hazard the consequences of a siege, he retired to *Germany*, from whence he hoped to return with a numerous army of auxiliaries. He soon however discovered that his wife's friends were only attached to his prosperity, and that a prince without dominions was but an unwelcome visiter. Mean while *Cracow* surrendered, the rest of *Poland* followed the example of the capital, *Uladislaus* was deposed with great formality by the diet, and his brother *Boleslaus* raised to the ducal dignity*,

Uladislaus deposed.

* MAT. de Michov. lib. iii. cap. xvi. p. 62.

* HERBERT de Fulstin, lib. iv. MAT. de Michov. ibid.

(G) The fate of this nobleman is otherwise related. He is said to have been the duke's prime favourite; and being one day with him on a hunting party, *Uladislaus* said, jocularly, "Peter, I believe your wife lies more at ease with the abbot *Scrinnen* than we do." To which the *Dane* replied, sharply, "And it may be *Christina* does the same with *Dobessus*;" a

handsome young nobleman, who was supposed to partake of the favours of that lewd ambitious woman. *Uladislaus* was so affected with the answer, and stung with the reproach, that, forgetting he had given the provocation, he employed *Dobessus* to procure revenge, and had the favourite's tongue and eyes plucked out in the most barbarous manner (1).

(1) *Flor. Polon. lib. ii. cap. vii. p. 73.*

BOLESLAUS IV. surnamed CRISPUS.

Boleslaus IV. THIS prince began his administration with an act of generosity which the late duke his brother little merited. He assigned him *Silesia* for his maintenance, and thereby severed that province from the crown of *Poland*, to which it was never re-annexed. Even this instance of fraternal affection did not operate on the mind of *Uladislaus*: he continually solicited the emperor for assistance; and at length prevailed on *Conrade* to send ambassadors with this view to *Poland*. The embassy proved fruitless, *Conrade* was incensed at the little regard paid to his request, and determined to effect his purposes by dint of arms. Accordingly he levied an army, marched into *Poland*, and sustained incredible fatigue from the vigilance and address of *Boleslaus*, who harassed him with perpetual marches, skirmishes, stratagems, and ambuscades, obliging him in one campaign to relinquish his project of restoring *Uladislaus*. It is said by some historians, that the princes had an interview; that *Boleslaus* treated *Conrade* with the utmost magnificence, inspired him with an high opinion of his good sense and generosity, pulled off the mask from *Uladislaus*, disclosed his character to the emperor, and fully convinced that prince of his ambition, injustice, and tyranny.

FOR some years *Poland* enjoyed profound tranquillity under the wise government of *Boleslaus*, who lived in the utmost harmony with his brothers *Henry* and *Mieczslaus*, and gave great attention to the education of the young prince *Casimir*, for whom he intended making a handsome provision, as soon as he arrived at the years of maturity. *Henry* seized the opportunity of the present repose of his country to signalize his courage, and zeal for religion, against the enemies of Christianity in *Asia*. Crowds of noble volunteers flocked to his standard: *Poland* distinguished itself in this crusade, the prince embarked with his troops, arrived after a prosperous voyage at *Jerusalem*, and distinguished his valour in divers sharp actions with the *Saracens*; but in the space of one campaign lost most of his army, which obliged him to return to *Poland*, where he was joyfully received, as the great support of the Christian church, and the bulwark against the progress of infidelity. He had made large donations to the knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*; and for this reason his fame is transmitted, by the superstitious writers of his age, with uncommon splendor.

IT was soon after *Henry's* return from *Palestine* that *Poland* was invaded by the emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, who was persuaded into that measure by the solicitations of *Uladislaus*, and the address of his wife *Christina*. With a powerful army of Imperialists he entered the *Polish* frontiers, where *Boleslaus* and his brothers waited to dispute his entrance; a resolution which they soon altered, on advice of the emperor's formidable numbers. It was now determined not to oppose force to force; but to practise all the stratagems of war, and annoy the enemy by cutting off their convoys, placing ambuscades, harassing them in their march, and keeping them under perpetual alarm by false attacks and skirmishes. These arts had succeeded against an equally numerous army of *Germans*, without even trying the fortune of a general engagement. With this view the three brothers divided their forces, after which they desolated the country before the enemy's approach, and burnt all the towns and cities that were in no condition to stand a siege. These measures produced the effect: the imperial army was reduced to the utmost extremity, provision and forage failed, men and horses perished in troops, and those whom necessity forced upon excursions for food were slaughtered by flying parties of *Poles*, that perpetually hovered round the camp. Famine was succeeded by an epidemical distemper, that swept the troops off by hundreds in a day. *Barbarossa* was reduced to the utmost perplexity: he was ruined beyond redemption, without having scarce beheld the face of an enemy; and, to save his honour, had recourse to a conference, which he solicited with a humility extremely mortifying to so proud a monarch. *Boleslaus* was too prudent to stand upon punctilios: he knew the emperor's power, and the facility with which he could replace his present losses. Policy therefore dictated that he should not be irritated, and have affronts superadded to misfortune: he therefore went, attended with his brothers and a slight guard, to the imperial camp; an instance of confidence which greatly delighted *Frederick*, and raised the *Polish* duke high in his esteem. A treaty was readily concluded, whereby the *Poles* agreed to assist the emperor with three hundred lances in his expedition to *Italy*; and *Frederick* promised his niece *Adelaide* in marriage to *Mieczslaus*, duke of *Posnania*. Such was the fortunate issue of this formidable invasion, that threatened destruction to *Poland*; and which ought to be wholly ascribed to the prudence, perseverance, and valour of *Boleslaus* and his brothers (H).

Barbarossa's
army ruined.

(H) About the time this treaty was concluded, the unfortunate *Uladislaus* died at *Oldenberg*, in his way to *Poland*, where he once more resolved to try his claim. Some historians alledge that he was poisoned; but this does not appear from any authentic documents. His

son *Boleslaus* attended the emperor to *Italy*, and by his courage acquired the esteem of that monarch, who had sufficient influence with the duke of *Poland* to procure him the investiture of *Silesia*, for which province he was required to do homage to the republic (1).

(1) *Met. de Michov. lib. iii. cap. xix. p. 66.*

a It was the fashion of this age to conquer countries merely from motives of religion: this at least was the pretext used by the duke of *Poland*, to palliate the designs he had formed against the *Prussians*, a people sunk in the grossest ignorance and idolatry. His own dominions enjoyed the most perfect blessings of repose, and he thought he could not better shew his gratitude to the Almighty than by compelling barbarians and infidels to take refuge in the bosom of *Christ's* church, and to rob them of their freedom for the benefit of their souls. Accompanied by his brother *Mieczslaus*, he invaded *Prussia* with a powerful army. As nothing could oppose his progress, several of the leading persons in the country came to his camp to promise obedience, provided he would withdraw his forces, and release them from the heavy tribute he had imposed; but *Boleslaus* would listen to no conditions, unless they b consented to be baptized. In consequence a great number of infidels were converted, their idols were destroyed, their temples turned into churches, priests appointed for their instruction, and an intire revolution effected in religion, without a drop of bloodshed. There, however, appeared no sincerity in the conversion of the *Prussians*; it was dread of the power of *Boleslaus* that made them dissemble; and the moment he had withdrawn his army, they relapsed into their errors, banished the priests, and persecuted the few who, from conviction, seemed persuaded of the truth of Christianity. They corrupted certain *Prussians* in the *Polish* camp, who had insinuated themselves into the esteem of *Boleslaus*, and had been raised to preferments of trust and honour. By their means the *Polish* army was seduced into defiles, where it was attacked, defeated, and dispersed by the *Prussians*, duke *Henry* c being slain in the field, and *Boleslaus* and *Mieczslaus* escaping with great difficulty b.

Boleslaus defeated by the Prussians.

THE misfortunes of *Poland* were now beginning, this defeat abroad being followed by domestic broils, excited by the children of *Uladislaus*. They demanded restitution of their father's dominions, most of which had now been assigned to the young prince *Casimir*. A great number of discontented *Poles* rose in their favour, and their claim was supported by a considerable army of *German* auxiliaries. *Boleslaus* found himself unable to oppose the enemy by force, and had recourse to negociation, by which he gained time to recruit his army, and repair his late losses. An assembly of the states was held, before which the duke refuted the claims of the children of *Uladislaus* so much to the satisfaction of the diet, that it was voted, almost unanimously, that they had kindled an unjust war. However, d to extinguish every pretence of again renewing the civil discords of *Poland*, a fresh investiture was made of *Silesia*, which province was divided among the nephews of *Boleslaus*. A certain *Polish* writer alledges, that *Boleslaus*, having settled the affairs of his kingdom, resumed the scheme of obliging *Prussia* to embrace Christianity; and that, having sustained a second disgrace, he died of chagrin and disappointment: but authors of the best credit agree that he spent the last years of his life in peace and tranquillity, promoting, by all the measures of wisdom, the felicity of his subjects.

Death of Boleslaus. A.D. 1174.

MIECZSLAUS III. surnamed the OLD.

MIECZSLAUS was now raised to the ducal throne, and the duchies of *Mazovia* and *Cujavia* were assigned to *Lechus*, the son of *Boleslaus*, his uncle prince *Casimir* being appointed his guardian. The succession was disputed by the friends of the infant *Lechus*, by *Casimir* the brother of *Boleslaus*, and by the sons of *Uladislaus*; but the states gave *Mieczslaus* the preference, on account of the high expectations they entertained from the government of a prince who had hitherto displayed no other qualities than those of wisdom, valour, and affability. Nevertheless, when *Mieczslaus* was seated in the throne, they found reason to question whether all his former life had not been one continued scene of hypocrisy. He became a tyrant the moment he ceased to be a subject, and changed all the virtues of an amiable hero into despotism, pride, avarice, and every vice which could render him contemptible and detested. He had been surnamed the *Old*, on account of the sagacity he displayed in his youth; and might now be stiled, with equal reason, the *Young*, on account of the follies of his age. No prince ever afforded greater hopes at his accession, and no prince sooner disappointed the sanguinary expectations of his people. He authorized his favourites in all kinds of rapacity, violence, and exaction. The wealth of individuals roused his avarice, and rendered the possessors criminal. He shut his ears against the murmurs of discontent, and the groans of the oppressed. He grew prodigal at the expence of his subjects; and at the same time became a miser and a spendthrift. *Poland*, in general, was wretchedly poor; but the prince's coffers overflowed with riches. His cruelty was so remarkable, that, when he wanted human creatures to torture, he gratified his bloody passion on the brute creation; and, merely out of a barbarous disposition, became immoderately fond of hunting. Some of his subjects remonstrated to him upon his

Mieczslaus III.

b FLOR. Polon. lib. ii. cap. viii. MAT. de Michov. lib. iii. cap. xix. xx. xxi. xxii. GUAGNINI apud Pistor. iii. CROMER, ibid. lib. ii.

strange change of temper, and the fatal consequences of the measures he pursued. *Gideon*,^a bishop of *Cracow*, in particular, relying upon his sacred function, and the friendship which *Mieczslaus*, whilst a subject, professed for his person, ventured to declare his sentiments freely, and assured the duke that his conduct would necessarily produce an open rebellion. The return his loyalty met with was a menace, that his next trespass of the same nature should be punished with banishment. Not satisfied with this imprudent step, the infatuated duke threatened to confiscate the effects of those who should presume to censure his administration; and, by a series of such arbitrary conduct, wholly exhausted the patience of his subjects. Private cabals were held, conspiracies formed, and it was at length determined to depose the tyrant. The palatine of *Cracow* joined the discontented, proposed that prince *Casimir*^b should succeed, and accordingly set about a formal renunciation of the allegiance of the states to *Mieczslaus*; a prince who might easily have engaged the hearts of the people by stronger ties than any of the former sovereigns of *Poland*.^c

C A S I M I R II. surnamed the JUST.

Casimir II. *CASIMIR* was a prince of generous and virtuous sentiments. He scrupled accepting the honour intended, because he feared it was a trespass upon equity, and a violation of another's property. One argument alone, out of the multitude that were used, had weight with him upon this occasion: it was the mutual obligation subsisting between the sovereign and the subject. Vanquished by the force of this reflection, and the prayers of the nobility, clergy, and people, he accepted the ducal dignity; after a solemn protestation, that the good of his country, and not the gratification of his ambition, was the sole object he had in prospect. *Mieczslaus* was absent at the time this revolution happened: upon advice of what was transacted, he employed his utmost diligence in raising an army; but meeting with a denial to his demands on the neighbouring princes, he was too weak to offer battle; and while he remained thus in a state of inaction, *Casimir* subdued the *Lower Poland* and *Pomerania*, which had remained firm in their allegiance to his rival. Having now established the tranquillity of *Poland*, and fixed himself securely on the throne, he applied his attention to the discharge of those duties required from a sovereign, and soon justified the high opinion which the people entertained of his virtue. He began with redressing grievances, adjusting property, establishing right, and correcting the abuses which had crept into the administration during the corrupt despotic government of his predecessor. All exorbitant imposts were suppressed, and a general diet assembled, to rescue the peasants from the tyranny of the nobility; an affair of such consequence as the duke refused to determine by his own authority, though supported by the clergy. But it proved less difficult than was imagined to prevail on the nobility to relinquish certain privileges which they possessed, extremely injurious to natural right: they were moved by the example of a virtuous prince; and, by their conduct on this occasion, demonstrated the great influence of a sovereign who is beloved by his people. All that the king required was immediately granted; and, to secure this declaration in favour of the peasants, the archbishop of *Gnesna* thundered out dreadful anathemas against those who should endeavour to recover the unjust privileges they had now renounced; taking care likewise to secure ecclesiastical property, by establishing severe penalties, and a variety of spiritual fences. The acts of this diet were transmitted to *Rome*, and confirmed by the pontiff, to add more weight to the decisions.

THOUGH the nobility in general consented to have their power retrenched, there were some to whom it furnished cause of discontent; and these immediately became the partizans of the deposed prince *Mieczslaus*. This unfortunate prince had not only lost his crown, but likewise his hereditary dominions, in consequence of which he was reduced to extreme indigence. He now had recourse to supplications; wrote to *Casimir* an affecting account of his situation, drew tears from the eyes of this compassionate brother, and determined him to evacuate the throne in his favour, if he could procure the consent of the diet. For this purpose he assembled the states, pathetically described his brother's wretched circumstances, enlarged upon his penitence, touched feelingly upon the injustice of one brother's usurping the property of another; and concluded with a request, that he might be permitted to restore the crown to *Mieczslaus*, for whose future conduct he would himself be security. The answer made by the states was peremptory: they told him never more to mention the subject, lest they should be under the necessity of deposing him, and excluding his brother, who they were determined should never again wear the *Polish* diadem. *Casimir*, however, was so moved with his brother's tender recital of his misfortunes, that he tried every measure to relieve him, and even connived at the arts practised by some discontented noblemen to effect a revolution in favour of *Mieczslaus*. By a very sin-

^c Auct. sup. citat. ibid.

a gular generosity he facilitated the reduction of *Gnesna* and *Lower Poland*, where *Mieczslaus* might have lived in splendor and peace, had not his heart been corrupted, and his ambition and avarice too strong to be subdued by kindness and fraternal affection. The possession of *Gnesna* only whetted his ardour to wrest the crown from his brother, and reduce *Casimir* to the same unfortunate situation from which he was just relieved by the unparalleled goodness of that prince. He began with attempting the conquest of the provinces of *Mazovia* and *Cujavia*, which had been assigned for the maintenance of *Lechus*, the son of *Boleslaus*, under the tutelage of duke *Casimir*. He corrupted certain persons about the young prince's court, and persuaded *Lechus* to quit the party of *Casimir*, after which he seized upon all his dominions. This opened the eyes of *Lechus*, and determined him to
b embrace the first opportunity of escaping, which he soon found, returned to *Casimir*, and was received with the same kindness as if he had never erred in his conduct. The young prince was equally affected with the sense of his own imprudence, and of the generosity of his guardian; grief preyed upon his constitution, and he soon became the victim of his own sensibility, leaving his dominions to *Casimir* by way of atonement^d. Policy and self-preservation required that *Mieczslaus* should be dispossessed of those countries which he had fraudulently seized: an army was assembled for this purpose, and the duchies of *Mazovia* and *Cujavia* were recovered and reannexed to the crown of *Poland*.

SCARCE had *Casimir* restored the tranquillity of his dominions (leaving his unworthy brother in possession of some places in *Lower Poland*) when he was engaged in a war with
c *Russia*, to re-establish *Uladimir* in his dominions, of which he had been despoiled by the *Hungarians*. The expedition was displeasing to many of the *Polish* nobility, strongly connected by ties of interest and affinity with the *Hungarians*; in order to frustrate its effects, they set on foot a scheme for employing the duke at home, by exciting a civil war, and attempting the restoration of *Mieczslaus*. A report was artfully propagated, that *Casimir* was poisoned in *Russia*, and this considerably strengthened the faction. *Cracow* was surprised, but the citadel refused to surrender. *Casimir's* unexpected return destroyed the hopes of the conspirators. *Mieczslaus* was forced to evacuate all his conquests, his son fell into the hands of *Casimir*, and the rebellion was entirely crushed, only to make way for further proofs of the duke's clemency and moderation. He released all his prisoners, and
d even furnished them with every necessary to return to their several homes, condescending likewise, though victorious, to ask peace of his vanquished brother.

THE last action of this amiable prince was the conquest of *Russia*, which he effected rather by the reputation of his wisdom and generosity than by dint of arms. Those barbarians voluntarily submitted to a prince so famed for his benevolence, justice, and humanity. Soon after his return he died at *Cracow*, lamented as the best, the meekest, the most pious, liberal, and amiable prince that had ever filled the throne of *Poland*; his very failings being of such a nature as engaged the esteem, the affection, and the admiration of his people^e (1).

THE *Poles* were doubly sensible of the merit of *Casimir* the moment he was removed
e from them, and this made them more difficult in the choice of a successor. His son *Lechus* was a boy, and they dreaded the consequences of a long minority, while there remained such a number of claimants for the throne. The young prince indeed was espoused by the bishop of *Cracow*, and a majority of the nobility; besides, the election of the diet was sufficient to constitute the legitimacy of his right; yet the nation in general dreaded a civil war, and the confusion that might follow the appointing a prince to fill the throne, who at the age of maturity might prove unworthy of the dignity, and of the danger and fatigue they must undergo in his support. The deposed duke, and the son of *Uladislaus II.* now duke of *Oppelen* in *Silesia*, had each a powerful faction determined upon joining interest to oppose the election of *Lechus*. However, the influence, the policy, the address,
f and the eloquence of the bishop of *Cracow* prevailed: he recited all the virtues of *Casimir*, and by reminding the assembly of the many benefits deduced from the piety of the father, strongly recommended the son. Gratitude, pity, and all the more powerful passions, operated in favour of the young prince, who was accordingly declared duly elected, the bishop and palatine of *Cracow* being constituted his guardians, and regents of the republic.

^d FLOR. Polon. lib. ii. cap. x. MAT. de Michov. lib. iii. cap. xx.

^e Ibid. lib. iii. cap. xxvii.

(1) The following anecdote is a sufficient illustration of his character. While *Casimir* was prince of *Sandomir*, he won at play all the money of one of his nobility, who, incensed at his ill fortune, struck the prince a blow on the ear, in the heat of passion. He fled immediately from justice; but being pursued and overtaken, he was condemned to lose his head; but the generous *Casimir* determined otherwise. "I am

"not surprised, said he, at the gentleman's conduct;
"for not having it in his power to revenge himself on
"fortune, no wonder he should attack her favourite."
After which he revoked the sentence, returned the nobleman his money, and declared that he alone was faulty, as he encouraged by his example a pernicious practice, that might terminate in the ruin of hundreds of the people (1).

(1) Flor. Polon. lib. ii. cap. x.

Nor did the gratitude of the assembly to *Casimir's* memory stop with the elevation of his eldest son; *Casimir*, the second son, was declared duke of *Mazovia* and *Cujavia*, under the tutelage of the same great personages.

L E C H U S VI. surnamed the F A I R.

Lechus VI.

THE consequences foreseen by the people immediately followed this act of the diet. *Mieczslaus the Old*, resolving to dispute the election, formed an alliance with the dukes of *Oppelen*, *Pomerania*, and *Breslau*, raised all the men in *Lower Poland* fit to bear arms, and bent his march with numerous forces towards *Cracow*. A bloody battle was fought on the banks of the river *Mozgarva*. After terrible slaughter, the left wings of both armies were seized with a panic. On the one side *Bolcslaus*, the son of *Mieczslaus*, was slain, and the old duke on the point of being taken prisoner; while on the other hand, the palatine of *Sandomir* fell into the enemy's hands, and the *Russian* auxiliaries were entirely routed. Upon the whole, the advantage remained on the side of *Lechus*, though both were disabled from keeping the field, and forced to retire to recruit their forces and spirits, in order to overwhelm *Poland* with fresh scenes of slaughter. *Mieczslaus* was first ready for action, and he commenced his operations with invading the duchy of *Cujavia*, which lay commodious and contiguous to his own dominions. Nothing opposed his progress, the cities opened their gates at his approach, and the divisions that reigned among the enemy offered a fair opportunity for the entire conquest of *Poland*. *Mieczslaus* laid his scheme deep; not satisfied with the reduction of *Cujavia*, he formed a design on *Cracow*, but preferred artifice to open force. His first attempt was to corrupt the guardians of the young *Lechus*; but finding their integrity inflexible, he applied to the duchess dowager, mother to the prince. To her he made the fairest promises, after having described, in the strongest terms, the miseries which would ensue from her refusal of the conditions he proposed. He stipulated to adopt *Lechus* and *Conrade*, her sons, to surrender the province of *Cujavia* for their present support, and to declare them heirs to all his dominions. The principal nobility opposed this accommodation; but it was accepted by the duchess, in despite of all their remonstrances, and *Mieczslaus* was put in possession of the capital, after he had taken a solemn oath punctually to execute every article of the treaty.

M I E C Z S L A U S the O L D restored.

Mieczslaus restored.

MIECZLAUS had too often broke his engagements to have any regard to promises where his interest was concerned: ambition had surmounted greater difficulties than the mere breach of a simple contract with a credulous woman. He was indifferent to the sentiments of mankind, and careless of his reputation when it stood in the way of his promotion or his passions; and now, having got the power in his hands, he resolved to exert it in the same manner as if no treaty at all subsisted with the duchess. His despotism soon became apparent; the duchess perceived she was duped, and she endeavoured to retrieve her misconduct by rendering the perfidious duke odious to his subjects. Her children were beloved by the people, and a few spirited measures in their favour would excite a general insurrection. The duchess accordingly formed a strong party, the nobility took arms, and the people followed their example. The rebellion was too general to be withstood; *Mieczslaus* was shamefully driven out of *Cracow*, and on the point of being reduced to his former wretched circumstances. His intriguing genius however once more availed him; he found means to sow dissention among the enemy, set the duchess and the palatine of *Cracow* at variance, and by this means obliged that powerful nobleman to embrace his party. So formidable an accession soon turned the scale of fortune; *Mieczslaus's* forces became superior, and he in consequence regained possession of *Cracow*; but he did not long enjoy the fruits of his prosperity. He fell a sacrifice to intemperance, and his son *Uladislaus* was raised to the ducal dignity, through the influence of the same palatine, who had been artfully seduced to embrace the cause of *Mieczslaus*. After the transactions we have related, the subsequent saying will exhibit a sufficient idea of the character of this perfidious prince. "A sovereign, said he, is no longer obliged to keep his oath than while it is neither safe nor beneficial to break it."

His death.

THE opinions of historians differ with respect to the successor of *Mieczslaus*. Some relate, that *Uladislaus* was elected duke, and died a few days after his accession^f; others are equally strenuous in asserting, that the palatine of *Cracow*, sensible that he had been deceived by the artful *Mieczslaus*, was preparing to join his enemies before his death, and immediately upon that event seized the capital, and restored the young *Lechus* to the supreme dignity^g. *Guagnini* differs from both these relations, and affirms, that *Uladislaus* succeeded his father for three years, and then reflecting upon his own usurpation of another's right, voluntarily resigned the crown to *Lechus*.

^f HARTNOCH, lib. i. cap. ii. HERBERT de Fulstin, lib. vi. p. 102, 103. apud Pistor.

^g GUAGN. p. 92.

L E C H U S restored.

^a We can only be certain, amidst so many discordant opinions, that *Lechus* was restored. ^{Lechus restored. A. D. 1206.} In this all writers agree, and they are equally unanimous that his government was unfortunate. The *Tartars* broke into *Poland*, ravaged it with the utmost cruelty, and diffused terror and confusion through all the northern kingdoms. At last they came to an engagement with the *Poles*, assisted by the *Russians*; and, after an obstinate and dreadful conflict, obtained a complete victory. This was their first incursion into *Poland*, and happily for that country it terminated as precipitately as it commenced. Without any apparent reason they retired, just as the whole kingdom was ready to submit. Disease and famine however marked their way. The devastations they had committed produced a dearth, which was soon followed by a pestilence that reduced one of the most populous countries of the northern hemisphere to a solitude. In this situation was *Poland*, when death put an end to the misfortunes of *Lechus*, whose reign was the most inauspicious in the annals of that republic. The manner in which *Lechus* perished completed the tragedy; he was sacrificed to the ambition of his own subjects, and murdered as he was bathing with *Henry the Bearded* of *Silesia*. The conspiracy was set on foot by *Swentopelus*, palatine of *Pomerania*, who aspired at the sovereignty of that province, the investiture of which had been refused him by *Lechus*. A civil war ensued, and *Poland* became the prey of a number of petty princes, each of whom claimed the ducal dignity^b (K).

^c For a series of years it would be difficult to determine who was the successor of *Lechus*. He had a son called *Boleslaus*, by his wife *Grewslaw*, daughter of the duke of *Russia*; but this prince being a minor, the regency, and at last the ducal throne, was contested between *Conrade*, uncle to *Boleslaus*, and *Henry the Bearded*, duke of *Silesia*. Each triumphed in his turn; and that prince was considered as duke of *Poland* who got possession of *Cracow*, notwithstanding the rest of the kingdom was in the hands of men who claimed independency on the capital. *Henry*, after defeating *Conrade* in two bloody battles, first gained the seat of government, and assumed the title of duke; but his imprudent confidence in the inhabitants of *Cracow*, soon destroyed the fruits of his victories. Having sent the *Silesian* troops back to their own country; to avoid giving umbrage to the citizens, he was surprised and taken prisoner by *Conrade*. The civil war raged with redoubled vigour; ^d the son of *Henry* having collected an army, *Poland* was on the verge of destruction, when an accommodation was effected by means of the prudence and policy of *Henry's* wife *Hedwiga*. The treaty concluded upon this occasion was broke by *Henry*, who, in less than a year, assumed, without any opposition, the title of duke of *Poland*, got possession of *Cracow*, and enjoyed both for the remainder of his life.

It was during this unfortunate state of the kingdom that the *Tartars* made a second irruption, laid all desolate before them, and were advancing to the capital; when they were attacked by the brave palatine of *Cracow*, supported only by a handful of men; defeated with great slaughter, and forced to retire with great precipitation. The palatine's valour served only to stem the torrent; it did not break the power of the enemy: for next ^e year the *Tartars* returned, and, spurred on by resentment, committed such barbarities as cannot be equalled in history, or described without horror. It is sufficient, that neither sex, age, nor quality, could excite compassion in the obdurate breasts of those savages, whole provinces being burnt to the ground, and the inhabitants massacred. They were returning laden with spoils, when the palatine fell upon them a second time with a slender force; but fortune was unpropitious; he was defeated, after an obstinate conflict, and after he had displayed all the qualities of a good soldier, general, and patriot. This unfortunate action laid all *Poland* open to the *Tartars*; the nobility fled into *Hungary*, and the peasants sought an asylum among rocks and impenetrable forests. *Cracow* was left entirely defenceless, the *Tartars* took possession, and soon pillaged and burnt the capital. Next they penetrated into ^f *Silesia* and *Moravia*, and after desolating the countries, destroyed *Breslau* and other cities; nor did *Hungary* escape the fury of their barbarity; the king gave battle to the *Tartars*, was defeated with vast carnage, and had the mortification to see his capital laid in ashes, and above an hundred thousand of his subjects perish by fire and sword. The *Tartarian* arms were invincible, nothing could withstand the prodigious forces they brought into the field, and the fury with which they seemed actuated. They fixed their head-quarters on the frontiers of *Hungary*, and spread their devastations on every side with a celerity and success that threatened the destruction of the whole empire, as well as the surrounding kingdoms.

^b MAT. de Michov. lib. iii. cap. xxx. HART. lib. i. cap. ii.

(K) *Matheo* of *Michovia* relates, contrary to the in the manner related, while he was in possession of the testimony of all other *Polish* historians, that *Lechus* the sovereign authority of *Poland*, all the other princes *Fair* was four times deposed, and at last was murdered paying him homage (1).

(1) Lib. iii. cap. xxx. p. 81.

B O L E S L A U S V. surnamed the C H A S T E.

Boleslaus V. In this situation was Poland, bleeding under the scourge of the most cruel servitude, when *Boleslaus*, surnamed the *Chaste*, was raised to the throne, by which means a civil war was added to the other misfortunes of the kingdom. This prince, the son of *Lechus*, was opposed by his uncle *Conrade*, who, though he did not contest the right of the father, nor of *Henry the Bearded*, was resolved not to admit that of their children, and see himself become the subject of his own nephew. He took the field with a numerous army, gained possession of *Cracow*, and assumed the title of duke of *Poland*, having the provinces of *Cracow* and *Sandomir* wholly under his authority. As *Boleslaus* was forced to take refuge in *Hungary*, it is probable *Conrade* might have kept possession of the ducal throne, had not his avarice and pride equally offended the nobility and peasants, and obliged them unanimously to invite *Boleslaus* to head the insurrection which appeared in every quarter. On his arrival the capital received him with joy; but his sovereignty was not universally acknowledged. A powerful party still espoused *Conrade*: and it is reported that on this occasion the knights of the *Teutonic* order were called into *Poland* to dispute the pretensions of *Boleslaus* (L). All his endeavours however proved ineffectual; he was defeated in two pitched battles, and forced to live in a private situation, though he never ceased to harass his nephew, and make fresh attempts to recover the crown, to which he had no right either by birth or election. To his intrigues *Mathew* of *Michovia* ascribes an irruption made by the *Lithuanians* into *Poland*, where they made dreadful ravages, and were at last defeated by *Boleslaus*, with the loss of their duke *Mimdacus*. We know but few particulars besides of the reign and character of *Boleslaus*, except that he is reported to have made a perpetual vow of continency, and to have imposed the same oath on his wife; that he was liberal to the church; that he founded near forty monasteries; and that he died after a long reign, in the year 1279, after having adopted *Lechus* duke of *Cujavia*, and procured a confirmation of his choice by the free election of the peopleⁱ.

L E C H U S VII. surnamed the B L A C K.

Lechus VII. No period in the *Polish* annals is more replete with carnage than the reign of this prince, whose whole life was one continued tissue of domestic and foreign troubles and misfortunes. On his first accession he was attacked by the united forces of *Russia* and *Lithuania*, assisted by the *Tartars*, whom he had the good fortune to defeat in a pitched engagement, in which victory stood long in suspense. The advantage obtained on this occasion obliged the enemy to evacuate *Poland*; but it so weakened *Lechus*, as to give birth to civil dissensions. The bishop of *Cracow*, and duke of *Mazovia*, with several other prelates and nobles, united to depose *Lechus*, from motives of ambition, some alledge of resentment, the prince having detained the bishop of *Cracow* in prison for the space of a month. This was an affront never to be forgiven by the clergy, who had interest enough with the pontiff to procure sentence of excommunication to be denounced against their sovereign, whereby all his subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance. In consequence, the revolt became so general, that *Lechus* was forced to take shelter under the wing of the king of *Hungary*, the inhabitants of *Cracow* alone remaining firm in their duty. These brave citizens stood all the fatigue and danger of a tedious siege, and were at last relieved by the *Hungarian* army and *Lechus*, who defeated the rebels, and restored the legitimate sovereign. *LECHUS* had scarce reascended the throne, when the united *Russians*, *Tartars*, and *Lithuanians*, made a second irruption into *Poland*, and desolated the country with more fury and barbarity than before. Their forces were prodigious, and rendered more terrible, we are told, by the incredible number of large dogs, trained to the art of war, with which they were accompanied. *Lechus* however was not discouraged: he attacked the enemy with inferior troops, and obtained a complete victory, the *Poles* being animated by despair, on perceiving that if they were conquered, they must likewise be devoured. This was the last exploit recorded in history of this prince, who died with the reputation of a warlike, wife, but unfortunate monarch, having never had the power to gratify his inclination to promote the felicity of his subjects. As he died without issue, his crown was contested, and his dominions again exposed to all the horrors of civil discord. The competitors for the sovereignty were *Uladislaus Loëticus*, brother to the deceased prince, who seized the

ⁱ FLOR. POLON. lib. ii. cap. xv. GUAGN. tom. i. p. 97, apud Pistor.

(L) Some writers alledge, that *Conrade* first invited the *Teutonic* knights to assist him against the *Prussians*, a few years before his contest with *Boleslaus*; and that, in recompence of their services, he gave them *Culm*, and other places, where they were settled at this time, and ready to lend their assistance to their patron. In a few years these auxiliaries proved the bitterest enemies of *Poland*, and the authors of a great number of bloody wars (1).

(1) Flor. Polon. lib. ii. cap. ii. Guagn. p. 96.

a palatinate of *Siradia*; *Boleslaus* duke of *Ploskow*, brother to *Conrade* duke of *Mazovia*, who took possession of *Cracow* and *Sandomir*; and *Henry* duke of *Breslau*, a prince lineally descended from the family of *Piastus*. The struggle for power was violent, but short, *Henry* triumphing over his adversaries, and driving them from the provinces they had seized, took possession of the capital, and was acknowledged duke of *Poland*.

H E N R Y, surnamed the H O N E S T.

HENRY did not enjoy his dignity in peace. *Uladislaus Loeticus* made another effort, Henry, and was so successful as to oblige the duke to quit the capital; however, he sustained a defeat in the open field, which obliged him with reluctance to abandon his claim, and suffer his rival to remain in quiet possession for the short remainder of his life. About five years after his election *Henry* died, as some writers alledge, of poison, administered to him by certain noblemen of *Silesia*, leaving the duchies of *Cracow* and *Sandomir* to *Premislaus* duke of *Great Poland*, his relation, and likewise the descendant of *Piastus*.

P R E M I S L A U S II.

POLAND had lost all its splendor since its princes had been deprived of the regal dignity. Almost all the provinces had shook off their allegiance, and even the palatines of *Poland* sometimes refused paying obedience to the dukes. *Premislaus* knew the influence of pageantry on the minds of the multitude, and accordingly had the ceremony of coronation renewed at *Gnesna*, and was crowned with all the pomp and magnificence observed by the former kings of *Poland*. He assumed the title of king, and was attended with all the badges of the regal dignity; but he did not live to experience the effects of this measure, entered upon rather from views of policy than pride. A conspiracy was formed against him, and he was deprived of life about seven months after his elevation. The historians of this country differ extremely in their relations about the cause of this event. Some ascribe it to the jealousy of the marquis of *Brandenburg*, who employed assassins to execute his vengeance, though they are silent with respect to the occasion of this animosity between the princes: others, on the contrary, affirm, that the widow of the late sovereign, incensed at being stripped of the territories consigned to her for her dowry, entered into treaty with the monarch of *Bohemia*, and resigned to him her rights, on condition that he would assist her in gratifying her revenge, and punishing the perfidious ungrateful *Premislaus*. This offer was readily accepted; and accordingly that sovereign marched with a powerful army into *Poland*, reduced *Cracow*, and deposed the *Polish* prince, seizing upon all his dominions, whence he is ranked by some writers among the kings of *Poland*. It is said however of this prince, that he was better acquainted with the means of acquiring than of retaining conquests. He suffered himself to be surprised and defeated by *Uladislaus Loeticus*, who soon recovered all the places which had been taken, and drove the *Bohemians* out of the kingdom*. It is now impossible, at this distance of time, to reconcile accounts so opposite; we must therefore content ourselves with relating the various opinions, submitting it to the choice of our readers to which they think proper to give their assent.

U L A D I S L A U S III. surnamed L O C T I C U S.

NOR are the relations of authors more consistent with respect to the succession; some affirm, that *Uladislaus Loeticus* seized the throne, and governed the kingdom for the space of five years, at first with great ability and applause, but towards the end of his reign, with so much tyranny and profligacy, that he was deposed by the unanimous voice of the people. Others are equally positive, that *Premislaus*, son to the late monarch, was vested with the regal dignity, out of regard to his merit, and certain considerable services which he performed. It is probable indeed that both these princes reigned; tho' it will be difficult to ascertain who was the immediate successor of *Premislaus* II. Both were solemnly crowned at *Gnesna* by the primate of that name. *Premislaus* was assassinated just as his people had begun to taste the fruits of his prudent administration; and *Uladislaus* was deposed for his vices, after he had exhibited proofs of courage in repressing the insolence of the *Silesians*, and of ability, by other acts of government.

W I N C E S L A U S.

As soon as the throne was vacant, it was offered, by the unanimous voice of the people, to *Winceslaus* king of *Bohemia*, who likewise claimed it by right, in consequence of the resignation made in his favour by *Griphina*, widow of *Leckus the Black*. He had likewise married *Rixa*, the daughter of *Premislaus*, and thereby strengthened his right and interest.

* GUAGN. tom. i. p. 59. FLOR. Polon. lib. vii. cap. xv. p. 113. MAT. de Michov. apud Pistor. tom. ii. lib. iv. cap. i. HARTN. lib. i. cap. ii. HERBURT de Fulstin, lib. ix.

His reign commenced with a cruel persecution of *Loëticus* and his adherents, who were forced to quit the kingdom: he then introduced the *Bohemians* into *Poland*, and conferred upon them the principal offices in the kingdom. After he had firmly established himself upon the throne, as he imagined, and garrisoned all the forces with the troops of *Bohemia*, he visited his native country, and thereby laid the foundation of the revolution which immediately followed. The *Bohemian* governors used their power with insolence, and grievously oppressed the people with heavy taxes, imposed without the authority of the sovereign or the states. *Uladislaus Loëticus* resolved to profit by the general discontent that appeared among all degrees of men. He returned to *Poland*, and made profession of an intire reformation of manners. The troops he had brought from *Hungary* were soon increased to a considerable army, by the crowds of *Poles* who took refuge with him, to screen themselves from the tyranny of the *Bohemians*. He had the good fortune to reduce several towns, and was rapidly pursuing his conquests when the death of *Winceslaus* paved the way to his restoration, as there was no other competitor able to dispute his claim with such numerous forces. Accordingly the states assembled, and unanimously elected *Uladislaus*, tho' they considerably retrenched his authority, and deferred his coronation until he had given proofs of a sincere reformation of manners¹.

U L A D I S L A U S restored.

Uladislaus
restored.
A. D. 1305.

Conquers the
Teutonic
order.

ULADISLAUS was no sooner restored to the sovereign authority than he entered upon a war with the *Teutonic* knights, who had usurped the greater part of *Pomerania*, during the late disturbances in *Poland*. They had been settled in the territory of *Culm*, as we have seen, by *Conrade* duke of *Mazovia*; and they soon extended their dominion, not only over *Prussia*, but *Pomerania*, and some of the neighbouring countries likewise. In the year 1310, they laid siege to *Dantzick*, and gained possession of the city by means of a secret correspondence with the corrupt magistracy. Here a great number of *Pomeranian* gentlemen were massacred in cold blood, which so terrified all the other towns of the province, that they submitted without making the least resistance. To colour their ambition with the varnish of justice, they purchased the rights of the marquis of *Brandenburg*, who in fact had no legitimate claim to an inch of property in this country, and then set at defiance the thunders of the Vatican, and the menaces of the *Polish* monarch. Divers conferences were held in order to an accommodation; but as the knights refused to yield any of their conquests, *Uladislaus* had recourse first to the see of *Rome*, and then to arms, resolving to compel them by ecclesiastical censure, and secular force, to make restitution. As soon as the knights were excommunicated by the pope, the king marched with a numerous army into *Brandenburg*, and laid waste the marquis's dominions, because he pretended to sell a country to which he had no right, and to support with his forces the usurpation of the *Teutonic* order. Next he laid waste the territory of *Culm* with fire and sword, and being opposed by the joint forces of the marquis, the knights, and the duke of *Mazovia*, obtained a compleat victory, after a bloody conflict, in which he eminently displayed his conduct and courage. Without pursuing the blow he returned to *Poland*, recruited his army, and being reinforced by a body of auxiliaries from *Hungary* and *Lithuania*, penetrated a second time into *Prussia* and *Pomerania*, dispersed the enemy's forces, and ravaged without opposition all the dominions of the *Teutonic* order. Had he improved his advantage, he might either have exterminated the knights, or reduced them so low, that they could never more have been in a condition to injure *Poland*; but he was soothed by their supplications, and cajoled by promises, which they made with no other view than to extricate themselves from their present perplexity. He suffered a treaty to be concluded, under the mediation of the kings of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, to the former of whom he had given his daughter in marriage, and was in a few months convinced of the perfidious designs of the knights. They had not only refused to make the restitution of *Pomerania*, stipulated in the treaty, but endeavoured to extend their usurpations, for which purpose they had assembled a very considerable army. Enraged at their treachery and bold ambition, *Uladislaus* a third time took the field, and gave battle with such extraordinary success, that four thousand knights were left dead upon the spot, and about thirty thousand auxiliaries, if we may credit the *Polish* writers, either killed or taken prisoners. *Uladislaus* had displayed all the qualities of a great general in this action: he animated his troops equally by his discourse and example; and exhibited striking proofs of his generosity after victory had declared in his favour. Among the enemy's wounded was one *Florianus Szari*, a knight of the *Teutonic* order, who, with his belly ripped open, and his bowels hanging down, accosted the king with these words: "See the situation of the poor man who is hedged round with bad neighbours." *Uladislaus*, struck with the expression, told him his valour merited a better neighbourhood, and accordingly sent surgeons to attend him; and as

¹ Vid. Aust. citat. ibid.

a soon as he was cured, appointed him lands, where he spent the remainder of his days in tranquillity. Nor was the king's moderation inferior to his valour and humanity: though he now had it in his power to annihilate the whole order of knights, he satisfied himself with obtaining the territories which had occasioned the war, and securing the tranquillity of his dominions by a long truce.

He next turned his attention to the pacific arts; but he first resolved to give lustre to his government, by having his coronation performed with the utmost magnificence; to which the *Poles* could now have no objection, as the king had approved himself worthy of their election. For the space of fifteen years he had reigned with equal prudence and success; and this was the least favour he could expect from the gratitude of his subjects. b They consented with one voice to his request; but *Uladislaus* entertaining some doubts about the propriety of assuming the regal dignity, without the consent of the holy see, detached an embassy to *Rome*, to request the pontiff to confirm his own and his queen's coronation. As the request was accompanied with a liberal donation, it was immediately granted, and accordingly the ceremony was performed in the cathedral of *Cracow*, by the bishop of *Gnesna*. Not long after this ceremony he was seized with a chronic disorder that terminated with his life. When he perceived his dissolution near, he sent for the principal nobility and officers of the crown to his apartment, and recommended his son *Casimir* so strongly, that they all promised their utmost influence to have him appointed his successor; after which he addressed himself to the young prince, pointed out to him the errors in his c own conduct, advised him to study gaining the affections of his subjects, and never to put any confidence in the promise of the *Teutonic* knights, who had so often trifled with their oaths, and imposed upon his credulity. He then expired, with the reputation of a prince who had acquired consummate prudence by experience, and learnt wisdom from adversity^m.

C A S I M I R III. surnamed the G R E A T.

THE conduct of the *Teutonic* knights proved how salutary was the advice of the sage *Casimir III*, *Uladislaus*. They accepted the late truce only to draw breath and recruit their forces, and now instead of making restitution, employed their utmost diligence to repair their losses. It was necessary however to act with caution; *Casimir* was powerful, and could with one d blow crush all their forces: they therefore determined to accomplish their designs by intrigue, and had the good fortune to succeed: they submitted their differences with the crown of *Poland* to the decision of the kings of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; and thus, by making the first overtures of chusing those princes for umpires, gained them actually to be parties. Conferences were appointed, *Pomerania* was adjudged to the knights, provided they would restore *Culm*, and *Casimir* reduced to the necessity of abiding by the decision of the kings, or of declaring war against the *Teutonic* order, assisted by the kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*. The *Poles* however appeared more spirited on this occasion than their monarch. *Casimir* undertook to get the treaty ratified by the diet; but the states unanimously denied their assent, and even insisted upon the king's complaining to the see of *Rome*, e of the turbulence, the perfidy, ambition, and restless disposition of the knights, who were perpetually lighting up the torch of sedition in the northern kingdoms. *Casimir* rejoiced at the courage of his people, and was glad to find the diet had disavowed measures which himself could not approve, and that were the result of necessity. He took his measures so well with the pontiff, that a legate came to *Poland*, examined the point in dispute, and condemned the knights to make immediate restitution, under the penalty of the severest spiritual punishments; a sentence to which they paid very little regard, as it was not enforced by secular power. His *Polish* majesty had thoughts of entering upon a war, to satisfy the inclinations of his subjects; but sensible of the power of the knights, and of the strength of the alliances they had formed, he at length resolved to wait a more season- f able opportunity, and satisfy himself with the restitution of *Culm* and *Cujavia*.

CASIMIR had besides another motive for this seemingly tame conduct: he had projected the conquest of *Russia*, at least of that great province of the present *Polish* dominions called *Russia Nigra*. The divisions in that country, on account of religion, offered a fair opportunity; and he thought that this conquest might be more advantageous to *Poland* than the reduction of *Pomerania*, without the danger which would attend any attempts upon the latter. He immediately formed a flying camp, with which he entered the province and laid g siege to *Leopold*, before the inhabitants were apprised of his intention. The place was d destitute of provisions, and every other necessary for withstanding an enemy; the garrison therefore capitulated upon *Casimir's* promise of allowing entire liberty of conscience, and took an oath of allegiance to the crown of *Poland*. Leaving a garrison in *Leopold*, he bent

Subdues Russia Nigra.

^m HERBURT de Fulstin, p. 153. FLOR. Polon. lib. ii. cap. xviii. MAT. de Michov. lib. iv. cap. xiii. xiv. xv. xvi. tom. ii. apud Pistor.

his operations against the neighbouring cities, and soon made himself absolute master of *Volhinia*. Returning to *Poland* with an immense treasure, he levied a greater army, and again penetrated *Russia* to compleat the conquest of that country, and was so successful as to subdue the whole province in the course of one campaign. Next he turned his arms against *Mazovia*, and with the utmost rapidity over-ran the duchy, and annexed it as a province to his crown; after which he applied his attention to domestic affairs, reviving the force of the antient laws, framing new ones, and digesting the whole in a written regular code, which had never before been seen in *Poland*. Hitherto the *Poles* were entirely ignorant of scriptural laws, all causes being decided by custom, tradition, and the pleasure of the judge. The usual regulation observed in determining private differences was exceedingly ridiculous. An oath was wrote down upon paper, and delivered to one of the parties, who was desired to pronounce it. If in course of reading he hesitated or blundered, he was immediately condemned as guilty, merely perhaps because he happened not to be a scholar; though his adversary had indeed but little cause to triumph, both parties being obliged to pay large fines to the judges. The palatines, starostas, and nobility sat as judges, and took this method of enriching themselves, under pretence of preventing litigation. *Casimir* resolved to reform these abuses: he stated the fees of the judge, who was to decide by written laws, which he adopted from the *Teutonic* order, and ordered that the whole costs should fall upon him whose obstinacy, injustice, or desire of tyrannizing over his fellow subjects had given occasion for the law-suit. The written code he presented to a general diet, where it was examined, approved, and enlarged. *Casimir* then ordered it to be published: and the people soon reaped the fruits of his wisdom and care for their welfare. He raised *Leopold* to the dignity of an archbishopric, erected several fortresses, strengthened his frontier, inclosed the chief cities of his dominions with strong walls, and governed with such ability, integrity, and vigilance, as could not fail of gaining the affections of his subjects. He was the most impartial judge, the most rigid observer of justice, and the most distinguished example of submission to the laws that *Europe* affords among persons vested with the regal dignity, who usually measure equity by power, and think themselves equally the sovereigns of the law and of the people. The peasants were relieved from the oppression of the nobility, and yet compensation was made to the latter by the means which *Casimir* took to promote industry, and encrease the general wealth of the kingdom. In a word, *Casimir's* character was unfulfilled by a single vice, except incontinence, which however he confined within the bounds of policy, if not of strict morals. The clergy themselves confess, that in *Casimir* unchastity was a venial vice, which he more than compensated by the great number of his virtues, particularly his liberality to their order, for whose use he founded several monasteries, and one university. It is certainly however a reproach to his memory, that he divorced his queen only to raise to his bed an intriguing artful concubine, who was so perfectly mistress of his passions, that she prevailed on the king to marry her privately. In every other instance he approved himself a wise, valiant, and virtuous monarch.

L E W I S.

Lewis king of
Hungary.
A. D. 1370.

CASIMIR had been careful to continue the last drop of the blood of *Piaſtus* in the succession; with which view *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, his nephew by his sister, was declared prince of *Poland* by the diet. In the life-time of the late king he had sworn to observe the *pacta conventa*, and now ascended the throne without obstruction, being solemnly crowned at *Cracow* on the seventeenth day of *November*. The *Poles* were not happy in this election, as they could not but consider *Lewis* as a foreign prince, who would give the preference to his native country and hereditary dominions, enriching them perhaps at the expence of a kingdom which he could not regard as his own property. In the *pacta conventa* they had inserted a variety of articles to restrict his authority, which had never before been stipulated with their monarchs of the house of *Piaſtus*. This occasioned a coldness between the king and his people, as it intimated a suspicion of his conduct; and indeed he too soon afforded cause for their jealousy. He had scarce received the homage of his new subjects before he retired into *Hungary*, carrying with him the crown, sceptre, globe, and sword of state, to prevent the *Poles* from electing another prince during his absence; and he left the reins of government in the hands of the queen his mother. The choice of a regent would have been agreeable to the people, had *Elizabeth's* capacity been sufficient for the important charge. She was a *Pole* by birth, and sister to their late darling monarch; but the disturbed circumstances of the state required the exertion of manly talents, and the queen possessed those only of a weak woman. *Poland* was over-run with bold robbers and gangs of villains, who plundered towns and desolated whole countries: they were headed by a *Brandenburg* partisan, and spread terror through the kingdom with impunity. The *Lithuanians* too had made inroads into *Poland*, and marked their way with blood

a blood and slaughter. They reduced *Wlodomirów*, a city which *Casimir* had fortified merely as a check on their ferocity; but it was now left ungarrisoned, whereby it fell an easy prey, was sacked, and destroyed. They next penetrated into the palatinate of *Sandomir*; and to encrease the public calamity, the whole province of *Russia-Nigra* revolted. The kingdom itself was filled with dissention; the *Poles* could not patiently endure to see their garrisons in the hands of *Hungarians*; and they sent the king word that they thought he was sufficiently honoured in being himself elected to the regal dignity, without suffering the kingdom to be governed by a woman and his *Hungarian* subjects. So bold a message was regarded as the signal for action: *Lewis* raised a numerous army, and marched for *Poland*, with a full resolution to break the high spirit of his new subjects. His first operations however were directed against the *Russians*, whom he defeated, obliging them again to receive the yoke of servitude. He then turned his arms against the *Lithuanians*, whom he drove out of the kingdom; and had he stopped there, and withdrawn the *Hungarian* garrisons, he might easily have recovered the affections of his *Polish* subjects. Instead however of a measure which common understanding dictated, he strengthened the fetters of the *Poles*, by encreasing the foreign troops, and raising *Hungarians* to all the chief dignities. His credit and authority even extended so far as to cause a successor to be nominated, who was disagreeable to the whole nation, and this by a step the most unprecedented, and contrary to the constitution of the *Polish* government. He assembled a diet of the states of *Poland* at *Zwolen* in *Hungary*, and prevailed on the principal nobility, whom he won by presents, or intimidated by menaces, to swear allegiance to *Sigismund* marquis of *Brandenburg*; and to give weight to their election, he sent that prince with a body of *Hungarian* forces into *Poland*, and obliged him to fix his court at *Gnesna*, where he resided when *Lewis*, very happily for the kingdom, breathed his last, after an ill conducted reign of twelve years" (M).

ALL the endeavours of *Lewis* to confirm *Sigismund* in the succession were frustrated by his own mismanagement, and the rivetted aversion of the nation to a foreign prince, set over them by fraud, corruption, and force. His election was not only irregular; but the imperious manner in which he behaved would have provoked the people to set aside the most legitimate claim; they therefore refused to proceed to the ceremony of coronation, and the diet came to a resolution of offering the crown to *Hedwiga*, daughter to the late monarch.

H E D W I G A.

THE only conditions proposed to this young princess were, that she should marry with the approbation of her subjects, and expressly stipulate that her husband should reside constantly in *Poland*. The proposal was accepted, and *Hedwiga*, attended by cardinal *Deme-trius* bishop of *Strigonia* set out for *Poland*, where she was received amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, and crowned with the utmost splendor and magnificence at *Cracow*. She was scarce seated on the throne before several neighbouring princes paid their addresses; the first who courted her affection was *Ziemovitus* duke of *Mazovia*, who was rejected: next *William* of *Austria* made proposals; and came to the court of *Poland* to give weight to his address. *Hedwiga* was won by the comeliness of his person, his magnificence, and plausible manner; but the diet positively refused all connection with a prince, whose power might one day enable him to render *Poland* a province dependent on *Austria*. At last *Jagello* duke of *Great Lithuania* demanded the queen in marriage, by a magnificent embassy. His terms were so advantageous to *Poland*, and the alliance in every respect so honourable, that there was no possibility of raising objections. He consented to embrace Christianity, and to oblige all his subjects to be baptized: he proposed uniting *Lithuania* to *Poland* inseparably, and to incorporate them into one solid government, under the same sovereign authority; and he promised to reconquer *Pomerania*, and all the provinces belonging to *Poland*, which had been usurped by the knights of the *Teutonic* order. By such magnificent proposals *Jagello* easily triumphed over all his adversaries; the queen regarded them as tests of his affection, and the people considered them as extremely advantageous to the kingdom, as the union of *Lithuania* not only augmented the power of the commonwealth, but cut off all cause of those cruel wars, which of late years were continually disturbing the repose both of *Poland* and *Lithuania*.

Hedwiga,
daughter to
Lewis, made
queen of
Poland.

" MAT. de Michov. lib. iv. cap. xxviii. xxix. xxx. xxxi. RADEVICUS, lib. i. cap. iii.

(M) It is reported of *Lewis*, that notwithstanding his administration relative to *Poland* was impolitic, he was neither destitute of understanding, nor of valuable qualities. He always expressed an extreme anxiety to know what opinion his subjects entertained of his go-

vernment; for which purpose he used to disguise himself, and enquire of the peasants how they liked their king, carefully redressing all the grievances of which they complained (1).

(1) Flor. Polon. lib. ii. cap. xx. Herbut de Fulstin, lib. xi. p. 189, &c.

She marries
Jagello duke of
Lithuania, and
thereby unites
that duchy
with the
crown.

STILL however the queen entertained a secret passion for *William of Austria*. She had endeavoured to mould her affections to the inclination and good of her people; but when the treaty of marriage with *Jagello* was on the point of being concluded, her resolution failed, and she could not help considering herself as the sacrifice made to a barbarian and infidel, to promote the happiness of her subjects. Filled with these sentiments, she now determined at all hazards to encourage the address of *William*; for which purpose she entered upon a clandestine intercourse with him, whereby he was invited to enter the kingdom with a body of forces to support her designs. She even had a private interview with this prince, which being discovered, the nobility in arms surrounded the palace, obliged *William* to retire, and kept their sovereign a sort of prisoner until the arrival of *Jagello*, who advanced with a numerous army, attended by his two brothers. On his arrival at court, the queen refused to admit him to her presence; but being at length prevailed on by the prayers of the nobility, the handsome person, the vivacity, and youth of the *Lithuanian* duke, soon banished from her mind the idea of *William*, and her heart corresponded with her duty. The nuptials were celebrated with the utmost magnificence; *Jagello* was baptised by the name of *Uladislaus*, and the duchy of *Lithuania* inseparably annexed to the crown of *Poland*, but not as a dependent province.

S E C T. IV.

Containing the History of the third Class of Polish Monarchs, or the Race of *Jagello*, extinct in the Person of *Sigismund II.* 1574.

U L A D I S L A U S IV.*

Uladislaus
IV.
A. D. 1388.

IN consequence of the marriage of queen *Hedwiga* with *Jagello* duke of *Lithuania*, the kingdom of *Poland* was augmented not only by the union of that duchy, but by the vast provinces of *Samogitia* and *Russia-Nigra*, the latter of which had cost so much blood and treasure to the republic. These provinces paid homage to the dukes of *Lithuania*; and though they were governed by their own princes, yet the sovereignty of the duchy, and now of the united crowns of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, was acknowledged. So formidable an union excited the jealousy of the *Teutonic* knights, who were sensible that *Jagello*, now *Uladislaus*, was obliged by the articles of the alliance to undertake the reduction of *Pomerania*, and revenge all the indignities which *Poland* had for a number of years sustained from their order. From his first accession they considered this monarch as their declared enemy, and exerted their utmost ability to frustrate his designs, by carrying fire and sword into his country, and stirring up a revolution in *Lithuania* in favour of his brother *Andrew*. The situation of the duchy afforded a prospect of success. Almost all the nobility resented the late alliance, particularly the constant residence of the prince in *Poland*, which was stipulated in the treaty of union. This they imagined would not only drain the country of money, but in time render *Lithuania* a mere dependent province. Besides, *Jagello* had promised to effect a revolution in religion, and this measure could not fail of meeting with opposition, and giving birth to civil commotions. Though the order of *Teutonic* knights was first instituted to oppose infidelity, and defend the Christian faith, they now resolved to follow the dictates of policy, and strenuously oppose the progress of the Christian doctrines in *Lithuania*, with a view to stir up the people against their sovereign. Two armies marched with great expedition towards the frontiers of the duchy, which they suddenly penetrated, laying waste the country, and seizing upon some important fortresses, before the king of *Poland* had any suspicion of their design. As soon as he received advice of the ravages committing in *Lithuania*, the king raised forces with the utmost celerity, which he entrusted to the conduct of his brother *Skirgello*, who attacked the knights with such impetuosity, as soon obliged them to evacuate their conquests. Mean time *Uladislaus* marched in person at the head of an army into the *Higher Poland*, a country rent with civil divisions, and subjected to a variety of petty tyrants, who oppressed the people, and governed with intolerable despotism*. The palatine of *Poznia* in particular had seized the opportunity of the weakness of the late government to throw off his allegiance. *Uladislaus* marched against him, gave him battle, obtained a complete victory, reduced the whole country to obedience, and punished the fomenters of the rebellion in an exemplary manner.

HAVING secured the tranquility of *Poland*, he visited *Lithuania*, attended by a great number of the clergy, in order to effect the conversion of his subjects, who had hitherto been immersed in the grossest idolatry. Like some eastern nations the inhabitants of *Lithuania* worshipped fire, which was attended by priests, whose office it was to keep the sacred

* Ibid. ibid. MAT. de Michov. lib. iv. cap. xxxvii. FLOR. Polon. lib. iii. cap. ii. de Fulsin, lib. xiv.

* This prince is, by a general mistake, called *Uladislaus V.*

- a lamps continually burning, under the penalty of losing their lives for the first neglect. Over this body of priests presided a high-priest called *Ziutz*, and a chief temple was erected at *Vilna*, the capital of the duchy, where the whole nation flocked in the utmost terror if the sun happened to be obscured for some days by clouds, to appease that deity by human sacrifices. If that luminary chanced to be eclipsed, it increased the public consternation, the people were quite frantic, rivers of human blood flowed, all the unhappy captives were immolated without mercy at the shrines of ignorance and superstition, and cruelty was added to the most absurd religious tenets. Trees, serpents, and vipers, were likewise the objects of their adoration. In gloomy forests, and under lofty umbelliferous trees, they paid their devotions, while the reptile creation were cherished in every family as the household gods.
- b *Uladislaus* took the most effectual method of removing the errors of this infatuated people: he crushed their serpents under foot, cut down their forests, extinguished their sacred fires, demolished their temples, and by this means demonstrated to the *Lithuanians* the impotence of their gods. At first the people expected to see the *Poles* blasted with lightning, and punished with the signal vengeance of heaven; but perceiving that they met with no injury, they were convinced those gods were destitute of power. It was then they embraced Christianity, suffered themselves to be baptized, and desired they might be instructed in all the peculiar doctrines of *Christ*. Accordingly a great number of the clergy were left in *Lithuania*, an archbishopric was erected at *Vilna*, and *Uladislaus*, imagining he had sufficiently laid the foundation of the conversion of the people, returned to *Poland*, constituting his brother *Skirgello* viceroy of the duchy. This was a measure upon which the king had not duly deliberated: he must have been too well acquainted with the character of his brother to believe, that he could possibly be entrusted with power without abusing it. *Skirgello* was fierce, haughty, cruel, and debauched: his great ambition was to become dreadful: and this addition of power rendered him altogether untractable. With him the king sent his cousin *Vitowda*, a prince amiable, brave, and generous in his disposition, to be a check on his conduct; but *Skirgello's* barbarity, and unspeakable ferocity, obliged the young prince to withdraw among the *Teutonic* knights, the usual refuge of the oppressed and discontented. He had too much honour however to assist the knights in their designs against his country, and therefore applied to the king for protection; but finding that prince unmindful of his promises, he actually embarked in the scheme formed by the knights to invade *Lithuania*. This country he entered at the head of a numerous army; after spreading desolation and terror over the face of the duchy, seized upon the capital, burnt it to the ground, and destroyed fourteen thousand persons of both sexes in the flames, besides great numbers who were massacred endeavouring to escape. Such was the fate of the lower city, while the *Poles*, who garrisoned the upper city were animated by despair to the most vigorous defence. The slight walls of the city were soon ruined; but new works were speedily erected by the brave garrison, by which means the enemy were diverted so long, that *Skirgello* had time to assemble an army, with which he so harassed the besiegers, that they were forced to relinquish the enterprize, after they had laid the adjacent country in ashes^b.
- c

Civil divisions
in Lithuania.

- VITOWDA* was now too deeply engaged in open rebellion to retract; he therefore recruited his forces, and next year laid siege a second time to the *Upper Vilna*, which was still defended by the same brave garrison that had before foiled all his attempts. Their obstinacy now likewise obliged him to raise the siege; but he got possession of some other cities, and aimed directly at the sovereignty of *Lithuania*, independent of *Uladislaus* and the crown of *Poland*, depending upon the general discontent which his brother's cruelty had stirred up. As soon however as an opportunity offered he came to an accommodation with the king, and had the government of *Lithuania* in reward of his moderation, by which *Uladislaus* disobliged his brothers *Skirgello* and *Swidrigello*. During the first years of his government, *Vitowda* gave the most diligent application to domestic affairs, repairing the calamities occasioned by the late civil dissensions; but his impetuous courage at last stimulated him to enter upon a war with the great *Tamerlane*, the conqueror of the celebrated *Bajazet*; a prince who had spread the terror of his name over all *Asia*. For some time before *Vitowda* had been at war with the neighbouring *Tartars*, and was constantly victorious, extending his conquests to the banks of the *Don* and the *Volga*. He had transplanted whole hords of that barbarous people into *Poland* and *Lithuania*, where to this day they form a kind of separate colony, distinct in arms, manners, and dress from the natives; but he had not experienced the strength of the great body of the nation, commanded by the emperor in person. *Uladislaus* dissuaded him from so romantic and useless an enterprize; but the courage of *Vitowda* was only to be cooled by fatal experience: he encountered the *Tartars* with a fine army of *Poles*, *Lithuanians*, and *Prussians*, fought for
- d
- e
- f
- g

War with the
Tartars.

^b MAT. de Michov. tom. ii. apud Pistor. p. 188.

a whole day with the utmost magnanimity, but was at last surrounded by superior numbers, and forced to break his way through with prodigious slaughter. The *Tartarian* army, commanded by *Ediga*, the lieutenant of *Tamerlane*, is said to have exceeded four hundred thousand men, to whom *Vitowda* opposed no more than forty thousand, and at last came off without an intire defeat, after he had killed a number of the enemy equal to his own complete army^c.

DURING the absence of *Vitowda* the knights had penetrated into *Lithuania*, and committed the most barbarous ravages. On his return he attacked and defeated them, making an irruption into *Livonia*, to punish the inhabitants of that country for the assistance they had lent the *Teutonic* order. This was succeeded by a series of wars between *Poland* and *Prussia*, in which *Uladislaus* found it necessary to take the field in person. By war, treaty, and intrigue, the knights had stripped *Poland* of a variety of provinces, and got possession of *Samogitia*, *Mazovia*, *Silesia*, *Culm*, and all *Pomerania*. It was very uncertain where their ambition would terminate; the king therefore came to a resolution of punishing their perfidy before they grew too powerful. With this view he assembled an army, composed of *Poles*, *Lithuanians*, *Prussians*, *Moravians*, and *Bobemians*, with which he penetrated into *Prussia*, took several towns, and was advancing to *Marienburg*, the capital of *Pomerania*, when he was met by the army of the *Prussian* knights, who determined to hazard a battle. The king was at mass when advice was brought that the enemy were in sight; but he neither quitted his devotions, nor seemed the least agitated. It was some time before he gave orders for the disposition of the troops; and this delay was construed into fear by the grand-master of the *Teutonic* order, who by way of challenge sent two drawn swords into the *Polish* camp. As soon as prayers were over *Uladislaus* drew out his troops, and began the attack with his right wing, on which stood the *Lithuanians*, who in despite of all the endeavours of the gallant *Vitowda*, made but feeble efforts, and at last had recourse to an ignominious flight. Their misconduct proved contagious, the *Moravians* and *Bobemians* on the left wing followed their example, and retreated without aiming a blow, into a neighbouring forest, leaving the *Poles* to sustain singly the whole weight of the *Teutonic* army. It was in the centre, where the king commanded in person, that the battle raged with fury: the most desperate attempts were made to seize upon the great standard of *Poland*; it was once hurled to the ground, and recovered by the king, who immediately planted it among the thickest squadrons of the enemy, as a signal to his troops to follow him, which they readily obeyed. His courage indeed hurried him too fast for the *Poles* to follow, as they were obliged to fight their way through crowds of the enemy; and he saw himself exposed to a thousand dangers in the midst of a *German* squadron. His life he owed to the attachment of his secretary, who flung himself in the way of a blow levelled at the king, and received it upon his shield. After a desperate engagement the *Poles* forced their way through to their sovereign, hewed down the enemy in heaps, beat to the ground the standard of *St. George*, broke the courage of the knights, and obliged victory to declare herself, after she had hovered for the space of six hours in suspense. The slaughter was dreadful, near forty thousand of the enemy are said to have perished in the field with their general, and above thirty thousand to have been made prisoners; but the consequences of so signal an overthrow were less fatal to the *Prussian* knights than was expected^d; the king neglected to improve his advantage, and in fact reaped little more than glory from the most distinguished victory obtained by the *Poles*, as it flowed entirely from the valour of a handful of men, in proportion to the enemy's forces. Had *Uladislaus* proceeded to the capital, *Marienburg* must have fallen without striking a blow, as the garrison was draughted to augment the *Prussian* army, and the inhabitants were overwhelmed in the general consternation spread by the defeat. The smallest detachment might have gained possession of the most important city of *Pomerania*, where immense treasures and magazines were lodged; but *Uladislaus*, desirous of refreshing his troops, lost the opportunity, and afforded the enemy leisure to collect their scattered forces, and throw themselves into *Marienburg*, where they made an obstinate resistance, and at last obtained a peace more favourable than could be expected, after their late distressed circumstances.

SOME infraction of the treaty occasioned the recommencement of hostilities; according to some writers, the knights only sued for peace, but could obtain no equitable conditions from *Uladislaus*, who was too much elated with victory to listen to the suggestions of prudence. He refused to accept *Pomerania* and the territory of *Culm* as the price of pacification; and his inflexibility served only to drive the enemy to despair, and to the spirited resolution of burying themselves in the ashes of their capital: the siege was renewed, and both sides acted with the utmost vigour. One of the knights, whose name was *Plawen*, was elected grand-master, on account of the gallantry he had displayed on

He defeats the
Teutonic
army.

^c FOL. Polon. lib. iii. cap. ii.

^d MAT. de Michov. lib. iv. cap. xlvii. FLOR. Polon. lib. iii. cap. ii. divers

a divers occasions, and he now approved himself worthy of the honour conferred by a series of the most glorious actions, in which he displayed all the qualities of a hero and statesman. The measures he had taken spun out the siege to so great a length, that the *Polish* army was reduced considerably by disease and the sword. His perpetual sallies on the quarter possessed by the *Lithuanians* quite exhausted the patience of that people, and determined them to relinquish the enterprize, in despite of all the remonstrances made by the king and the brave *Vitowda*. Their example was followed by the dukes of *Mazovia*; and an irruption of the *Hungarians* into *Poland*, at last determined the king himself to break up a siege which had cost the lives of a third of his army, destroyed all discipline, and weakened his authority. It was *Plawen* who had excited the *Hungarians* to this unprovoked
b attack: he had likewise prevailed on the grand-master of *Livonia* to take part in his quarrel; and that prince was on his march with a prodigious army, when he was surprised and defeated by a *Polish* general, who had assembled all the neighbouring garrisons on observing the enemy's security. This was another terrible wound, to which the abilities of *Plawen* only were capable of applying adequate remedies. Plunged into the deepest distress, his presence of mind and courage never forsook him: he was now destitute of troops; but he supplied that deficiency by a secret negotiation he set on foot with *Vitowda*, by which he staggered the integrity of that gallant prince. Every object that could dazzle his understanding, rouse his ambition, and efface all memory of his duty and obligation to his sovereign, was presented to his eyes. *Vitowda* yielded to the promise made of erecting
c *Lithuania* and *Samogitia* into an independent monarchy. Several lords about the person of *Uladislaus* were corrupted, and the knights first obtained a truce, and afterwards an advantageous peace, at the very juncture they expected to be wholly exterminated. Such was the issue of a war, in which the political errors committed by the *Polish* monarch destroyed the fruits of all his glorious exploits in the capacity of a general. His conduct however on this occasion was the only blunder of his whole reign; all the rest was sage, politic, and resolute: his penetration discovered all the intrigues of the emperor *Sigismund*, the *Teutonic* knights, and the ambitious *Vitowda*, to disturb the peace of *Poland*, and to erect *Lithuania* into a sovereignty; and his prudent and spirited measures disconcerted all their designs. Having established the repose of his kingdom, subdued all his enemies,
d and filled the measure of his reputation, *Uladislaus* paid the last duty to nature in a very advanced age, after a prosperous and glorious reign of forty eight years*. His remains were deposited with great solemnity in the cathedral at *Cracow*, amidst the groans and tears of his affectionate subjects, who equally admired the qualities of his head, and loved the virtues of his heart.

His death and character.

U L A D I S L A U S VI.

At the death of *Jagello*, baptized *Uladislaus*, his eldest son *Uladislaus* was in the ninth year of his age; however, he was raised to the regal dignity by the influence of the bishop of *Cracow*, who eloquently represented to the diet the advantages which would result from
e maintaining the race of *Jagello* in the succession, and thereby incorporating *Lithuania* with *Poland*. The opposition however was violent; and even after the election of the young prince was admitted, warm disputes arose about the manner of his taking the oath usually administered at the coronation. At length this difficulty likewise was surmounted, his mother and several of the nobility and clergy becoming his sponsors that he would accept the oath as soon as he should attain to the age of maturity. *Uladislaus* had scarce ascended the throne of his father when the repose of *Poland* was disturbed by an irruption of the *Tartars* in *Podolia*, where they laid waste the country with the most barbarous ferocity. A *Polish* army, conducted by the palatine *Buccarius*, was sent to oppose them; the general ventured, with greatly inferior forces, to give battle: he was defeated with the loss of half his
f army, and the *Tartars* suffered to retire, loaded with plunder, to their own country. A few years after, the disturbances in *Hungary*, and the ambition of *Amurath* emperor of the *Turks*, involved *Poland* in a war with that powerful monarch, and obliged *Uladislaus* to command his army in person, before the constitution allowed him to take the management of the reins of civil government. The young prince was so earnest to signalize his courage against the infidels, that the regency yielded to his ardor, and made all the necessary preparations for his opening the campaign with success. The *Hungarians* indeed, threatened with an invasion from the *Turks*, implored the assistance of *Poland*, to break a storm, which, after destroying *Hungary*, might fall upon the neighbouring kingdoms, and the regency thought that policy required they should exert their utmost endeavours to guard against the calamity.
g Before all things were prepared for the young king to take the field, a strong body of auxiliaries was detached to serve under the famous *John Hunniades*, vaivode of *Transylvania*,

A. D. 1435.
Uladislaus VI.

* Id. ibid. etiam HERB. de Fulstin, lib. xiii. p. 208.

and

and likewise to support the election of *Uladislaus*, who was invited to accept the crown of *Hungary* by the states, in opposition to the party of the empress *Elizabeth*. This detachment of *Poles*, under the conduct of the brave vaivode, performed prodigies of valour, surprising the *Turkish* army near the river *Morava*, and defeating *Amurath* with the loss of thirty thousand men killed and taken prisoners; after which *Hunniades* retook all the towns conquered by the *Turks* in *Rascia*. This victory proved so decisive, that the proud *Amurath* was forced to sue for peace, and *Uladislaus* was raised without opposition to the crown of *Hungary*, in reward of the services performed by his troops. A treaty was concluded, whereby the *Turks* promised to relinquish their designs upon *Hungary*, to acknowledge the king's right to that crown, and to yield up all their conquests in *Rascia* and *Servia*. It was sealed by mutual oaths, and *Uladislaus* would probably have rigidly performed his engagements, but for the persuasions of the pope's legate, who insisted that now was the opportunity of humbling the *Ottoman* power, and produced a special commission from the pontiff to absolve him from the oath he had taken at the signing of the late treaty. The artful insinuations of the legate, the dispensing power of the holy see, and the eager desire of signalizing his zeal and valour, easily won the consent of a young monarch flushed with his late success, and ardent to emulate the glory of the brave vaivode. Without further reflection, *Uladislaus* renounced the treaty with *Amurath*, and marched at the head of his army into *Bulgaria*. After taking some fortresses in his way, he penetrated into *Thrace*, with intention of advancing to *Adrianople*, and seizing the person and the vast treasures of the sultan.

Uladislaus
defeated and
killed.
A. D. 1445.

THE suddenness of the irruption, the rapidity of the *Polish* monarch's progress, and his perfidy, astonished *Amurath*, but did not deprive him either of courage or conduct. With the utmost celerity he assembled a powerful army, and marched in quest of the Christians, whom he found encamped near *Varna*, a city of *Moldavia*. Here he attacked *Uladislaus* with irresistible fury, after having appealed to God as a witness of the treachery of the Christian monarch. *Uladislaus* sustained the shock of the *Turkish* army with undaunted resolution, and maintained the battle for several hours, until his wings gave way, and the center was intirely surrounded by the enemy. Even then he refused quarter, and determined rather to perish than return home with a character sullied by perfidy and a defeat. All his efforts to break through the *Turkish* squadrons were fruitless, and he fell with his sword in his hand, after exhibiting proofs of courage and military skill much superior to his years. By his side perished the cardinal legate, with about ten thousand *Poles*, who covered with their bodies the same ground on which they were first drawn up. In this manner *Uladislaus* fell, after he had reigned ten years in *Poland*, four in *Hungary*, and had just attained to the years of maturity. Some writers alledge, and with such circumstances as we think render their account probable, that *Uladislaus* had, before this event, obtained in person a complete victory over the infidels, pursuing them to the very frontiers of the *Morea*, and there defeating *Carambeius*, general of the *Asiatic* forces, whom he drove into the mountains and inaccessible places. He had displayed great gallantry in this action, and received a wound, which however did not check his ardor. On this occasion it was, that he was honoured with a complimentary embassy from the pope, the *Greek* emperor *Paleologus*, and several Christian princes, who, by flattering his vanity, impelled him to the expedition into *Bulgaria*, which proved so fatal to himself and to his whole army.

C A S I M I R III.

Casimir III.

DURING the late reign the great duchy of *Lithuania* was governed by *Casimir*, the second son of *Jagello*, who held it as a fief of the crown, tho' the deputies of both nations composed one joint diet. Now that prince was elevated to the throne of his brother, immediately after the unfortunate battle of *Varna*, the nobility in a manner compelling him to accept the regal dignity. The first operations of this reign were directed against *Bogdan*, the pretended vaivode of *Moldavia*, who usurped that province from the vaivode *Alexander*, a feudatory to the crown of *Poland*. An army was sent to this country, which, after considerable dangers and losses, obliged *Bogdan* to sue for peace. The repose of the country was immediately after established by the assassination of the usurper; a perfidious act, in which some of the *Polish* nobility are suspected to have had a share.

NOR was *Poland* less successful in another quarter, where all her victories had hitherto produced no solid advantage. She had frequently vanquished the *Teutonic* knights in the field; but neglecting to follow the blow, they had always recovered their losses, and extended their dominion equally by force and policy. Now an event occurred which was likely to prove more serviceable to *Poland* than all the glorious victories obtained by her monarchs over the ambitious order. The tyranny of the knights had rendered their government alto-

^f MAT. de Michov. lib. iv. cap. liv. lv. lvi. lvii. pag. 207 & seq. FLOR. Polon. lib. xxxii. pag. 175. HERBURT de Fulstin, lib. xiv. p. 172.

a gether insupportable to the *Prussians*, who were oppressed by the most grievous exactions, and, on deficiency of payment, treated with unspeakable barbarity. They had long born the galling yoke without murmuring; but, as the inhumanity of their masters increased with their misery, they resolved upon a vigorous effort for the recovery of their liberty. All *Prussia*, and a great part of *Pomerania*, took arms; and, amidst the consternation of so universal a revolt, the knights could only provide for the security of *Marienburg* and *Schut*. Divers other cities, *Dantzick*, *Thorn*, *Elbing*, *Culm*, and *Golub*, implored the protection of *Poland*, and desired they might be admitted into a partnership in the republic, upon the same conditions granted to *Lithuania*. *Casimir* received their deputies favourably, promised his protection, but referred them to a diet with respect to the union proposed, created b four palatines for *Thorn*, *Elbing*, *Dantzick*, and *Krowlogrod*, repealed the exorbitant taxes, and assembled an army to support these alterations, and enable the *Prussians* to withstand the efforts of the *Teutonic* order. As soon as *Casimir* entered the country the inhabitants flocked to his camp, to take the oaths of allegiance; and obtained a variety of privileges in return for the zeal they expressed. The *Dantzickers* in particular were endowed with a number of valuable commercial immunities; and they acknowledged *Casimir's* goodness, by obliging themselves to maintain his majesty and the court at their own expence, whenever he should think fit to honour the city with a visit. Immediately after the *Prussian* army, assisted by a few of the king's forces, went and laid close siege to *Marienburg*, in which they were soon disturbed by the approach of the *Teutonic* army. The knights c had assembled powerful forces in *Bohemia*, *Austria*, and several principalities of the empire, with which they determined to give battle to *Casimir*, who with his army covered the siege of *Marienburg*. Their attack on the *Polish* camp was impetuous, and it proved fortunate: the *Poles* were put in confusion, and the king was constrained to have recourse to a shameful flight, after four thousand of his troops had been slain or taken prisoners. In consequence the siege was raised, and the king reduced to the necessity of returning to *Poland*, to recruit his forces, and bring such an army into the field as should effectually revenge the indignity he had sustained in his first campaign. *Casimir defeated.*

WHEN *Casimir* arrived at *Cracow*, his first measure was to assemble a diet, to whom he represented the necessity of retrenching the power of the knights, supporting the alliance d with the *Prussians*, and redeeming all the territories which had been wrested of late years from the republic. The diet easily entered into his sentiments, the whole nation took fire at the disgrace of the monarch, and resolved upon the most vigorous operations to retrieve his reputation. A second expedition was made into *Prussia*, under the conduct of the king in person; the knights were vanquished in divers engagements, the strongest fortresses were reduced, and the citadel of *Marienburg* at last forced to surrender at discretion, after a very obstinate resistance. The grand-master made several spirited efforts to redeem his affairs; but they were baffled by the superior power, the fortune, and the vigilance of *Casimir*, who in the result obliged this proud order, which had for so many years embroiled the North, and kept all the neighbouring states in subjection, to yield to the e terms imposed by their conqueror. A treaty of peace was concluded at *Thorn*, whereby the knights ceded the territories of *Culm*, *Wicblow*, and the whole duchy of *Pomerania*, together with the towns of *Elbing*, *Marienburg*, *Talknith*, *Schut*, and *Christburg*, to the crown of *Poland*. On the other hand, the king restored to them all his other conquests in *Prussia*, granted a seat in the *Polish* senate to the grand-master, and endowed him with other privileges, on condition that six months after his accession, he should do homage for *Prussia*, and take an oath of fidelity to the king and republic. Such were the conditions on which *Casimir* terminated a war, and humbled an order which had given perpetual disturbance to the northern hemisphere, for near the space of two centuries. *He conquers the knights, and makes peace.*

f THESE successes revived the spirits of the *Polish* nation, which had drooped since the misfortunes of their late monarch at *Varna*. The triumph obtained by the sultan upon that occasion discouraged the republic from continuing the war against the infidels, who now became more considerable in *Europe* by the reduction of *Constantinople*, and the intire overthrow of the *Grecian* empire. An opportunity however offered of extending the *Polish* dominions, without coming to an open rupture with the *Porte*. The hospodar of *Moldavia* solicited the protection of *Poland* against the infidels, and it was thought that this province would make a convenient barrier on that side: the request was granted, an oath of fidelity exacted from the prince and inhabitants, and a tribute required, regular payment of which was made for a great number of years afterwards.

g ANOTHER event no less advantageous to *Poland* fell out about the same time. By the death of the celebrated *George Posdziebracki*, the crown of *Bohemia* became vacant, and the people were extremely desirous of being governed by one of the princes of *Poland*, which induced the barons to bestow the crown upon *Uladislaus*, the eldest son of *Casimir*, in opposition to the intrigues of the king of *Hungary*. Not satisfied with this unexpected acquisition,

acquisition, *Uladislaus* took advantage of the dissensions in *Hungary*, and determined to deprive his rival of that crown, which he proposed uniting to his own. He marched with a great army into that kingdom, and soon accomplished his designs, by deposing *Matthias Cerevinus*, though the people intended the crown for a younger son of the king of *Poland*. Thus we see the three crowns of *Poland*, *Hungary*, and *Bohemia* united in the same family, by which *Casimir's* power was greatly augmented, though the felicity of his people was by no means proportioned. So many foreign expeditions exhausted the treasury, and oppressed the peasants with taxes. The gentry were greatly diminished in number by such a variety of bloody engagements; and all industry was neglected amidst the din of war. It was impossible for *Casimir* to apply adequate remedies; time alone was capable of effecting a cure; but before this happy period arrived *Casimir* paid the last tribute to nature, more admired than he was beloved or regretted. *Mathew of Michovia* remarks, that in this reign the deputies of the provinces first appeared at the diet, and assumed to themselves the legislative power, all laws before this period having been framed by the king, in conjunction with the senate; and it is observed by *Hartnoch*, that before *Casimir's* time, the *Latin* language was understood only by the clergy in *Poland*, in proof of which he alledges, that at an interview between this prince and the king of *Sweden* at *Dantzick*, his *Polish* majesty was forced to make use of the assistance of a monk to interpret between him and the *Swedish* monarch. *Casimir*, ashamed of the ignorance which himself and court had shewn, published an edict enjoining the diligent study of the *Latin*, a language in our days spoken as vernacular by every gentleman, though extremely unclassically.²

J O H N - A L B E R T.

John-Albert
elected king of
Poland.

THE day succeeding the funeral obsequies of the late king, the diet assembled for the election of a successor, when violent unexpected disputes arose. *Uladislaus*, the eldest son, was by universal consent excluded, because the *Poles* imagined he might prove partial to the *Bohemians* and *Hungarians*, among whom he had lived for some time, and whose manners he had now adopted; but they were greatly divided between the claims of *Sigismund*, the second son of *Casimir*, and the duke of *Mazovia*, who had gained over to his interest the archbishop of *Gnesna*. *Sigismund*, on the other hand, was powerfully supported by the marshal of the crown, and body of the nobility: the contention ran high, and laid the foundation of the good fortune which attended *John-Albert*, the third son, a prince who was scarce thought of for the royal dignity. Each party finding it would be impossible to carry their point, compromised the difference, by joining in the election of *Albert*, who was accordingly declared king of *Poland*, and complimented on his accession by a splendid embassy from the republic of *Venice*, at that time the bulwark of Christendom against the *Othoman* power, and the greatest maritime state in the universe. The real intention of the embassy was to engage the young monarch in a league then forming among the Christian powers against the infidels: *Albert* however did not think it advisable to embarrass the dawn of his reign with so important a war, especially as the sultan had shewn him great civilities, and purchased a treaty by magnificent presents. It would have been happy for *Poland* had he persisted in this resolution; but *Albert* had ambition, and he could not long withstand his own inclinations, the solicitations of the Christian princes, and particularly of his brother the king of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, with whom he had an interview at *Livocz*: besides, the *Polish* nation thirsted to avenge the disgrace at *Varna*, though prudence had hitherto withheld all attempts; and now the conjuncture offered, they could no longer resist the temptation, especially as the pretext was to afford succour to the oppressed, and they saw themselves supported on the one hand by the forces of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, while on the other the *Venetians* were making a powerful diversion, and keeping in play the principal strength of the *Othoman* empire.

MOLDAVIA we have seen became a province voluntarily dependent on the crown of *Poland*. *Stephen*, the vaivode, under pretence that he was oppressed by the *Turks*, craved the protection of the government, which *Albert*, at the intreaty of his brother, determined to furnish. Accordingly the two kings assembled an army, which began its march towards *Walachia*, under the conduct of *Albert*. The combined forces amounted to eighty thousand fighting men, and were attended by thirty thousand waggons; loaded with arms and baggage, no thought being taken of provision, which the vaivode had promised to supply. Depending upon his ally, the king penetrated the country, and soon perceived that the vaivode had not only neglected the execution of his engagements, but was in actual treaty with the *Turks*, which so enraged him, that without further consideration he turned his arms against the *Walachians*, and determined to punish the perfidy of *Stephen*. One

² MAR. de Michov. lib. iv. cap. lxxvi. lxxvii. lxxviii. GVACN. Rerum Polon. p. 104.

- a writer indeed alleges, that *Albert* sought industriously an opportunity of coming to a rupture with the vaivode, in order to plunder his country; though this is highly improbable^b. It is certain that the *Poles* first commenced hostilities, by laying siege to the capital of *Moldavia*. The inhabitants defended themselves with great gallantry, and *Albert's* army was reduced to the utmost necessity by the vaivode or hospodar, who cut off all his provisions, and kept the *Polish* camp under continual alarms. After sustaining the united efforts of the sword, famine, and disease, *Albert* at last broke up the siege, and was returning into *Poland*, when he fell into an ambush laid for him by the vaivode, in which, after a sharp conflict, he was defeated with the loss of six thousand menⁱ. The abbé *de Fontaines* affirms, that the siege was raised, in consequence of a treaty concluded under the mediation of *Uladislaus* king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and that the vaivode, taking the advantage of the security of the *Poles*, treacherously fell upon the king, defeated his army, and would have carried him off prisoner, had not some of his troops performed prodigies of valour in defence of their monarch; but we do not find this account confirmed by the testimony of any of the ancient *Polish* historians: on the contrary, they in general ascribe the defeat to the spirited conduct of the vaivode, and speak ambiguously with respect to the cause of the rupture, some laying the whole blame on *Albert*, while others shift it upon the vaivode. The abbé likewise relates, that the king was attacked a second time on the banks of the *Pruth* by the *Walachians*, who having now no shelter from their forests, were defeated with great slaughter, and signally punished for their perfidy; but we are at a loss to know from whence he derived this intelligence, as all the *Polish* writers we have perused are not only silent with respect to this victory, but unanimous in affirming, that the *Walachians*, having joined the *Turks*, made an irruption into *Poland* with a prodigious army, and carried off an hundred thousand captives. They farther relate, that the *Moldavians* and *Walachians* returned home with their prisoners and booty; but that the *Turks*, from motives of avarice, remained until they were surprised by the frosts and snow, when the severity of the climate, and excessive intenseness of the cold, destroyed above forty thousand of their best troops. It was this irruption which, according to them, induced *Albert* to make peace with the vaivode, which he solicited upon any terms, and concluded on the conditions which the conqueror thought proper to impose^k.

Albert defeated in Walachia.

- d *ALBERT*, having rid his hands of those most formidable enemies, made preparations for invading *Prussia*, to oblige *Frederick* duke of *Saxony*, elected grand-master of the *Teutonic* order, to take the oath of allegiance, promised by the last grand-master to the crown of *Poland*. He had made formidable preparations, for this expedition, and was advanced to *Tborn*, when he was seized with a malady that proved fatal in the space of a few days. The abbé *Fontaines* says, that he died of an apoplexy in the forty-first year of his age, and almost the thirteenth year of his reign, though all the earlier writers affirm, that he was raised to the throne in the year 1493, and the abbé himself allows that he died in 1501^l.

A L E X A N D E R.

- e *ALBERT* died without issue, and left the crown to be contested by three princes, who had nearly equal pretensions. Immediately the expedition to *Prussia* was relinquished, and the whole attention of the *Polish* nation was turned to the approaching election. When the diet met, it was only to dispute, and not to determine: intrigue, corruption, and animosity, suppressed all regard for the welfare of the republic. Every member of the assembly had only his own particular prejudices or interests in view, which he endeavoured by every possible means to gratify at the public expence. The first of the candidates was *Uladislaus*, king of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, and elder brother of the late monarch. This prince insisted upon his birthright, and magnified his opulence, his power, and the advantages which *Poland* must necessarily deduce from the union of two so potent neighbouring kingdoms. His liberality had besides secured a strong party among the nobility; but the same reasons that were urged at the death of his father *Casimir*, were now repeated for his exclusion. *Sigismund*, *Casimir's* second son, was the second candidate; and this prince was supported by the affections of the people: but motives of policy carried the crown in favour of his younger brother *Alexander*, great duke of *Lithuania*. As the *Lithuanians* were extremely attached to their sovereign, the diet apprehended that setting aside the pretensions of *Alexander* might dissolve the union formed by *Jagello* between the two nations; and for this reason alone they elected *Alexander*, in preference to both his elder brothers. At first the archbishop refused to assist at his coronation, which occasioned considerable difficulties, because custom, and even the constitution, required that this ceremony should be performed by the primate: however, at length his scruples were overcome with respect to the king, though he could

Alexander elected king of Poland.

^b FLOR. Polon. lib. iii. cap. iv.

ⁱ Lib. iv.

^k Vid. apud Pistor. lib. iv. cap. ii.

^l FLOR.

POLON. lib. iii. cap. iv. HERBERT de Fulstin, lib. xix. Revol. de Pologne, lib. iv.

never

never be prevailed upon to place the crown on the head of the princess of *Muscovy*, whom *Alexander* had married soon after his accession, because that lady adhered to the doctrines of the *Greek* church. How this difficulty was surmounted we are not informed: history only relates, that *John* grand duke of *Muscovy* invaded *Lithuania*, without regard to the alliance lately contracted with his *Polish* majesty, and possibly on account of the indignity put on his daughter by the archbishop of *Gnesna*, which he might regard as an affront from the whole nation. He laid siege to *Smolensko*; but was forced to relinquish the enterprize, and conclude a truce for six years, upon the arrival of *Alexander*, whose rapid march and spirited conduct diffused terror through the *Russian* army.

IN consequence of the fatigue of this expedition, *Alexander* fell into a chronic disorder, which terminated only with his life. During his illness, the *Moldavians* and *Tartars* made an irruption into *Lithuania*, and committed such dreadful barbarities as filled the king with horror, and determined him to set out in person to punish those perfidious violaters of solemn treaties. He set out upon his march at the head of his army, carried in a litter; and, by the resentment which he expressed, excited such a spirit of revenge among the *Polish* troops as proved fatal to their enemies. The two armies met at some distance from *Vilna*, and engaged with great fury. The *Tartars* were superior in number; but the *Poles* balanced that advantage by intrepidity. For several hours victory seemed doubtful, when at last it declared in favour of the royal army, in consequence of a stratagem of the palatine of *Poznan*. With three hundred men he appeared on an eminence, within view of the armies; and had drawn up his troops into so extensive a line, that the *Tartars* mistook this handful for a powerful reinforcement to the *Poles*, and were immediately seized with a panic. *Stanislaus Kiska*, the *Polish* general, improved this fortunate circumstance to the best advantage; spread the report through his own army that succour was at hand; exhorted them to the most spirited efforts, that victory might depend wholly upon their own valour, before assistance should arrive to lessen the glory; made one furious attack, broke and defeated the enemy, and killed twenty thousand *Tartars* in the field and pursuit. All this time the king lay at *Vilna*, the increase of his illness not suffering him to attend the army. The agonies of death had seized him just as advice of the victory arrived; upon which he collected all his strength, rose in his bed, and by gestures, as he was deprived of speech, expressed his fervent acknowledgments to heaven; then sunk down and died, with the reputation of a prince whose virtues adorned the regal diadem; but whose excessive liberality would have impoverished the kingdom, had his reign been of any duration. He is described as of a short stature, robust make, and of great strength. His visage was long, his hair exceeding black, his eyes sparkling, and his carriage bold and majestic. His taciturnity was remarkable, his genius heavy; but his sentiments generous and humane. He was a great patron of the liberal arts, particularly music, of which he was so great a lover that he squandered away great part of the revenue upon musicians; and we are told, that his profusion in this respect occasioned that law called *Statutum Alexandrinum*, whereby the king was prohibited from disposing of the revenue without the consent of the senate, or diet; all the donations of this prince were revoked. He reigned five years in *Poland*, and fourteen in *Lithuania*, leaving his dominions, with the consent of the diet, to his brother *Sigismund*, who had twice before been a candidate for the crown^m.

S I G I S M U N D I.

Sigismund I.
A. D. 1507.

He reforms
divers abuses.

AT the time that *Sigismund* was raised to the throne of *Poland*, he resided in *Lithuania*, the government of which duchy had been assigned to him by the king his brother, on his own removal to *Poland*. He was no sooner elected at *Petricovia*, than he resigned his government to *Glinski*, the great favourite of king *Alexander*; and repaired to *Cracow*, to go through the ceremony of inauguration, and assume the reins of government. His first care was to reform several abuses, which, during the late reign, had crept into the administration; and to enforce the statute called *Alexandrinum*, for revoking injudicious grants, and such donations as appeared to be prejudicial to the public. He found that the richest demesnes of the crown were mortgaged, and almost the whole revenue portioned out in pensions to ingenious artists, and persons deserving of encouragement, but in a limited degree. The lands he redeemed, and retrenched the pensions within the bounds of moderation, being directed in every thing by his able and disinterested minister *John Bonner*, a name to this day held in veneration by the *Poles*. Having established the internal government of the kingdom, in the best manner that circumstances would admit, he next applied his attention to the extension of his frontier, and the means of rendering *Poland* formidable, as he had rendered it happy. These were measures seemingly incompatible in themselves; yet did *Sigismund* rely upon the abilities of his ministry, and his own courage and perseverance.

^m Id. ibid. etiam MAT. de Michov. lib. iv. cap. lxxxii. lxxxiii.

Rebellion in
Lithuania.

WHILE *Sigismund* was employed in making preparations for the execution of his vast designs, a rebellion broke out in *Lithuania*. *Glinski*, whom he had appointed governor, had acquired so great authority with the inhabitants, that he entertained thoughts of shaking off his dependence, and claiming the sovereignty of the duchy. Intoxicated by prosperity, and giddy with the height of his elevation, he was unmindful to whom he owed all his good fortune, and persuaded himself that he soared wholly by the strength of his own pinions, and the force of his merit. For some time he concealed his design, and took his measures with great circumspection, entering upon a secret treaty with *Basilus*, czar of *Muscovy*, whereby he purchased the assistance of that potentate at the price of half the duchy of *Lithuania*; imagining that if he once possessed the remainder independent of *Poland*, he could soon recover the portion assigned to the *Russians*. *Sigismund* was too penetrating to let such a negotiation escape his discernment. He found, by the movements in *Russia* and *Lithuania*, that some great design was in agitation, and made preparations as if it was against himself. *Basilus* advanced with an army of eighty thousand men to the frontiers of the *Polish* dominions, and was opposed in his march by *Sigismund*. As soon as the two armies confronted each other, the *Russians* were seized with a panic. On seeing the *Polish* battalions covered with a forest of lances, they had recourse to flight, leaving behind all their booty and baggage. At the same time the *Walachians* and *Moldavians* entered *Russia Nigra*, where they spread terror and desolation by the most cruel ravages that barbarians were capable of committing; but they soon met with their just punishment. *Sigismund* advanced against them, drove them before him, obliged them to sculk in their forests, and then laid waste their country without pity or remorse, as the only method of striking terror into this perfidious and lawless people. The cities *Dorichin*, *Sczewanowitz*, *Cbezim*, and *Czarnowitz*, were taken by assault, sacked, and the inhabitants put to the sword, not a soul of either sex escaping the fury of the conquerors. At length the *Poles* begun their retreat, loaded with spoils, and were attacked in their turn by the enemy, at the pass of the *Neister*; but after a sharp action the *Walachians* were repulsed with great slaughter, and the loss of many prisoners.

SIGISMUND, having by his vigorous measures compelled the *Walachians* to sue for peace, was preparing to re-establish the affairs of *Lithuania*, when he was again attacked by the *Russians*, who reduced *Smolensko* before he could assemble his forces to oppose them; but he soon deprived them of their conquest, after having defeated their army in a pitched battle, in which he slew thirty thousand *Russians*. He was forced to swim his cavalry over the *Boristhenes* to begin the attack, while a bridge was laying across for the infantry. It was astonishing to see with what celerity and success these orders were executed, notwithstanding the rapidity of the stream, the steepness of the banks, and the resistance of the enemy on the opposite shore. The onset was led by the *Lithuanians*, who were directed to retreat gradually, with a view of drawing the enemy within reach of the cannon. This the *Muscovites* mistook for a real flight, and as they were pursuing with eagerness, *Sigismund* opened his line to the right and left, and poured in grape-shot from the artillery with dreadful success. Such was the method in which he obtained this complete victory, that redounds equally to the honour of his valour and his military capacity. The *Russian* general, and several noblemen of the first distinction, were taken prisoners, while the whole loss of the royal army did not exceed three hundred men. The utmost terror was diffused through all *Muscovy*, and *Basilus* evacuated the *Polish* dominions with the greatest precipitation, apprehending his own were in danger of being over-run; and it is indeed probable, that *Sigismund* would have pursued the blow, had not other concerns diverted his attention.

He defeats the
Russians.

THE *Teutonic* knights had elected the marquis of *Brandenburg* their grand-master; and this prince, in imitation of his predecessor the duke of *Saxony*, refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the crown of *Poland*, and pay the usual fealty for the province of *Prussia*. He even proceeded so far in his opposition as to commence hostilities against the republic, by investing the fortress of *Braunberg*, and reducing it by assault. *Sigismund* marched against the marquis, penetrated into his hereditary dominions, and gained possession of several important places in *Brandenburg*. He was pursuing his conquests when the marquis was reinforced by fourteen thousand *Germans*, led by the duke of *Schonenburg*, who ventured to lay siege to *Dantzick*, after he had ravaged all the adjacent country. The *Dantzickers* however defended themselves with so much spirit, and played their artillery so furiously, while they at the same time made the most vigorous sallies, that the besiegers were soon reduced to extremity, and at last forced to relinquish the design of reducing the city, after they had lost half their army by famine, distemper, and the sword. In their retreat they were attacked by a strong body of *Polish* cavalry, who made prodigious carnage, and compelled the wretched remains to take shelter in *Pomerania*, where they were inhumanly butchered by the peasants. The surrender of a great number of towns was the consequence of this impetuous tide of victory; and the marquis was reduced to the necessity of sub-

His farther
conquests and
victories.

mitting himself to the clemency of the conqueror, with the additional mortification of having broke the faith of treaties to come to an impolitic rupture. He obtained conditions indeed which he could not expect, unless he had abandoned the interest of the *Teutonic* order, and resigned the dignity of grand-master. The doctrines of *Luther* had already made considerable progress in the empire, under the protection of the duke of *Saxony*: they were embraced by the marquis, and this obliged him to break off all connection with the *Teutonic* order. He entered now into treaty with *Sigismund*, and that monarch determined to secure him in his interest, and make him the barrier against the ambition of the knights by liberal concessions. He granted him half the province of *Prussia*, in the quality of a secular duke, and a dependant on the crown of *Poland*, by which means he intirely deprived the *Teutonic* order of the best part of their dominions, and for ever extinguished those sparks of war which were lighted up on every occasion by those ambitious restless neighbours.

At this time the power and dominions of the house of *Jagello* were so considerable as to excite the jealousy of the house of *Austria*. King *Sigismund* possessed, in his own person, the republic of *Poland*, the great duchies of *Lithuania*, *Smolensko*, and *Severia*, besides those vast territories lying beyond the *Euxine* and *Baltic*; and on the head of his nephew *Lewis*, son of *Uladislaus*, were united the crowns of *Hungary*, *Bobemia*, and *Silesia*. Besides, the valour, policy, and daring ambition of the *Polish* monarch afforded strong presumption, that he would still endeavour to extend his frontiers at the expence of the neighbouring powers. To anticipate effects, which must in the end prove disadvantageous to the empire, the house of *Austria* set all engines at work to stir up enemies to *Poland*. Corruption, fraud, force, and intrigue, were all exerted to this purpose: her policy in some measure succeeded: the *Russians*, *Moldavians*, and *Tartars*, all fell upon *Sigismund* in different quarters, and met with an unexpectedly warm reception. The vaivode of *Walachia*, with fifty thousand men, made an irruption into the small province of *Pokatia*, where, after burning *Sniatyn*, he was attacked by the gallant count *Taro*, at the head of no more than six thousand men, and entirely defeated. This victory is wholly ascribed to the ability of the commander, who possessed some eminences on the enemies flanks, on which he erected batteries that played with such fury as soon put their ranks in disorder: upon which the *Poles* attacked them sword in hand, entirely dispersed them, and killed or took prisoners above ten thousand *Walachians*. The same brave officer was equally fortunate against the *Muscovites* and *Tartars*, who made inroads into *Lithuania*, and ravaged the country to the very gates of the capital. Count *Taro* now augmented his forces by a strong body of *Lithuanians*, drove the enemy out of the duchy, pursued them into *Russia*, reduced several towns, and at last laid siege to the strong fortress of *Straradub*, in which the regent, with the best troops of *Russia*, made a gallant defence. The fortifications of this city were composed of beams joined together, and supported by a bulwark of earth, upon which the cannon-shot made no impression; but the count contrived a method of setting the wood on fire, laid the fortifications in ashes, obliged the regent and nobility to surrender at discretion, and carried off sixty thousand prisoners, with immense booty.

This flow of good fortune which attended the *Polish* arms received a considerable check by the defeat and death of *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, who was slain in a battle fought with *Solyman the Great*, emperor of the *Turks*. The daughter of this monarch married *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, whereby the dominions of *Hungary*, *Bobemia*, and *Silesia*, were for ever lost to the house of *Jagello*, and inseparably annexed to the hereditary dominions of the *Austrian* family. These events, it is supposed, affected the health of *Sigismund*, who was now in his eighty-fourth year: he was sensible of the enmity of the house of *Austria* to his family, and beheld with chagrin such an accession of dominion to a prince whom he considered as his rival. Certain it is, that about this time he was seized with a lingering disorder, which in the space of a few months, carried off the greatest monarch who had ever wielded the *Polish* scepter. *Sigismund* was the completest general, the ablest politician, the best prince, and the strongest man in the northern hemisphere; of the last of which qualities some instances that are scarce credible are related. His whole reign was a continued scene of prosperity, obtained by courage, firmness, and conduct: nor is his character or conquests by any means exaggerated in the *Latin* epitaph which the reader may peruse in the margin ^a (A).

A. D. 1548.
His death and
character.

^a GUAGN. apud Pistor. tom. ii. pag. 82. & seq. FLOR. Polon. lib. iii. cap. vii. HARTNOCH, lib. i. cap. viii. CONNOR, tom. i. lett. ii.

(A) Divus Sigismundus Jagellonius, Poloniae rex, &c. requiescit (1). The monument here mentioned was erected in the cathedral of *Cracow*, in which the remains of this great monarch were deposited, attended by the sincere lamentations of all his subjects.

(1) Flor. Polon. lib. iii. cap. vii. Fontaines, pag. 205.

SIGISMUND - AUGUSTUS II.

WHEN *Sigismund* found himself sinking under the burden of old age, he took care to fix the succession in his family, by procuring an election in favour of his son *Sigismund*, who now ascended the throne without the ceremony of assembling a diet. By this means *Poland* was happily secured against those miseries which are the usual attendants upon disputed elections, and the young prince was at liberty immediately to apply his attention to the affairs of government. He however incurred the displeasure of his subjects immediately after his coronation, by marrying *Razivilla*, widow to an obscure vaivode, without the consent of the diet. It was said, that by this match he drew dishonour on the regal dignity, and had not brought the advantage of one single ally to *Poland*. This indeed was the case in a variety of former marriages; but the fault was, that on this occasion the king preferred in the choice of a consort his own inclinations to those of his people; and thought it unreasonable that in a point of the greatest consequence to his felicity he should be deprived of the privilege allowed to the meanest of his subjects. His future conduct soon however obliterated any bad impressions taken from this measure. While religion, or rather superstition, armed the powers of *Europe* against each other, with more zeal than they had ever taken the field against infidels, *Poland* alone enjoyed profound repose, under the wise administration of a prince, the worthy successor of his renowned parent. His address and prudence kept at a distance those fatal disorders which had almost ruined Christendom, and were then tearing the bowels of *France*, *Austria*, *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Saxony*, *Sweden*, and other northern kingdoms. Views of policy more than respect for the pontifical dignity, kept him firm in the opinions of his ancestors; he thought that religion was purchased too dear at the price of humanity, and the slaughter of his subjects. He denied his people the liberty of corresponding with those divines who were taxed with advancing heterodox opinions, and chose rather to remain ignorant in some points not essential to salvation, rather than make his kingdom a scene of bloodshed: however, he avoided persecution, and employed no other weapons to secure the public tranquillity, than those of salutary institutions, prudent laws, and a regular system of well-conducted policy. Instead of disputing with his subjects about speculative opinions, *Sigismund* was diligent in reforming abuses, enforcing the laws, enriching the treasury, promoting industry, and redeeming the crown-lands, where the titles of the possessors appeared illegal. Out of the revenue he recovered in this manner he maintained a formidable well appointed standing army, without laying any additional tax upon the subject; and though he preferred peace to war, convinced the world that he neither wanted the power, spirit, nor capacity to resent, and punish injuries. An opportunity soon offered for the display of *Sigismund's* military talents.

Sigismund-Augustus II.

The policy of Sigismund.

THE disputes which for some time subsisted between the *Teutonic* knights in *Livonia*; and the archbishop of *Riga*, cousin to *Sigismund*, encouraged the *Russians* to make an irruption into that province, with a view of reducing both parties, after they had been weakened by civil discord. The province was divided between the knights and the prelate; and the *Russians*, under pretence of succouring the former, had seized great part of the dominions of the latter. The archbishop had recourse to his kinsman the king of *Poland*, who, after fruitless efforts to accommodate matters, bent his march at the head of an hundred thousand men towards the frontiers of *Livonia*. Every city opened its gates, and every place submitted to so irresistible a power; the grand-master of the *Teutonic* order broke off his alliance with the *Russians*, and was reconciled to the archbishop, on the terms proposed by *Sigismund*. The whole order placed themselves under the protection of *Poland*, and agreed to turn their arms against their late allies, who had gained possession of some important places (B). The czar, though deserted by the knights, insolently refused returning any answer to the proposals of peace made by *Sigismund*. His army amounted to three hundred thousand fighting men, with which force *John Basilides* thought he should be able to reduce all *Livonia*, in despite of the utmost efforts of the king of *Poland*:

His wars with the Muscovites.

(B) On this occasion it was that *Livonia* was annexed to *Poland*. *Sigismund* insisted, that not only the knights, but the whole country, should acknowledge his sovereignty. At first the inhabitants made some reluctance; but they yielded in the end to the arguments enforced by the power of *Sigismund*. *Gothobred Ketler*, great-master of the *Livonian* knights, was forced to abdicate his dignity, resign the city and citadel of *Riga* into the hands of the palatine of *Vilna*, deputed for that purpose by the king; and to declare *Livonia* from that time subject to the crown of *Poland*. In exchange, the grand-master was declared duke of *Cour-*

land and *Semigallia* by the palatine, and afterwards viceroy of *Livonia*. The exchange was advantageous to the grand-master; it was giving him the perpetuity of two fine provinces, for the contingency of a dignity, which involved him in continual war with the neighbouring princes. His successors reaped the advantage of so prudential a bargain; as they enjoyed for several ages the sovereignty assigned to *Ketler*; nor was it less beneficial to the republic of *Poland*, which was thereby augmented by the addition of an extensive and wealthy province, besides a sea-port of vast and profitable commerce.

(1) *Sarnitius, lib. viii. Annal. Polon. p. 391, & seq. Flor. Polon. p. 253.*

however,

however, some checks which he met with on this quarter, determined him immediately to make a direct attack on the *Polish* dominions, and turn his whole strength against the great duchy of *Lithuania*. On his first entrance into the province he carried all before him; every thing sunk beneath the weight of so prodigious a force. *Polocz* and *Derpt*, incapable of resistance, received the *Russian* forces; and in return were cruelly sacked and pillaged, above eighty thousand of the citizens and neighbouring peasants being carried off into captivity. Among these were a great number of *Jews*, who obstinately refusing to be baptized, were thrown into the river *Dwina*, the czar ordering the ice to be broke, to glut his eyes with this barbarous sacrifice to his cruel disposition.

ALL this time *Sigismund* was necessarily employed in the affairs of *Livonia*, and in concluding the exchange with the grand-master of the *Teutonic* knights, which we have specified in the margin. *John Basilides* however did not act the tyrant with impunity. Early in the spring a detachment of forty thousand *Russians* was attacked, defeated, and dispersed, by two thousand *Poles*, with the loss of fifteen thousand men slain in the field of battle. Soon after *Nicholas Radzevil*, palatine of *Vilna*, returning from *Livonia*, assembled a body of forces, and fell upon the *Russian* army, commanded by *Peter Swiski*, on the banks of the river *Usla*. The attack was unexpected, and the surprize, together with the fury of the assailants, soon put the *Russians* in confusion, and produced a total defeat. Near forty thousand men perished by the sword, or were drowned in the marshes, endeavouring to escape: great numbers were slaughtered by the peasants, and among these was the unfortunate general, who had his head cut off, which was stuck upon a lance, and carried in triumph to the victorious palatine. This however was but an advanced column of the *Russian* forces; the remainder of the army was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Olska*, whither the conqueror immediately begun his march, with a resolution to attack them before they had recovered from their consternation. The *Russian* general did not think proper to hazard the event of a battle, which might prove as fatal to him as it had done to his colleague: he evacuated *Lithuania* and retreated with such precipitation, that he left all his baggage and military equipage a prey to the *Poles*. A variety of other victories followed, and though the success of the *Poles* was uninterrupted by a single unfortunate accident, yet still did the *Russians* continue their irruption into the different provinces of the republic. In vain were they slaughtered in every quarter; in vain were they defeated in every enterprise: they took the field with fresh forces, and, like the Hydra, appeared to gain strength under the blow meditated for their destruction. Obstinacy and a kind of barbarous valour served in the stead of regulated courage. It was necessary to alter the manner of the operations, and to try the effects of carrying fire and sword into the country of those intrepid savages. The king in person, at the head of an hundred thousand men, penetrated the very heart of *Russia*, and laid siege to the fortess of *Ula*; but constant experience had improved the enemy in the art of war: the garrison made a brave and skilful defence; a reinforcement was thrown in, and *Sigismund* was compelled to raise the siege: however, the grand marshal of *Lithuania* soon wiped off this disgrace, defeated the *Russian* army, and surprised the gallant garrison, which had foiled all the king's attempts, after which he levelled the fortress with the ground, and stained the glory of his victories by putting to death in cool blood, a handful of brave men, who merited the highest honours.

His death and
character.

THESE cruel inroads and barbarous excursions equally exhausted and fatigued both nations. Each began to feel the effects of the immense consumption of blood and treasure; and famine pressed hard, in consequence of the neglected harvests and the scarcity of husbandmen. Necessity first suggested the thoughts of a truce to the czar, who had hitherto disdainfully rejected all the proposals made by the *Polish* monarch. Accordingly a convention for an armistice of three years, was signed, during which interval *Sigismund* yielded up his last breath at *Knyssin* in *Lithuania*, and his body was deposited in the same vault with that of his father in the great cathedral of *Cracow*. This prince merited the utmost esteem and affection of his subjects, on account of the interest which he took in their happiness. Every part of his conduct was directed to this object; and the measures he took were so prudent, that he generally obtained his purpose. He governed a kingdom with the same ease and œconomy as he would a family: all his directions were implicitly obeyed, because he founded his authority upon the idea, impressed on the minds of his people, of his sagacity, virtue, and valour. Nothing could be more amiable than the whole series of his domestic administration; nor more glorious than his foreign policy, which aimed not at conquest and oppression, but the security of his own frontier, and repelling injuries. In his wars with the *Russians* his valour was confessed; and though he once proved unsuccessful,

° NEUGEHAVER, lib. viii. SARNIT, lib. viii. FLOR. Polon. lib. iii. CROMER, tom. ii. lib. v. apud Pistor.

a every one acknowledged that his courage and conduct deserved to be rewarded with victory. In one word, *Sigismund* was meek, affable, liberal, brave, and sagacious; an hero, who possessed all the essential, but not the brilliant qualities of princes who are generally honoured with that appellation. Such was his character for a series of years; though old age, infirmity, and the influence of a favourite mistress, occasioned his deviating from the paths of virtue and true policy for some time before his death. This obscured the lustre of his reputation; but could not obliterate from the minds of the *Poles* the many blessings they had deduced from his wisdom and piety. With *Sigismund-Augustus* the male line of the family of *Jagello*, which had governed *Poland* for near two hundred years, became extinct; leaving the republic a prey to intestine divisions, and all the consequences of divided opinion; with respect to a monarch^p (C).

The Jagello family extinct.

S E C T. V.

Containing the Election and Abdication of Henry Valois, Duke of Anjou; together with the Reigns of Stephen Batori, and Sigismund III. King of Poland and Sweden.

d THE old age and decrepitude of *Sigismund-Augustus*, together with the extinction of the house of *Jagello*, had given birth to a variety of intrigues at the courts of *Vienna*, *France* and *Saxony*, each of which aimed at raising a prince of their own nation to the throne of *Poland*. Nor were the courts of *Sweden* and *Brandenburg* idle: it would seem to be a contention between Protestants and Papists who should acquire the regal diadem: though policy, in fact, weighed against religion, and determined each of the candidates to push his own private interest without regard to the principles of his adversaries. The emperor, by means of the pope's legate, had acquired great influence, and bid fair for placing the archduke of *Austria* on the throne, in despite of the utmost efforts of the other princes. In *Poland*, however, those who were actuated by any other motives than those of corruption, rendered the dispute purely religious. The Protestants had begun to raise their heads in the kingdom, and they only wanted a prince of their own persuasion to gain at least an equality with the Catholics. Though their number was smaller, yet they compensated that disadvantage by their unity; and made such efforts as astonished their opponents, who at first treated their design as chimerical, and the vain expectation of a few visionaries. When *Maximilian* perceived they were determined to unite their interests in favour of the prince of *Sweden*, the elector of *Saxony*, or the marquis of *Anspach*, he then exerted his utmost influence with the pontiff in behalf of his son *Ernestus* of *Austria*. In consequence a legate was sent to *Poland*; but his instructions regarded only the general interest of the Catholic religion, without any particular view to the interest of the house of *Austria*. His arrival was soon succeeded by the death of *Sigismund*; and then the ferment became violent among the *Poles*, each party declaring openly in favour of one or other of

Intrigues with respect to the ensuing election.

^p HEIDENSTEIN. Polon. p. 21. col. 2. FLOR. Polon. lib. iii. cap. vii. BAR. Hist. Allem. tom. ix. p. 147.

(C) *Sigismund* died without issue, leaving of the *Jagello* family only two sisters; *Catherine*, married to *John* duke of *Finland*, and afterwards to *John* king of *Sweden*, and mother of *Sigismund III.* afterwards king of *Poland* and *Sweden*; *Anne*, afterwards raised to the crown of *Poland*, and married to *Batori*, prince of *Transylvania*, who by this means became sovereign.

We must not omit a society founded in this monarch's reign, which was ludicrously called the commonwealth of *Babina*. It had its rise, like most other societies, in trivial and accidental circumstances. A set of gentlemen, inhabitants of *Lublin*, had agreed to meet at stated periods at *Babina*, merely for the purposes of mirth and jollity. In time their numbers increased, and they formed themselves into a regular government, under the presidency of a king, senate, and chief magistrates. This was truly the court of *Comus*, where nothing but wit, pleasantry, and good humour reigned. Magistrates were elected from something which appeared ridiculous in the character or conduct of any of the members. For instance, when any of the society proved meddling and officious, he was immediately created an archbishop; intimating, possibly, that the clergy chose to make themselves busy in matters which did not concern their function. A blundering or disputatious member was promoted to the speaker's chair: a boaster of his own courage, and vain-glorious *Thrafo*,

was honoured with the commission of generalissimo, which was presented to him with great ceremony by the subordinate bravoës. Those who declined the office for which they were declared qualified, were persecuted with hissing, and abandoned by the society. Thus every vice and every foible, was attacked with ridicule; and *Babina* became in a short time the terror, the admiration, and the reformer of the *Polish* nation. Genius flourished under the protection of the society; wit was cultivated, even in this northern clime; and the abuses which had crept into government and society were corrected by the judicious application of good-humoured satire. Never did any institution of this nature become so general, or so useful; but it at length degenerated into a set of buffoons, and banterers of every thing sacred and profane. For several years it was patronized by the kings of *Poland*; and *Sigismund* became a member, the starosta of *Babina* telling him, jocularly, "That his majesty had certain qualities which intitled him to the first dignity in the commonwealth." At present not the least vestige of the society remains, though it was honoured with extraordinary privileges by kings and emperors. The reader may consult *Sarnitii Hist. Polon.* p. 395. for a more minute account of this extraordinary institution.

the candidates. The provincial diets of *Poland* and *Lithuania* met, and presents from the several competitors were liberally distributed, in order to secure such deputies as might promote their interest at the ensuing general diet. The whole kingdom was one universal scene of corruption, faction, and confusion. At last the deputies were chosen, and the diet of election met at *Warsaw*.

It was now the contest became violent: smaller factions united into greater, and the shock was proportioned to the weight of the encountering bodies. The legate formed a kind of treaty with the bishop of *Cujavia* and *Albert Laski*, a palatine of vast influence, whereby they agreed mutually to support each other, and to consent to no election that was not favourable to the Catholic religion; to enter upon no measure but by mutual consent; and to give their votes for no person that was not reciprocally agreeable to the leaguers. The vigilant legate next turned his views to unite all the Catholics of the kingdom in the same interest, without declaring however in favour of any individual; that being a matter of future consideration, to be determined just as interest happened to preponderate in the conclave, from whence he received his weekly instructions.

MEAN time *Lithuania* was in the same agitation as *Poland*. The practices of *Radzivil* and *Cotcheviz* had acquired the greatest influence in that duchy on account of their wealth, the dignities they held, and the great number of their dependents. They had long been rivals in splendor and power; and now it was imagined, that the heads of both houses would come to an open rupture, as they seemed to espouse different candidates for the crown. However, some of their mutual friends, aware of the dreadful consequences of a rupture, amidst the general confusion of the duchy, proposed a compromise, which was soon brought to a happy issue, under the mediation of the legate. Some writers alledge, that this prelate first proposed to them the election of *Ernestus* of *Austria*: be this as it may, certain it is, that the *Radzivils* were the first who declared for the house of *Austria*; and the legate had then the address to engage the house of *Cotcheviz* in the same interest, by threatening to declare for the czar of *Moscow*, their inveterate enemy. This whole negotiation he conducted with the utmost subtlety; had an interview with the two chiefs in the middle of a vast forest, and there concerted that a prince of the house of *Austria* should be elected duke of *Lithuania*; not doubting but *Poland* would follow the example, to prevent a breach of the union, so salutary to both countries. According to certain *German* writers, these transactions passed in *Lithuania* during the life of *Sigismund*: *Polish* writers are silent with respect to the period. Breath had scarce quitted the body of the old king when the legate dispatched a courier to *Vienna* with a copy of the articles signed by the two *Lithuanian* chiefs; and, after sketching out the situation of parties in *Poland* and the duchy, desired his imperial majesty would immediately send an ambassador to *Moscow*, to endeavour to secure the palatine *Laski* in his interest, and remit sums of money, and quantities of *Hungarian* wines, to be distributed among the members of the diet. It was at the same time recommended to his imperial majesty to keep a body of forces in readiness, and to send the archduke *Ernest* with all convenient expedition to *Poland*, to encourage, by his presence, those who favoured his interest. In a word, he enjoined celerity, which alone would secure the crown to his son, before the other candidates could have time to concert the means of frustrating his election. The legate was certainly right in his counsels; but he was not aware of the tedious manner of deliberating at the court of *Vienna*, and of the low state of the emperor's treasures, which alone was sufficient to break all his projects for the elevation of the archduke.

BESIDES the emperor's necessities, there were other circumstances which disappointed all the legate's hopes, and ruined the negotiation which he had conducted with so much address. *Maximilian* required certain sacrifices to his pride, equally unseasonable and ridiculous. Puffed up with the breath of adulation, that prince imagined it beneath the dignity of the imperial diadem to solicit votes for his son's election, and thought it more becoming his rank, and the high birth of the young prince, to be invited to the throne of *Poland*. From the powerful faction which the legate had formed, he doubted not but an embassy for this purpose would soon arrive, and while he was consoling himself with the vain expectation, the opportunity escaped. The *Polish* gentry were disgusted with the arrogance of the house of *Austria*; and when the bishop of *Plesko* recommended a prince of that family, they all put their hands to their swords, and threatened to punish with death whoever should again insult *Poland* with such a proposal. Not contented with this declaration, they seized upon several persons whom they believed attached to the emperor; and were on the point of declaring in favour of the elector of *Saxony*, when a solemn embassy at last arrived from *Vienna*, which in some measure appeased their resentment. No nation upon earth is more taken with shew, pageantry, and respect than the *Poles*. *Rosenberg* and *Pernerstein*, equally illustrious by their merits and the dignities which they bore,

a entered the frontiers with a magnificent train, but they were way-laid by the palatine of *Sandomir*, and arrested.

UPON this it was that the enemies of the house of *Austria* took courage, and with their utmost vigour supported the princes in the opposition. They were however strenuously resisted by the legate, *Laski*, and the bishop of *Cujavia*; though this confederacy could not prevent the parties from coming to an agreement, that no difference in religious opinions should create any contention among the subjects of the kingdom; and that all *Poles*, without discrimination, should be capable of holding public offices and trusts under the government. In this convocation it was farther stipulated, that the future king should be obliged to swear expressly that he would cultivate the internal tranquility of the realm, and cherish, without distinction, their subjects of all persuasions. Accordingly we find that *Henry de Valois*, and *Stephen Batori*, were both compelled to the observation of this new law. A. D. 1573.

HITHERTO the emissaries of the several candidates acted privately, and by intrigue, endeavouring to gain a majority at the electoral diet; not doubting but the minority would be forced at last to embrace their sentiments. The first prince who was publicly proposed at the general assembly of the states was the czar of *Muscovy*; but the *Poles* dreaded the savage cruel disposition of the czar, who had always been accustomed to govern with the most despotic sway. The next person proposed was the young prince of *Sweden*, nephew to the late king *Sigismund*. The election of this prince, it was obvious, would be attended with a singular advantage, as *Sweden* and *Poland* united would be in a condition to resist all foreign enemies, and check the aspiring ambition of the czar of *Muscovy*. Besides, he had a natural claim to the crown, as he was by the mother descended from the *Jagello* family, which had furnished *Poland* with such a number of illustrious monarchs; but the doctrines of *Luther*, which he professed, rendered him odious to the Catholics; and many of the Protestants were apprehensive lest a *Swede* by birth might shew too great a partiality for his native country. The young duke of *Prussia* was supported by a considerable party: and the intrigues of *Firlei* would probably have determined the election in his favour, had not the infirm state of his health, and incapacity for governing, proved insurmountable objections. The Protestants, who had espoused this prince, finding all their expectations frustrated, cast their eyes on the elector of *Saxony*, the vaivode of *Transylvania*, or the marquis of *Anspach*. With respect to the elector, they insisted on his merit, the proofs he had given of his government, his love of freedom, and detestation of tyranny. All these qualities were acknowledged, and his address and the treasures of *Saxony* had gained him a very powerful interest; but still he was a *German* and Protestant. The first was disagreeable to the *Poles* in general, the second odious to the Catholics in particular. Some of the bishops and great lords ventured to propose *Rosemberg*, the imperial ambassador, whose merit was universally acknowledged, and whose birth, employments, and possessions were very considerable. Some writers alledge, that *Rosemberg* might have carried away the prize from all his competitors, had he had courage to support his faction; while others attribute his conduct to a principle of fidelity and attachment to the emperor. In our opinion it was chance that intirely directed the assembly, and disappointed the hopes of all the candidates. The candidates for the crown.

JOHN CRASOSKI, a *Polish* gentleman of extraordinary merit, but diminutive stature, had just returned from *France*, whither he had travelled for improvement. His ability, humour, wit, and diverting size, had rendered him universally agreeable at the court of *France*, and in a particular manner engaged the esteem of *Catherine of Medicis*, which the little *Pole* had the address to convert to his own purposes. He owed a variety of obligations to the favour of the duke of *Anjou*, and *Crasoski* did not fail to exaggerate the virtues of that prince, from mere motives of gratitude, without a thought of serving him on the present occasion. Persons at all tinctured with curiosity flocked round the traveller, and greedily swallowed his relations of the magnificence of the *French* court, and the achievements of the duke of *Anjou*, whom he represented as a young hero, who had crushed the hydra-head of faction, distinguished his valour in the field, and become the glory and the bulwark of his country. The *Poles* were struck with the character, and immediately conceived the notion of healing the civil divisions of the kingdom, by making an offer of the crown to the duke of *Anjou*. These sentiments were cherished and confirmed by *Crasoski*, who returned into *France* by order of several of the leading men in *Poland*, and acquainted the king and queen *Catherine* that nothing was wanting besides the formality of an embassy to procure the crown for the duke of *Anjou*, almost without opposition. It is alledged by some writers that the first proposals came from the court of *France*, which made use of the diminutive *Crasoski* as an emissary, and for some time conducted a series of very dark and mysterious in-

1 BARRE, tom. ix. An. 1573. lib. iv. cap. vi.

2 HEIDENSTEIN, Rer. Polon. lib. i. p. 29. col. 3. Vit. Commend.

trigues. *Charles IX.* was jealous of *Henry's* reputation. He regarded with envy the laurels gathered by that prince in a variety of battles, and hated his brother on account of the partiality shewn him by the queen-mother. This gave birth to the resolution of removing him at a distance, and a fairer opportunity could not happen than the present vacancy in the throne of *Poland*. The pretext was so plausible, that even the queen and *Henry* were deceived with respect to the king's real designs; and imagined he intended nothing more than to augment the glory of *France*, and promote the interest of his brother^a. They entered heartily into the project, and seconded *Crasoski's* proposal that a splendid embassy might be sent into *Poland*. Accordingly *Montluc*, bishop of *Valence*, *Gille de Noailles*, abbot of *Lisle*, and several other persons of rank and ability, were dispatched to *Cracow*, where they met with such a reception as had been promised by *Crasoski*. The affability, eloquence, and liberality of *Montluc* operated powerfully on the minds of the *Poles*, and confirmed their favourable sentiments of the duke of *Anjou*. Sums of money too, which were judiciously distributed, made them intirely forget the promises made to the house of *Austria*. Even the league formed by the legate was neglected, and the chiefs of *Lithuania* joined with the principal personages in *Poland* to elevate the duke of *Anjou* to the throne^b.

THIS opposition roused the spirit of the emperor *Maximilian*, who determined, after he had lost all chance of succeeding, to make the most vigorous efforts in favour of *Ernestus*. He now earnestly solicited the states of the empire to assist him in pursuit of a crown, which he lost intirely by his pride and inactivity. He laboured to form a league among the *German* princes; and solicited the elector of *Saxony*, who had now abandoned all hopes, to furnish him with ten thousand horse for the space of a single campaign, promising that, should his son be elected king of *Poland*, he would restore *Dantzic* and the *Prussian* cities to the empire, together with that part of *Livonia* which had been seized by the *Poles*. To the elector, in particular, he promised restitution of all the frontier of *Lusatia* towards *Saxony*. *Maximilian's* negotiations could not be long concealed from *Gaspard de Schomberg*, the *French* ambassador at the court of *Saxony*. This minister possessed all the talents of a politician, and had gained the intire confidence of *Catherine de Medicis* by his address and ability. He no sooner had intimation of the designs of the court of *Vienna* than he dispatched an account to *Montluc*, and set out in person for *Cassel*, to solicit the landgrave and the Protestants of the empire to assist the pretensions of the duke of *Anjou*. He gained the princess *Sophia*, widow of the duke of *Brunswick*, a rigid Protestant, and the strenuous enemy of the house of *Austria*. Thence he went to the courts of *Wolfenbuttle* and *Saxony*; and was on the brink of forming a powerful alliance, when all his endeavours were rendered useless by the forwardness of the *Poles* themselves, who were now proceeding to the election of *Henry de Valois*. The diet was composed of thirty-five thousand *Polish* gentlemen, five hundred only of whom opposed the *French* interest; and these were so ashamed of the despicable figure they made, that they embraced, without solicitation, the opinion of the majority; but the ambassadors were first obliged to take an oath, that their master should maintain the laws, liberties, and customs of the kingdom of *Poland* and the grand duchy of *Lithuania*. The following articles were besides stipulated: That *Henry* should transport all his effects, and annual revenues in *France*, into *Poland*: that the *French* monarch should pay the late king *Sigismund's* debts: that he should maintain an hundred young *Polish* gentlemen at his court, and fifty in other places: that he should send a fleet to the *Baltic* to assist *Poland* against the *Russians*: and lastly, that *Henry* should marry the princess *Anne*, sister to the late king *Sigismund*; which article *Henry* refused to ratify until his arrival in *Poland*.^c

A. D. 1574. As soon as the ambassadors had acceded to the conditions proposed, *Henry* was proclaimed, the act of election prepared, and a splendid embassy, composed of thirteen of the chief personages in the kingdom, appointed to wait on the young king in *France*. Passports were demanded from the empire; but *Maximilian*, who was dissatisfied with the election, replied that he could not grant the safeguard required without consulting the *Germanick* body; and they again pretended that the emperor's consent was absolutely necessary. *Montluc*, however, advised that the embassy might proceed, fully convinced that the emperor would not presume to violate the treaties subsisting with *France* and *Poland*. He set out in person to *Leipsic* to prepare the way, and the embassy followed a few days after. The elector had given orders for their reception, at the same time that he expressed his astonishment they should not wait for the passport which they had solicited, and gave them to understand, that, if they proceeded farther, they might find cause to repent their temerity. In a word, an order was given to prohibit their quitting the electorate; but it was soon revoked, and the ambassadors were permitted to proceed on their journey^d. Their reception at the court of *France* was magnificent, nothing being omitted that could inspire them with an high idea of

^a FONTAINES, p. 214.
p. 156.

^b Natalis Comes, lib. vi. p. 590.

^c BARRE, Hist. Allem. tom. ix.

a the riches, power, and grandeur of the monarchy. Their arrival too afforded a seasonable salvo to *Henry's* honour, as he was thereby at liberty to break up the siege of *Rochelle*, without diminution of his glory. Preparations were immediately made for the young king's departure, and he at last quitted *France*, attended by a splendid retinue, and accompanied by the queen mother as far as *Lorrain*. The *Poles* received him on the frontiers, and conducted him to *Cracow*, where he was crowned a few days after.

Henry deValois crowned king of Poland.

b *HENRY* soon engaged the affections of the *Poles*, who with admiration observed his majestic air, and blooming vigorous youth. They were delighted with his graceful manner and persuasive eloquence, as well as with the fluency and purity with which he expressed himself in the *Latin* tongue, which at that time came to be deemed an essential accomplishment in *Poland*. They remarked with wonder the magnificence with which he supported the dignity of the monarch, without that air of superiority and insolence to which they had been accustomed in their sovereigns. Here they saw elevation of soul mingled with affability; and the politeness of the fine gentleman united to the state of the king; and they flattered themselves, that so agreeable an exterior presaged a reign of felicity and joy; but scarcely was *Henry* confirmed in the throne before he became heir to the crown and dominions of his brother. Queen *Catherine* had dispatched repeated couriers to acquaint him with the king's death, and the necessity of his immediate return. *Henry* could not think of relinquishing his pretensions to the crown of *France* for the sake of that of *Poland*; and he was aware of the impossibility of retaining both. He determined therefore c to abdicate the latter; but, sensible that the *Poles* would oppose his departure, he kept his intentions secret, and watched the opportunity of stealing out by night, in disguise, from his palace. He rode post to *Vienna*, and then passed into *France* by the way of *Italy*, leaving the *Poles* in despair at the sudden flight of a prince from whose administration they expected the return of the Golden Age. Parties were detached after him by different roads, and he was overtaken by *Zamoski* some leagues distant from *Cracow*; but could not be prevailed on to return by all the prayers, tears, and intreaties of that nobleman, who too much revered the monarch to use violence. Some alledge, however, that *Henry* made him an absolute promise to return, as soon as he had placed the affairs of *France* upon a proper footing. The populace were so enraged, that, unless the magistrates of *Cracow* had posted d guards in the streets, all the *French* then in the city would have been sacrificed as perfidious wretches, whose blood only could wash away the indignity put on the *Polish* nation.

A. D. 1575.

He abdicates the crown.

HENRY had foreseen the consequences of his flight, and had taken his measures for appeasing the people. *Danzai* was left to make his apology to the republic, which he did in full senate, unfolding with the utmost eloquence the motives for the king's abrupt departure. He wrote likewise with his own hand to the chief nobility and clergy; but nothing could satisfy the *Poles*, who thought themselves slighted by their monarch, for whom they had testified the strongest esteem. They now acquainted *Henry*, that the necessities of the state, and the dangers which surrounded the republic, prevailed over their attachment to his person; and that, if he did not immediately return, they would formally proceed to e depose him, and elect another sovereign. The king excused himself by the wars in which he was engaged, that rendered his presence necessary in *France*; but, however, gave the *Poles* room to hope that he would resume the reins of government as soon as his circumstances would permit. He likewise offered to send such ministers to govern *Poland* in his absence as the republic must approve, because their integrity was irreproachable, and their abilities universally acknowledged. Accordingly he dispatched *Guy de Pibrac* to that kingdom, a person who had formed numerous friendships, strong connections, and had gained the affections of the *Poles* during his residence among them: however, the nation was too much irritated to listen to expedients; and faction began again to rear her head, and excite a ferment in the commonwealth. Two parties at that time divided *Poland*, and f agreed only in the resolution of deposing *Henry*, against which all the eloquence and address of *Pibrac* proved ineffectual. Accordingly the first proceeding was to assemble at *Stecz- 15 July.* *zicza*, where *Henry* was solemnly divested of the regal dignity, and the throne declared vacant.

MAXIMILIAN now thought that a fair opportunity offered for recovering what he had lost the preceding year by his indolence and haughty carriage. He accordingly dispatched *Henry Dudith*, a *Hungarian* of deep penetration and impenetrable cunning, to form a party in favour of his son *Ernestus*. The minister exerted his utmost endeavours and influence with the palatines, and formed a considerable interest. The primate, archbishop of *Gnesna*, had promised him his vote; and several of the nobility had entered into a resolution to support the house of *Austria* at the ensuing election, which was appointed at *Warsaw*, in the month of *December*. At first there appeared something extremely enigmatical

* STRUV. p. x. lib. vi. HEIDENST. lib. i. p. 62.

in the conduct of this party. Before they ventured to divulge their sentiments to each other, they talked mysteriously, gave significant hints, and thoroughly sounded the dispositions of the persons whom they proposed to draw into their faction. At last they all agreed that it was better to confer the crown upon the emperor himself than upon his son, as the dignity of the imperial diadem would give a sanction to their election, and destroy the hopes of any competitor. The senate embraced this opinion, and accordingly *Maximilian* was proclaimed in the diet king of *Poland* and great duke of *Lithuania*.*

ALL this while another faction had been forming by the *Piastes*, or those who declared in favour of a prince a native of the country. The palatines of *Cracow* and *Sandomir* were at the head of this party: it was their intention to elect the princess *Anne*, and marry her to *Batori* prince of *Transylvania*, who by that means should be elevated to the throne. They were, however, confounded with the sudden blow struck by *Maximilian's* party; and that prince was on the point of being established in the throne of *Poland*, when the spirit of one gentleman overthrew all their designs, and revived the hope of the *Piastes*. In imitation of the tribunes of *Rome*, who had the power of opposing the decrees of the senate, this *Polish* gentleman protested against the proclamation, and with great intrepidity declared, that it was violent and illegal. He was supported by the two palatines, the *French* interest, and count *Tenczin*, who proceeded to the election of the princess *Anne* and *Stephen Batori*, whom they accordingly proclaimed†.

A. D. 1576.

S T E P H E N B A T O R I.

Stephen Batori
elected
king of Poland

IT was now obvious that strength and celerity must determine which election was legitimate: both parties wrote to the princes for whom they had declared, intreating them to come with all possible expedition to take possession of the throne. *Batori* proved the more alert: while *Maximilian* was disputing about certain conditions, which the *Poles* required for the security of their privileges, he entered *Poland*, married the princess, and was crowned by the first day of *May* following. He appeared to possess such qualities as soon increased the number of his friends, and proportionably lessened the interest of *Maximilian*, who had not yet abandoned his claim; but was, on the contrary, preparing to treat *Batori* as an usurper. All acknowledged that the new king was a warrior and politician; that he was affable, generous, and virtuous. Besides, they knew the respect which the Grand Seignior entertained for this prince, and were sensible that the whole force of the *Othoman* empire would be employed to support his election. However, *Maximilian* was busied in promoting his design, when death surprised him, and happily extinguished all apprehensions of a civil war‡.

The Dantzickers
revolt.

BATORI began his reign in circumstances the most prosperous that could be wished. All the provinces yielded immediate obedience, while the people in general testified the strongest attachment to his person (D). The city of *Dantzick* adhered to the house of *Austria*; and, though *Maximilian* was now dead, refused, under various pretexts, to acknowledge *Batori's* sovereignty. The inhabitants had even the presumption to demand an oath from the king, in acknowledgment of their absolute freedom and independence. *Batori* referred them to the senate, declaring that he had no power to give up the rights of the republic: and admonished the *Dantzickers* to avoid all occasion of a civil war, which must necessarily terminate to their prejudice: but the obstinate citizens construing the king's lenity into fear, shut their gates against the ambassador, seized upon the fortress of *Grebin*, and published a manifesto equivalent to a libel on the prince and the republic. Incensed at these proceedings, the king marched against *Grebin*, retook the castle, and ravaged certain territories belonging to the magistrates of *Dantzick*; who retaliated on the see of *Uladislaw* and the monastery of *Oliva*, which they burnt to the ground, to prevent the *Poles* from taking possession of so important a situation‡.

* SLEIDAN. p. 325.
lib. i.

† BARRE, *ibid.* tom. ix.

‡ FLOR. Polon. lib. iv.

§ HARTNOCH,

(D) It is sufficient proof of *Batori's* abilities, that he raised himself from a private station in *Transylvania* to the sovereignty of that country, and to the crown of *Poland*, by the fairest means, and universally acknowledged merit. His first education was in the camp, as he had in his earliest youth shewn an inclination to arms. His courage, capacity, and prudence soon acquired him the esteem of the soldiers, and great authority among the people, who pitched upon him to transact some difficult negotiations at the imperial court, which he had the good fortune to accomplish to the mu-

tual satisfaction of the parties. When the supreme dignity became vacant, by the death of *John Sigismund*, nephew of *Sigismund II.* king of *Poland*, *Batori* was nominated successor by the universal voice, without his once soliciting the honour, or even entertaining the thoughts of raising himself so high above his countrymen. This laid the foundation of his future good fortune, which may entirely be ascribed to the early proofs he had exhibited of distinguished merit and solid talents (1).

(1) *Flor. Polon. lib. iv.*

a NOTWITHSTANDING these outrages, *Batori* renewed his overtures for an accommodation, considering the *Dantzickers* still as his subjects, whom he ought, if possible, to reclaim with reason; but they were deaf to all proposals, which obliged him to declare them rebels, and enemies to the state. *Zborowski* was accordingly sent with a body of troops to lay siege to the city; but as his numbers were not considerable, the *Dantzickers* ventured to quit their walls, and march into the field to give him battle. They were assisted by a corps of *Germans*, and the resolution was formed of attacking the *Poles* in their camp by surprize; but the project was disconcerted by a sudden storm, accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning, which spread a panic through the army, as if it had been a judgment from heaven, and obliged *John de Collen*, who commanded, to return to the city.

b As soon as they had recovered their spirits, they sailed under the conduct of the same officer up the *Vistula*, and were proceeding to *Warsaw*, when they were attacked by the *Polish* army, who defeated them; after an obstinate conflict, with the loss of eight thousand men slain, a great number of prisoners, and several pieces of cannon, which, instead of abating the courage, animated the *Dantzickers* to a more vigorous exertion of their strength, and incensed them against *Collen*, to whose misconduct they attributed the late disgrace. *Collen* used persuasion, and at last appeased the multitude by assurances that he would take ample vengeance on their enemies, and defend the privileges of the city with the last drop of his blood^b.

c MEAN time *Poland* was pressed on another quarter. The czar of *Muscovy*, thinking the present opportunity was favourable for extending his dominions, and revenging the preference given to *Henry de Valois* in the preceding election, sent a powerful army against *Revel*, and besieged that city with great fury and obstinacy: however, all his efforts proved ineffectual against the courage of the garrison. He was forced to relinquish the siege, and content himself with ravaging *Livonia*, which he executed with the utmost inhumanity. Yet could not this unprovoked irruption draw *Batori* from his resolution of laying siege in person to *Dantzick*, and pursuing his measures with the utmost vigour. The city was invested, and battered with great fury; while the besieged made the most animated efforts in their own defence, defeated the *Poles* in a variety of sallies, and obliged the king to abandon certain approaches which he had made quite to the walls, and to encamp at a greater distance. *Collen* recovered his reputation among his countrymen by actions that were signally gallant: he headed every attack upon the royal camp, and was become terrible to the besiegers; when he perished in a sally where prodigious slaughter was made on both sides. Immediately the spirit of the besieged subsided, and rendered it evident, that on *Collen's* capacity and courage they had founded their chief hope of resistance. He had not been two days slain, when they sustained a variety of attacks, which determined them to have recourse to the clemency of *Batori*, after they had obtained a promise from the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, in conjunction with the landgrave of *Hesse*, to interpose their mediation. The king was not difficult in the terms he demanded. His main design was to establish repose, and reclaim the *Dantzickers*; and accordingly he signed a peace, whereby it was stipulated they should ask his pardon, acknowledge his sovereignty, disband their forces, and repair the monastery of *Oliva*; while his majesty, on the other hand, confirmed all their privileges, and promised to grant them full liberty of adhering to the Confession of *Augsburg*, of which they had for some time been strenuous advocates^c.

Irruptions of the Russians.

Peace with the Dantzickers.

f *BATORI* had no sooner reduced *Dantzick* to obedience than he convoked a diet at *Warsaw*, to deliberate on the means of revenging the ravages committed by the czar in *Livonia*, supporting the dignity of the crown, and retrieving the honour of the nation, that was sullied by the unpunished and unrepented violation of treaties. This royal barbarian had made himself master of the chief towns in the province: an insidious air of clemency inclined many cities to open their gates to him, rather than by resistance incur the displeasure of a prince whose power they could not withstand. Motives of policy directed the czar to perform his promises to some, in order to glut the more securely his bloody disposition, by sacrificing the innocent credulous inhabitants of others. Among the latter was the city of *Ascherod*, where a great number of the *Livonian* nobility then resided. As soon as the burghers had opened the gates the *Russians* began the most barbarous massacre recorded in the annals of time, slaughtering all without distinction who were capable of bearing arms, and abandoning the women and children to the shocking brutality and the most savage violations of the *Tartars*. Such was the horror inspired by the perfidy and cruelty of their conduct, that the inhabitants of *Wender* chose rather to bury themselves in the ruins of an untenable town, than surrender to so inhuman an enemy. Accordingly they sunk mines under their houses, and, not being able to resist longer, they descended gloriously to their graves, and perished in the vaults they had made for themselves and families.

War with Russia.

^b FLOR. Polon. lib. iv. p. 306.

^c Id. ibid. etiam FONTAINES, p. 221.

However,

However, all *Livonia*, except *Riga* and *Revel*, bled under the severe scourge of this insulting conqueror, before the *Poles* had entered upon measures to check the progress of the czar's arms. At last a body of forces was detached into the province, *Wender* and *Dunneburg* were surprised, and an army which the czar had sent to retake the former, was defeated^d.

MEAN time *Batori* was making great preparations to take the field in person, large sums of money were borrowed for the support of the war, and *Christopher* prince of *Transylvania* had orders to join his majesty with all the standing forces of that country. Levies were likewise made in *Germany*; a corps of *Prussians* and *Hungarians* joined the *Poles*, and the royal army was immediately after augmented by ten thousand *Lithuanians*. With these forces the king laid siege to *Polocz* on the *Dwina*, one of the strongest cities on the frontier, and a place of great consequence, as it opened a communication between *Lithuania* and the province of *Livonia*. It was one of the towns which had been seduced by the czar's specious promises to surrender its liberties, and now the inhabitants suffered the punishment of their credulity. As soon as the *Russians* received advice of the approach of the *Polish* army, they resolved to put all the citizens to death, thinking to strike terror by this means into the king's troops. The most shocking spectacle which fancy can imagine was presented to *Batori* as he advanced: a prodigious number of mangled bodies, fastened to planks, and panting in the last agonies, were rolled by the rapid tide of the river, dyed with human blood. Nothing could be more dreadful than the wanton useless barbarity, which, instead of terrifying, animated the most ardent spirit of revenge. The *Poles*, finding their cannon made scarce any impression on the walls, mounted to the assault with burning torches in their hands, set fire to the wooden fortifications, and would have reduced the city, and consumed the garrison to ashes, had not a deluge of rain baffled their endeavours. At last the *Hungarians*, incensed at the resistance of the besieged, and encouraged with the king's promise of distributing the whole booty among the soldiers, advanced to the walls amidst the furious discharge of artillery from the ramparts, applied their torches, and soon put the whole in a blaze; upon which the *Muscovites* surrendered at discretion. It reflects the highest honour on *Batori*, that he did not retaliate upon the garrison, though he had scenes before his eyes sufficient to authorize the keenest revenge. A variety of *Germans* were found in the city, some expiring under the most dreadful tortures, and others dead of pains which human nature could not support. The blood freezes at the very recital of such barbarities as were here committed. Several of the officers had been dipped in cauldrons of boiling oil with a cord drawn under the skin of the umbilical region, which fastened their hands behind; in which wretched situation their eyes were torn out from the sockets, or burnt with red hot irons, and their faces otherwise cruelly mangled. The disfigured carcases evidently declared the barbarous treatment with which they had met, and the dreadful tale was confirmed by the testimony of the few who survived. The *Polish* soldiers were wrought up to a degree of madness: they eagerly sought to lay violent hands on the bloody authors of this tragedy, and scarce all *Batori's* authority could prevent the whole *Muscovite* garrison from falling a sacrifice to their resentment.

THE reduction of *Polocz* led the way to other advantages. Two detachments from the army penetrated the enemy's country by different roads, wasted all before them to the gates of *Smolensko*, and returned with the spoils of two thousand towns and villages, which they had pillaged and destroyed: such was the cruel method of carrying on war in the northern kingdoms.

State of Poland and Sweden.

It is remarkable, that the *Swedes* waged war at the same time in *Livonia*, and were deemed equally the enemies of the *Poles* and *Muscovites*. *Revel* had, since the last reign, put itself under the protection of this crown, and was maintained, according to the *Swedish* writers, by a garrison placed there by duke *John*; a circumstance about which the *Polish* historians are intirely silent. They acknowledge, indeed, that the *Poles* were at war with the *Swedes* and *Muscovites*, the *Swedes* with the *Poles* and *Muscovites*, and the latter with the *Poles* and *Swedes*, each striving to gain possession of the province of *Livonia*, and committing the most cruel ravages on the territories of the others. The reader has seen the particulars of this irregular triple war in the *History of Sweden*, and it would only be loading the memory with facts which disgrace human nature to be more particular in this place (E). Sufficient it is, that the *Poles* and *Swedes* at last determined to compromise their differences, and fall with united forces on the savage *Russians*, whose numbers seemed to increase under the most bloody and seemingly decisive victories. At the time when this accommodation was set on foot, *Pontus de la Gardie*, a *French* gentleman in the *Swedish* service, to whom

^d HEIDENSTEN. Rer. Polon. lib. ix.

(E) The reader will perceive that we have purposely recited in the *Swedish* History; it being our intention omitted, for the sake of brevity, a variety of disputes only to relate such circumstances as are differently told between *Sweden* and *Poland*, that have already been by the historians of each country.

- a king *John* had given his natural daughter in marriage, was besieging *Oesel*, after having made great progress in the reduction of the country. Now the religious contentions which arose in *Sweden* prevented that monarch from bearing his share in the *Muscovite* war, which *Batori* was left to prosecute singly, and without any other assistance than what arose from his own courage and the affection of his subjects. However, he thought it sufficient that he was at liberty to employ the whole strength of *Poland* against the czar; and accordingly made the most vigorous preparations for opening another campaign, which he doubted not would bring the war to a fortunate issue. Early in the season *John Sariowzamoski*, who had distinguished himself against the *Swedes*, was appointed general, and sent with a powerful army to invest *Pleskow*, one of the strongest cities in possession of the *Russians*. *Pleskow* besieged.
- b The strong castle of *Ostrow*, situated in an island which covered the city, was first attacked, in order to open a way for regular undisturbed approaches, and carried, after an obstinate defence; in which the *Russians* had shewn, that they were not destitute either of courage or military genius. Upon this, trenches were opened before *Pleskow*, and the king arrived in the camp to direct in person the operations of the siege. The garrison consisted of seven thousand men, the walls were extensive and strong, and the enterprize required not only a numerous army, but the utmost vigilance and conduct. The city was supplied with all kinds of provision, and was watered by numerous streams, that not only supplied the garrison with water and fish, but greatly disturbed the besiegers, by filling their trenches, and frequently, upon a flood of rain, destroying their works. It stood in the midst of a fertile plain, and was bounded by rugged hills, which pinched the *Polish* camp, at the same time that they were at too great a distance for their batteries. Forty monasteries surrounded *Pleskow*, and not only added greatly to the beauty, but to the strength of the city, serving for the purpose of strong battions joined by the walls. A strong citadel rose in the center, which was maintained by a separate garrison of two thousand *Muscovites*, and seemed in a manner impregnable. So formidable an appearance struck terror into some of the *Polish* officers, who advised *Batori* to relinquish an enterprize which might prove fatal to his reputation, and lay siege to *Novogrod*; but he despised their pusillanimity, and seemed to be animated by the difficulties, in surmounting which he should only acquire more glory. At first the garrison made vigorous sallies, and, relying upon their own strength, fought
- d a kind of pitched battles, in which they were almost always defeated. Assisted by the townsmen, who were extremely numerous and warlike, they poured forth like a torrent, and called for the exertion of all *Batori's* courage and conduct: at last the *Muscovites*, perceiving they were weakened by repeated defeats, without in the least slackening the operations of the *Poles*, resolved to shut themselves within their walls, and content themselves with merely defensive measures. The *Poles* confined their attacks to one quarter of the town, while the *Germans* and *Hungarians* were battering another. The moment the latter effected a breach, they determined to storm it; but their commander being slain, the troops were dispirited, and would have been wholly routed, had not the *Poles* come to their relief, marched up to the breach, and planted the *Polish* standard on the tower of
- e *Porchow*. Their valour was imitated by the *Hungarians*: a lodgment was effected, and the garrison on the point of submitting, when the brave *Swisky*, who commanded, mounted his horse, though covered with blood and wounds, re-animated the *Muscovites* by his example, led them back to the breach, and checked the progress of the assailants on the brink of the last ditch sunk for the defence of the tower. The clergy themselves came to the attack, inspired the troops, by their moving discourse, with all the fury and ardor that religion was capable of imparting: the *Poles* first gave way, and were followed by the *Hungarians*, after they had maintained their ground for the whole day, exposed to a galling fire from the artillery of the tower, and the musketry and arrows of the garrison, equal to them in number.
- f But the *Poles* did not confine themselves to the siege of *Pleskow*: detachments entered the enemy's country in different quarters, and reduced a great number of cities, towns, and fortresses; destroying at the same time an infinity of villages, and laying all waste around. This, together with the necessity to which the brave garrison of *Pleskow* was reduced, humbled the pride of the czar, and obliged him to propose an accommodation by means of the pontiff, whose interest he gained by a solemn promise, that he would effect an union of the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, and acknowledge the supremacy of the holy see. A splendid embassy was sent to *Rome*, magnificent presents were made, and the nuncio *Possavinus* accordingly was appointed to begin negotiations for restoring the tranquility of the North. What made the czar more earnest in suing for peace was the
- g entrance of a *Swedish* army into *Livonia*, under *Pontus de la Gardie*, who drove the *Russians* out of *Wikke*, *Wesenberg*, *Totsburg*, and was laying siege to *Narva*, after having surprised *Iwanegrod* on the opposite bank of the river. Nor was *Batori*, on the other hand, averse to a pacification. He saw that all his advantages served only to ruin the enemy's country,

Peace with
Russia.

without producing any advantage to his own: he had lost forty thousand men by the rigour of the season, the fatigue of sieges and marches, and the desperate valour of the garrison of *Pleskow*. The severity of the winter obliged the *Poles* to convert the siege of this place into a blockade, which harrassed the troops as much as more vigorous operations, as they were perpetually in arms, to prevent being surprised by the spirited *Swisky*, who was endeavouring to assemble all the neighbouring garrisons, in order to give battle to the *Polish* general *Zamoski*. Diseases now appeared in the camp, in consequence of the extremity of the cold, and the scarcity of provisions. The huts and tents in which the soldiers were lodged, were converted into solid frozen snow; and the centinels, though relieved every hour, were frequently found dead upon their posts, or so chilled, that, when they recovered their natural heat, they were seized with ardent fevers. It is true that *Swisky* fell into an ambuscade, while he was endeavouring to surprise the *Polish* camp; but the advantage gained by *Zamoski* was inconsiderable, though it was purchased with the lives of a thousand of his best soldiers. In a word, every circumstance concurred in rendering the king of *Poland* tired of a war, in which he acquired nothing besides the reputation of a skilful general, and an active able monarch. He listened therefore to the persuasions of the nuncio, and at last signed a peace at *Zapolia*; whereby the czar yielded up *Livonia*, the very province which had occasioned the rupture; while, on the other hand, the king of *Poland* withdrew his forces from *Pleskow*, and restored all the places he had taken from the *Muscovites*. Upon the whole, *Batori* gained no other advantage from this war, besides that of disabling a powerful turbulent neighbour from again disturbing his government. He had sustained great losses; but they bore no proportion to the sufferings of his enemy, who sacrificed the lives of four hundred thousand of his subjects to the desire of reducing a province, which did not contain so many inhabitants. Besides, all the provinces composing the *Russian* frontier were entirely desolated, and converted into a desert, and the *Russians* were cut off from all communication with the *Baltick*, shut up in their forests, excluded from all commerce with other nations, and deprived of every outlet, except what the frozen sea afforded for a few months in the year^f.

BATORI having established the public repose, applied his attention to the civil government of his kingdom, the strict administration of justice, the forming laws, correcting the abuses which had crept into the government during the late tumult and confusion, and putting his cavalry, the chief natural strength, upon the best footing. In every thing he displayed the sage, provident, and vigilant monarch. From him the *Polish* cavalry received those regulations which rendered them so formidable to the *Russians*, *Turks*, and other neighbours, and by which they are governed at this day. They were excellent at the time, though they now require those reformatations which the improvements in the art of war, and in science in general, hath introduced among the other *European* nations^e. This is the military establishment to which the *Poles* have given the appellation of *Quartienne*, because a fourth of the revenue is assigned for their maintenance. *Batori* sent this body of cavalry towards the frontiers of *Tartary*, to check the incursions of those barbarians; by which means the *Ukraine*, a vast tract of desert country, was filled with flourishing towns and villages, and formed into a strong barrier against the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Muscovites*.

*Batori attacks
the Cossacks
in Poland.*

BUT the measure that reflects the greatest glory on the memory of *Batori*, was the politic method he took of disciplining the *Cossacks*, and attaching them to the *Polish* crown^a. This people derive their name, according to *Alberto Vimiria*, from the *Sclavonic* word *Coza*, which signifies a goat, either because they cloathed themselves with the skin of that animal, or lived like it in woods, mountains, and forests. Others affirm, that the word *Cossack* signifies robber in the *Sclavonian* language; and that the people who now bear this name, deduce their origin from a set of banditti, who fled from the neighbouring countries, and settled in the islands formed in the outlet of the *Boristhenes*. They lived by plunder, and made incursions through *Tartary* and *Turkey* even to the gates of *Constantinople*. They also committed piracies on the *Black Sea*, and promised fair for becoming able navigators. They soon extended their country above an hundred leagues in length, and became a formidable powerful people; and the masters of a territory so prolific, that half the corn is yearly wasted, for want of the means of transporting it to other countries. The *Cossacks* were esteemed strong, robust, gallant, and generous soldiers, strongly attached to liberty, and impatient under the mildest restriction, which rendered their government so irregular. They professed the *Greek* religion in general, though many followed the tenets of the church of *Rome*, and some embraced the doctrines of *Luther*. Their language is a dialect of the *Sclavonic*, extremely soft and musical, as it abounds in diminutives. They generally fight on horseback, though the *Cossacks* occasionally dismount since the days of *Batori*. No troops in the world can better endure the extremities of cold and hunger.

^f FLOR. Polon. lib. iv. p. 347.

^e HEIDENSTEIN. lib. ix.

^a Guer. civil. de Polon. lib. i. p. 7.

a They live whole campaigns on a kind of coarse black biscuit, which they eat with garlic. They never intrench themselves, their waggons being their only fortifications, in which they defend themselves with great obstinacy. Such were the men whom *Batori* resolved to render serviceable to *Poland*, to civilize and instruct in the arts of war and peace. His first endeavour was to gain their affections by his liberality; for which purpose he presented them with the city *Techtemeravia*, situated on the *Boristhenes*, which they formed into a magazine, and the residence of their chieftains. He gave them officers of all degrees, established discipline among them, altered their arms, and formed them into a regular militia, which afterwards performed eminent services to *Poland*. All kinds of trades and manufactures, then known in *Poland*, were erected among the *Cossacks*. The women were employed in spinning and weaving woollen and linen cloths, while the men were cultivating the earth, and learning the art of brewing, malting, and bakingⁱ.

b In this manner was *Batori* employed when the *Swedes* broke the convention respecting *Livonia*, and were on the point of gaining possession of *Riga*, in contempt of the solemn treaty subsisting between the two crowns. *Batori* had promised the inhabitants intire liberty of conscience; but was unfortunately prevailed on to send a mission of Jesuits thither, in order to convert the people to the Catholic faith; which so irritated them that they revolted; and their syndic, *Gottard Wellinger*, was practising the means of introducing a *Swedish* garrison into the city. As soon as the king received advice of the conspiracy he mounted the *pospolite*, advanced an army to *Riga*, and built a fortress on the opposite bank c of the *Dwina*, to keep the enemy within bounds, and prevent their making incursions. These vigorous steps soon convinced the rebellious citizens of the necessity of imploring pardon; for which purpose they solicited the mediation of the duke of *Courland*; but *Batori* would listen to no excuses, being resolved to punish their disaffection with the utmost severity. However, before he could execute his vengeance, it pleased Providence to carry him off, as some alledge, in a violent epileptic fit, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and tenth of his reign. Death of Batori.

A FEW months before his death, *Batori* endeavoured to prevail on the diet to fix the succession, with a view, as was imagined, of retaining the crown in his own family, and transmitting it to his brother, as he had no issue himself. All his attempts however d proved fruitless; the states were resolved to exclude their monarchs from all influence in elections, and to preserve their own rights inviolate, which gave great offence to *Batori*, who had never in any other particular deviated from the constitution. Except in this single instance his conduct was irreproachable. Prudent, gallant, active, and just even to rigour, he equally commanded the respect, and won the affections of his people. His vigour and high reputation won him the crown; his wisdom and vigilance preserved it untarnished by the smallest blemish, and transmitted it in its full lustre to his successors. Yet with all his good sense, there was a violence in his temper, which sometimes transported him to an excess bordering upon madness: to this disposition one writer ascribes the fit which occasioned his death. The sight of the envoys from *Riga* threw him into a rage, that ended e in an universal spasm of the nervous system^{* (F)}.

THE death of *Batori* soon involved *Poland* in fresh scenes of confusion, notwithstanding the prudent regulations made to preserve unanimity among the electors. As soon as the diet was assembled, a decree passed that the monarch should be elected by the universal consent of deputies, whether *Polish* or *Lithuanian*; and that whoever entered into cabals, or factions, to disturb the public tranquillity, should be regarded as an enemy to the state, and declared a traitor. It was also decreed, that corruption should be capital; that the confederation made upon the election of *Henry de Valois*, respecting religion, should be observed; and that the new king should promise to recal the decree of attainder issued out against *Christopher Zborowski*. The occasion of this decree is not specified in any of the *Polish* writers f that have come to our hands. It is probable, that he too warmly pleaded the cause of the inhabitants of *Riga*, as he was supposed to be a follower of the *Lutheran* doctrine: and this afforded a handle to his great rival *Zamoski* to procure his disgrace and banishment.

ⁱ CHEVAL. Hist. de Cossac.

^{*} FLOR. Polon. HEIDENSTEIN, ibid.

(F) To this day the *Poles* revere the memory of *Batori*, and ascribe to him literally all the virtues enumerated in the following epitaph, composed with intention it should be inscribed on his tomb.

In templo plus quam sacerdos.

In republicâ plus quam rex.

In sententia dicenda plus quam juris consultus.

In exercitu plus quam imperator.

In acie plus quam miles.

In adversis perferendis injuriisque condonandis, plus quam vir—

In publicâ libertate tuendâ, plus quam civis.

In amicitia colenda, plus quam amicus.

In convivio plus quam familiaris.

In venatione ferisque domandis, plus quam Leo.

In totâ reliqua vitâ plus quam philosophus.

His passion for hunting was so great, that he removed his residence to *Gredno* in *Lithuania*, for the greater conveniency of pursuing that diversion; though it has been imagined that he was actuated by other motives, and particularly the desire of living at a distance from his queen, who was above sixty years of age, when policy induced him to marry her (1).

(1) Flor. Polon. lib. iv. p. 349. Font. lib. iv.

The diet now took part with the fugitive *Zborowski*, and deprived *Zamoski* of his commission, which was bestowed on *Nicholas Herbert*, who then commanded the troops in *Volhinia*. *Zamoski* opposed the resolution of the states, and both the chiefs came to the diet, attended by numerous armies of their friends and dependents. Thus all the endeavours of the archbishop of *Gnesna*, and the more prudent personages in the government, were rendered abortive by the private animosity of two ambitious noblemen, neither of whom could bear an equal in the administration, nor a rival in the king's favour.

THE *Lithuanians* increased the public disturbances, by insisting that *Podolia*, *Volhinia*, and *Livonia*, which they said had been dismembered from their duchy, should be reunited to it, and the *Poles* stripped of all those rights which they had usurped from the duchy. It was alledged, the republic had elected the two last kings without the participation of the duchy; that she had sent an embassy to *Rome*, without so much as acquainting the *Lithuanians* with the intention of the embassy: besides, in the present instance, it looked, they said, as if they had a design of abolishing the freedom of elections, by introducing an armed force to overawe and intimidate. To complete the scene of discord, the *Prussians* sent in a long bill of grievances, which they demanded should immediately be redressed. They complained they were oppressed with taxes; that all preferments, either honourable or lucrative in their country, were bestowed on foreigners; that several *Dantzick* merchantmen were detained in *Denmark*, for debts owing by the republic and crown of *Poland*; with a variety of other particulars, which it would be tedious to specify; but the diet gave no ear to complaints raised merely to make an advantage of the present state of affairs. They were therefore remitted for examination to a more seasonable opportunity; and in the mean time the states proceeded to give audience to the foreign ministers.

The candidates
for the crown.

THE competitors for the crown were the princes *Ernest Matthias*, and *Maximilian*, of the house of *Austria*; *Sigismund* prince of *Sweden*, nephew of king *Sigismund Augustus*, the predecessor of *Henry de Valois*; and *Theodore* czar of *Muscovy*. Each of these had a separate party, and were equally opposed by the *Piastes* faction, which declared in favour of a native of *Poland*, and the Grand Seignor, who espoused the nephews of the late king *Batori*. The princes of *Austria* had gained to their interest the powerful family of *Zborowski*, the head of which had taken refuge at *Vienna* during his banishment, and the count *de Gorka*, a nobleman of considerable influence. His birth rendered the prince of *Sweden* extremely agreeable to the *Poles*, who considered him as the descendant of the royal house of *Jagello*, under which they had been happily governed for a series of years. *Theodore*, grand duke of *Russia*, was chiefly supported by the *Lithuanians*. He had rendered his pretensions tolerably popular, by a scheme which he offered of incorporating his vast empire with the republic, and thereby cutting off all occasion for those bloody contentions which had depopulated both countries. Though this proposal was liable to suspicion in point of sincerity, and to numberless other objections, yet it was embraced with avidity by the *Lithuanians*, who were the most exposed to the incursions and ravages of the *Muscovites*. The *Lutherans* seized the opportunity of recovering certain privileges which they had wrested from them in the last reign, and formed so powerful an interest, that more was granted than even the constitution admitted. They not only obtained a perpetual liberty of conscience, but certain political immunities, which gave so much offence to the primate that he quitted the assembly. What was very extraordinary, they joined with the *Austrian* faction espoused by the pope's nuncio, *Zborowski*, count *de Gorka* palatine of *Poznan*, and the cardinal *Radzivil*. They were by much the more numerous party; but *Sigismund* was supported by the senate and the flower of the *Polish* army under *Zamoski*, together with the affections of the people. Of this party were likewise the primate, the bishops in general, and the chancellor, all of whom retired from *Warsaw*, and held a separate assembly in the neighbourhood. Here *Zamoski*, by his vigilance, prudence, and superior policy, broke all the measures of the opposite faction; upon which the *Lutherans*, perceiving they could not obtain the crown for a prince of the house of *Austria*, joined themselves to the *Lithuanians*, and espoused the cause of the czar of *Muscovy*. Here too they were unsuccessful; the *Lithuanians* had confined themselves for forty days within their camp, which they strongly entrenched; but the count *de Gorka*, having been gained by the *Swedish* party, disconcerted their projects, and effected a majority in favour of prince *Sigismund*. For some time the *Lutherans* and *Lithuanians* stood out; but being intimidated by *Zamoski* with his regulars, and perceiving that the nation in general was inclined to a prince of the house of *Jagello*, they at last consented that the prince of *Sweden* should be proclaimed king on the ninth day of *August*. The queen-dowager indeed, who was sister to the queen of *Sweden*, was chiefly instrumental in putting the crown on the head of her nephew, although no notice is taken of this circumstance by the *Polish* writers¹. We have already seen the opposition made by the states of *Sweden* to the election of *Sigismund*, and the

¹ PUFFEND. tom. iv. lib. iv. cap. vi. FLOR. Polon. lib. iv.

restrictions which they laid on the young prince, as absolutely necessary to the security of the kingdom, and the preservation of the *Lutheran* religion, *Sigismund* having been bred in Catholic principles. It is time to see what measures the friends of the house of *Austria* took to support the interest of *Maximilian*, who alone of the three candidates of that family persisted in his claim.

THE nuncio and *Zborowski* faction were no sooner acquainted with the election of *Sigismund*, than they proclaimed *Maximilian*, and sent an embassy to that prince, requesting his immediate presence in *Poland*, as the surest method of completing what they had begun; while, on the other hand, *Zamoski* and his party demanded of the prince of *Sweden*, that he would unite *Livonia* to *Poland*, maintain a fleet at his own expence, for the protection of the *Polish* commerce; provide a supply of arms and ammunition for carrying on the *Muscovite* war, as the czar seemed disposed to break the late treaty; remit the sums due to *Sweden* on account of the money borrowed by *Sigismund-Augustus*; relinquish all the claims of *Sweden* upon *Poland*; and lastly, swear to observe all the articles proposed to *Henry de Valois*. *Esithonia* was the great bone of contention between the two kingdoms; besides, the *Poles* and *Swedes* were mutually jealous that the young king would act partially in favour of one or other of the nations; the former dreaded his being a *Swede*, the latter was no less apprehensive of his being a Catholic, and consequently of the same principles with his new subjects. *Martin Linowolski* was appointed to compliment him in *Sweden*; and the bishop of *Wladislaw*, with several lords, had directions to receive him in the road of *Dantzick*, and to offer him the oaths upon the *pacta conventa*, before he should enter the kingdom. Some of the articles were scrupled both by king *John* and his son; both feared giving offence to the *Swedes*, and they were obliged to promise to the diet of that kingdom, that *Sigismund* would rather abdicate the throne of *Poland*, than cede any of the rights or territories of his native country. At last, letters from the *Swedish* ambassador at *Cracow* removed all scruples, as they assured the prince that nothing more than his presence was wanted to secure the crown upon the most equitable and honourable conditions. In consequence he embarked, and arrived safe with a large fleet at *Dantzick*, where he took all the oaths required, except what respected *Livonia*. Nothing more was wanted to secure the affections of the greatest part of the *Polish* nation; accordingly *Zamoski*, entering the capital, had manifestos printed and dispersed through the kingdom, declaring the legality of *Sigismund's* election, and his assent to the *pacta conventa*. He likewise signified to the nuncio, the imperial ambassador, and the ministers of foreign princes, that *Sigismund* was elected by a majority of the *Poles*, while his competitor was only nominated by out-laws, who hoped to repair their shattered fortunes by the civil wars they were endeavouring to excite, or under a monarch whom they expected to govern, because they alone had espoused his interest.

A. D. 1587.
Sigismund
prince of *Sweden*, and *Maximilian* of *Austria*; both elected.

THESE declarations were answered by similar writings published by the opposite party; to support which *Maximilian* was already advanced to the frontiers of *Poland*, and had taken the oaths required by the constitution. He was attended by a body of forces, which were joined by a number of troops levied by *Zborowski*, and approached within five miles of the capital, with intention to besiege it; but all his schemes were disconcerted by the active *Zamoski*, who gave him battle, defeated his army, killed two thousand *Germans*, and obliged *Maximilian* to retire precipitately with the remainder to *Silesia* (G). This victory was soon followed by another still more decisive, as it proved fatal to the liberty of *Maximilian*. Having paid his compliments to *Sigismund* on his arrival at *Cracow*, *Zamoski* set out in pursuit of *Maximilian*, who had been joined by a body of *Hungarians* on the frontiers, where he was collecting his scattered troops, and augmenting his army with new levies brought by *Zborowski*. The archduke retreated as the *Polish* general advanced, and deferred coming to action until he had assembled a superior force. He was pursued from *Willun* to *Witzen*, and from thence to *Biczyna*, where at last he made a stand, was attacked, and defeated with great slaughter. At first the *Cossacks* were put in confusion by the *Hungarians*; but *Zamoski* coming up with the *Polish* cavalry, soon repulsed them, made terrible carnage, and forced the archduke to take shelter in *Biczyna*, where he surrendered prisoner at discretion after a short resistance. So complete a victory fixed the

Maximilian
twice defeated
and taken prisoner.
A. D. 1588.

(G) Some writers alledge, that *Maximilian* had actually laid siege to the capital before *Sigismund* had taken the oaths proposed to him at *Oliva*, in the neighbourhood of *Dantzick*. He hoped to gain possession by means of a secret correspondence which he carried on with some *Germans* who inhabited the suburbs, and had undertaken to lodge two regiments privately in their houses. *Zamoski* had intelligence of their design; suffered the two regiments to enter the suburbs, then set

fire to the houses, which he consumed, together with the archduke's soldiers. Upon this the siege was raised, as our author relates, and *Maximilian* drew up his army in the plain, with intention to give battle. *Zamoski*, who was equally eager to come to a decisive action, advanced, attacked the enemy, and after a sharp conflict, which lasted for two hours, obtained a complete victory, obliging the archduke to retire to *Cestochow*, whither he did not think it necessary to pursue him (1).

(1) *Hart. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 103.*

crown on the head of *Sigismund*, and raised *Zamoski's* glory almost to the highest pitch, though his clemency to the prisoners likewise encreased its lustre. He treated *Maximilian* with all the respect due to his quality, as the son and brother of an emperor; and displayed so much moderation to such of the *Zborowski* family (his inveterate enemies) as fell into his hands, that they could not but equally admire his valour, magnanimity, and policy. Great numbers immediately swore allegiance to *Sigismund*, and believed that justice must be on that side which was graced with every other virtue. *Cracow* blazed with rejoicings, and the whole kingdom was a scene of tumultuous mirth, except the few places possessed by *Zborowski*, who never abandoned the hope of placing the unfortunate archduke on the throne, and thereby recovering his own losses, and procuring a revocation of the sentence of banishment passed upon him through the interest of his rival^m.

WITH respect to the imperial court, every face was covered with sadness, shame, and confusion. They considered the defeat and captivity of *Maximilian* as a dishonour to the whole empire. The princes talked of taking up arms for his release, and placing him by mere force on the *Polish* throne; but neither the disposition of the emperor, nor the conjuncture were favourable to so vigorous a measure. *Rodolphus* was timid, weak, and pusillanimous, equally afraid of the threatened invasion of the *Turks* on the one hand, and the united efforts of *Poland* and *Sweden* to support *Sigismund* on the other. He preferred pacific means, and accordingly solicited the pontiff's mediation, who, in compliance with his request, sent the political cardinal *Aldobrandini* to *Poland*, to accommodate matters, and endeavour to procure the archduke's release. The court of *Vienna* was extremely desirous that *Maximilian* might be allowed to preserve the regal title, though he should renounce all claim to the crown of *Poland*. This point was particularly recommended to the artful prelate, and he exerted his utmost address in bringing it to effect, though to no purpose. *Sigismund* indeed displayed great dignity and moderation upon this occasion: he was advised by his friends to demand a large pecuniary ransom for the archduke; and the example of *Charles V.* with respect to the *French* king was set before him. The cardinal even offered a considerable sum, provided *Maximilian* might be permitted to bear the title of royalty; but *Sigismund* replied with true magnanimity—"The crown of *Poland* I will not divide; it shall either be the archduke's or mine; but as for a ransom, I do not imagine that any authority is sufficient excuse for a mean action. *Charles V.* released *Francis* for a sum of money, and thereby brought disgrace on his imperial diadem; for my own part, I am satisfied with the advantages which Providence hath given me over my competitor, and shall not add insult to misfortune. I shall give *Maximilian* his liberty, and not oblige him to buy it." He imposed no other conditions than that he should renounce his claim to the crown of *Poland*, promise never to resume it upon any pretence during his reign; that he should lay aside the title and arms of *Poland*, restore certain territories to count *Cepus*, which had been violently seized, and use his utmost influence to maintain all the treaties between *Poland*, and the court of *Vienna* and the princes of the house of *Austria*. *Maximilian* was on the point of accepting the conditions, when some flattering prospects laid before him by *Zborowski* made him alter his sentiments; but he soon grew tired of confinement, found all his hopes were delusive, and signed the articles; upon which he was immediately released. The agreement was ratified by the emperor, and *Maximilian* was conducted under a *Polish* guard to the frontiers of the empire, where he soon discovered his inclinations to break through all his engagements, and shewed that malevolence which little minds ever express towards those who excel them. He detested *Sigismund* for the obligations which he owed him, and could hardly refrain from ordering violent hands to be laid on the guard; but the emperor paid a more religious regard to his faith, and the duties of religion and gratitude. He even apologized for his brother's conduct, which he ascribed to his disappointment and the rage of an unsuccessful ambition: he obliged *Maximilian* to make the renunciation he promised, and to fulfil every part of the treaty which the emperor and *Germanic* body had not only ratified but guaranteed^o.

S I G I S M U N D III. surnamed D E V A S A.

Sigismund
III.
His policy.
A. D. 1590.

SIGISMUND, surnamed *de Vasa*, was now firmly established on the throne, as far as regarded competitors, though it was plain that a vacancy in the throne of *Sweden* would again disturb the public tranquillity. On his accession he had been bound down to such restrictions, by the diets of each kingdom, as rendered it next to impossible for him to retain both crowns. It was this prince's maxim however not to anticipate evil: he now resolved to govern *Poland* in the same manner as if he had a certainty of always wearing the diadem of this kingdom. Accordingly he began his administration with recommending

^m FONTAINES, lib. v. HARTNOCH, lib. i. cap. ii. tom. ix.

ⁿ Id. ibid. CONNOR, tom. i. let. iii.

^o BARRE,

- a it to the diet to deliberate on effectual means for stemming the torrent of corruption which had over-run the kingdom, and which had like to be attended with such fatal consequences at the last election; for to the corruption of the members he ascribed those civil divisions which had almost terminated in the destruction of liberty. While the nation was divided against itself, some prince would one day, he said, find his way to the throne by the sword, and cut down all those barriers which they had for so many years been erecting in defence of their privileges. A speech to this purpose from the throne could not but inspire the people with a favourable opinion of the royal justice, and intention to promote the good of his subjects: it produced that effect, and sunk deep in the heart of the *Poles*, who assured his majesty, that they hoped the present age would never be exposed to the
- b consequence of another election; yet out of respect to his majesty's recommendation, they would do all that lay in their power to destroy that venal spirit which too generally prevailed among all orders in the republic. At this diet it was likewise ordained, that the part of *Livonia* belonging to *Poland*, should be governed successively by a *Polish* and *Lithuanian* palatine; and means were thought of for restraining the unbounded licences, and barbarous incursions of the *Cossacks* into *Turkey* and *Tartary*, which it was apprehended might involve the republic in a war with the *Porte*; but these deliberations were now too late. The *Tartars*, to the number of seventy thousand men, had crossed the *Boristhenes*, with a view of retaliating on the *Cossacks*, who had surprised certain vessels upon the coasts of the *Black Sea*, and plundered *Coslovnia*. They were encamped between the lake *Amadoka* and *Leopold* in *Prussia*, from whence they sallied out in large detachments, and laid waste all the adjacent country. It was necessary to give an immediate check to such ruinous irruptions, and for this purpose *Zamoski*, the hero of the state, was sent against them with an army, to prevent their penetrating into *Poland*. A *Turkish* army encamped in *Walachia* watched the success of the *Tartar* irruption, determining to fall upon *Caminice* if an opportunity offered, by the *Tartars* gaining any considerable advantage. *Zamoski*, penetrated into their design, and therefore strongly fortified this bulwark of *Poland* against the *Othoman* power; after which he put himself at the head of the *Cossacks*, and went in pursuit of the *Tartarian* army, though double the number of his own forces. The *Cossacks* had sustained two defeats before his arrival; however, they were now animated by
- d the presence of a general who had always been victorious, and fired not only with a desire of wiping off the late disgraces, but of signaling themselves under the eye of so excellent a judge of valour and conduct. Their ardour drew them into a snare, in despite of the remonstrances of *Zamoski*, who had foreseen all the consequences of their blind impetuosity; but they extricated themselves by their courage, and the valour and capacity of the *Polish* general. The cham had joined the *Tartars* with a reinforcement, which augmented that army to an hundred thousand men; but even with this prodigious force the cham would not venture to give battle in the open plain to *Zamoski*. Instead of this he drew on the *Cossacks* by skirmishes into a defile, which he had surrounded with a triple line of his troops. The *Pole* used his utmost influence with the *Cossacks* to check their
- e ardour; but they pushed on, and were soon hedged in on every side by an almost impenetrable rampart of armed *Tartars*. In this situation they offered to capitulate; but the cham would listen to no other terms than their surrendering at discretion, which drove them to despair, and produced the resolution of selling their liberty at the highest price. They encouraged each other never to surrender, but to fight it out to the last drop of blood; they began a furious attack, and soon made a terrible carnage. The cham saw his son killed before his face, and was himself dangerously wounded. His people lay slaughtered in heaps, yet he could not think of yielding the victory to a handful of men, who fought under the greatest disadvantages. This obstinacy tended only to the destruction of his people; after the field was intirely covered over with blood, the soldiers at last
- f deserted their prince, who must infallibly have fallen into the hands of the *Cossacks*, but for the extraordinary efforts of a few of his faithful attendants. The scattered remains had taken shelter in an adjacent wood, from whence they were soon forced by famine, and barbarously massacred by the *Cossacks* as they appeared. In a word, of this whole formidable army, only the cham and a few of his officers reached their own country; all the rest were either slain in the field, butchered after the battle, or starved to death in their retreats and lurking places. So complete a victory encouraged the *Cossacks* to make an irruption into *Tartary*, from which all the authority of *Zamoski* could not dissuade them. Regardless of his threats and admonitions they pushed on, destroyed every thing with fire and sword, and had near produced a rupture between the republic and the *Porte*, too
- g wide, to admit of any remedy^p.

War with the
Tartars, who
are repeatedly
defeated.

^p HARTNOCH, lib. i. cap. ii. FONTAINES, cap. v.

A. D. 1593. NOT contented with the ravages committed during the winter, the *Cossacks* began another expedition early in the spring, and plundered several *Turkish* vessels, who, relying upon the faith of treaties, were refreshing on the coast of the *Black Sea*. Next they entered *Chersonesus*, and with their success rose in their barbarity. Neither age nor sex was spared; they first pillaged, and then massacred the inhabitants. Such enormities at last kindled the wrath of *Amurath* the *Turkish* emperor: he attributed the whole to the *Polish* republic, which he imagined might have checked the incursions of the *Cossacks*. He therefore pointed his vengeance against *Poland*, directed the *Tartars* to make an irruption into that kingdom, and issued orders to his bashaws to raise forces, and second the *Tartarian* irruption with a powerful army. The *Tartars* cheerfully obeyed an order so agreeable to their own inclinations: they thirsted for revenge, entered the *Polish* frontier, and marked their way with blood and horror. Even the *Cossacks* themselves were outdone in barbarity. Loaded with spoils they were returning to their own country, when they were surprised by the *Cossacks*, defeated, dispersed, and totally ruined. *Zamowski* too was advancing to oppose the *Turkish* army, now intimidated by the fate of the *Tartars*: he was too prudent however wantonly to bring on a war with the *Ottoman* empire, by justifying the conduct of a set of free-booters, who paid no regard to treaties, or the law of nations. On his approaching the *Turkish* camp, he sent a trumpet to the bashaw, acquainting him that the republic intended nothing more than to defend her own territories, and repulse any attacks upon her dominions. He likewise desired to know in what manner he was to regard so powerful an army as was then encamped on the frontiers of *Walachia*, and gave the *Turkish* general to understand, that an explicit declaration was absolutely necessary to prevent bloodshed. To this message the bashaw replied, that he would offer no hostilities, provided the *Cossacks* were punished for their unprovoked ravages. This brought on a negotiation, which terminated in a treaty and entire reconciliation, under the auspices of the *English* ambassador.

Peace with the
Turks.

He succeeds to
the crown of
Sweden.

It was about this time that *Sigismund* had a conference with his father the king of *Sweden* at *Revel*, where he spent a month, and withstood all the solicitations of his parent to abdicate the crown of *Poland*, from an apprehension it might occasion the loss of the crown of *Sweden*. We have already seen the event of this interview; shortly after which *John* died, and thereby opened the way for *Sigismund* to ascend his throne. It was impossible for the *Polish* diet to refuse the king leave to visit *Sweden* upon so important an occasion; yet they gave their consent with reluctance, and, remembering the conduct of *Henry de Valois*, loaded the monarch with a variety of restrictions, and exacted the most solemn oaths and protestations that he would soon return, and transact nothing during his residence in *Sweden* to the prejudice of the republic. *Sigismund* kept his word: he even expressed a partiality towards *Poland*, and by this means incurred the resentment and jealousy of the *Swedes*. His religious principles rendered him more attached to the *Poles*, and the unseasonable prejudices in this way which he had displayed, still widened the breach between him and the *Swedish* nation. Superstition had so far blinded his understanding, that he insisted on being crowned by *Malaspina*, the pope's legate, contrary to the constitution of the kingdom, and was opposed by the primate, the senate, and particularly by his uncle duke *Charles*, who had himself a design upon the crown. The whole kingdom regarding it as a design to introduce popery, took the alarm, and *Sigismund* was forced to rest satisfied with being crowned by a Protestant bishop, and swearing to all the ordinances made in favour of *Lutheranism*, and to the perpetual exclusion of the Catholic religion. He took an oath never to attempt any alterations in the established religion, never to deviate from the ordinances passed by his grandfather, in conjunction with the synod and diet, to adhere religiously to the decrees of the last synod held at *Upsal*, in favour of the confession of *Augsburg*: he was, in a word, tied up by the strongest engagements from indulging in his religious tenets at the expence of the *Swedish* nation, and obliged even to have recourse to the solicitations of the *Polish* lords who attended him, for leave to keep a priest and confessor, and the celebration of mass at his court. Such beginnings boded no great emolument either to *Sigismund* or his *Swedish* subjects, from the new government. His politic ambitious uncle converted every circumstance to his own purposes, and, under the insidious air of a patriot and strenuous defender of the constitution of the church and state, was paving the way for his own elevation.

Duke Charles
forms designs
on the crown
of Sweden.

SIGISMUND's return to *Poland* afforded *Charles* the fairest opportunity for undermining his nephew, and rendering him odious to his *Swedish* subjects, as a prince attached to *Poland*, and bigotted in the doctrines of the church of *Rome*. Before the king's departure he appointed the duke regent of the kingdom, by the advice of the senate: and though he was sensible of the consequences, he could not avoid the measure without anticipating the evils he was desirous of avoiding, by coming to an open rupture with the senate and his uncle. What he foresaw soon happened; *Charles* committed divers violent actions,

a actions, under pretence of defending the *Lutheran* establishment against the encroachments of the *Roman Catholics*. As if the king had already broke through all his engagements, he shewed an inclination to excite a general disaffection in the kingdom; cavilled at his nephew's residence in *Poland*, and attributed it to his superior love for that people; though it was nothing more than the execution of those engagements into which he entered at his coronation. It would be repeating what we have already related from the *Swedish* writers, to enlarge upon the particulars of this prince's conduct; sufficient it is, that the *Polish* writers deny the excesses attributed by the *Swedes* to *Sigismund*, and throw the whole blame upon the ambition of his uncle. In both accounts there is probably some truth. *Sigismund's* insisting upon being crowned by the pope's nuncio was sufficient to render the *Swedes* suspicious of his conduct; and the duke's strenuous defence of the *Augsburg* confession was enough to expose him to the resentment of his nephew and the *Polish* nation. It was indeed next to impossible that two kingdoms, divided in interest, religion, and manners, who had of late years been engaged in constant war about certain territories claimed by each, could remain in harmony under the same monarch. These particulars, without the assistance of the duke to blow up the sparks of contention, were foundation enough for the revolution which afterwards happened. As it would be impossible to reconcile the different relations of the historians of each country, we shall here follow the accounts of the *Polish* writers, as we formerly did those of *Sweden* in the history of that kingdom.

b THE first step taken by the duke, which drew forth remonstrances from *Sigismund*, was his procuring from the senate an establishment of the authority and dignity of regent, independent of the king's appointment. By this he intimated his intention of governing *Sweden* without the participation of *Sigismund*, who was regarded only as a nominal sovereign. He next, in direct contradiction to the king's orders, assembled a diet, from which he was indulged with a commission to take every measure which he thought necessary for the security of the *Swedish* constitution. Here likewise several decrees were passed, contrary to the treaty of union with *Poland*, and those conditions upon which both nations allowed *Sigismund* to wear the double diadem; all those were besides declared traitors, who did not, in the space of six months, subscribe to the declarations of the diet and regent. He turned out the magistrates appointed by the king, and filled all public posts and offices with his own creatures. Several of the senators who espoused *Sigismund* were removed, others were attainted, and *Charles*, under the name of regent, exercised all the prerogatives of despotic sovereignty. *Eric Sparre*, chancellor of *Sweden*, was removed from the government of the province assigned him by the king; and the *Finlanders*, refusing to acknowledge the regent's authority independent of the king, *Charles* entered their country in a hostile manner, ravaged the towns and villages, and threw the principal nobility into loathsome prisons, where several perished of cold and hunger.

Relation of the
Polish historians.

c SUCH gross enormities, and violations of the royal prerogative, called for the presence of the monarch. Accordingly *Sigismund* assembled the diet, reported the state of affairs in *Sweden*, and obtained their consent to pass into that kingdom, upon his fixing his return to the feast of *St. Bartholomew* the succeeding year, or about that season. Before his departure however from *Poland*, the duke gained possession of *Stockholm*, and some other considerable places, having, as the *Polish* writers alledge, bid defiance to the king, and broke out into open rebellion. They assign no cause, besides his own ambition; but the reader will find, on perusing our account of *Sweden*, that *Sigismund* had made divers infractions on the constitution of that kingdom. Be this as it may, the king determined to punish the duke's insolence; and with that view embarked at *Dantzick* with five thousand men, intending to effect a landing in the neighbourhood of *Calmar*; but contrary winds, his own dilatoriness, and a variety of accidents, rendered his voyage so tedious, that *Charles* had assembled a numerous army before his arrival. At last he was obliged to make land near *Stekeburgh*, where, instead of marching directly to the capital, he loitered several days in fruitless conferences with his sister. Reason, indeed, dictated that *Sigismund* should have marched by land to *Sweden* by the route of *Finland*, a province strongly attached to his person; but there seemed to be a fatality in all his measures, most of which miscarried, though sagely projected, and proved odious, notwithstanding they were well intended. It was certainly unpopular to enter *Sweden* at the head of foreign troops; but *Sigismund* believed they were necessary to the safety of his person. It was equally impolitic to use force, when gentle means might have produced an accommodation; but this may also be excused by alledging, that the royal honour was engaged to punish the ambitious treacherous carriage of the regent. Certain it is, that, in all disputes of this nature, resentment carries men into excesses beyond their original design. One step leads on to another, and the parties frequently end in actions which they would condemn and abhor before the blood was heated, and the pas-

A. D. 1598.

Sigismund returns to Sweden.

fions were enflamed. That this was really the case, both with *Sigismund* and *Charles*, appears from the posterior reflections of the former, and the conduct of the latter, on the approach of the two armies on the plains of *Lincoping*. Here he dispatched certain lords to the king with proposals for an agreement; but *Sigismund* for a long time refused giving them audience, and behaved with great haughtiness. Besides, an accident happened in the mean time, which widened the breach, and brought matters to extremities. At the very time the duke's ambassadors were negotiating a peace with *Sigismund*, the *Hungarian* troops in the royal service fell suddenly upon the *Swedes* with so much fury, that all the duke's forces must have been defeated and slaughtered, had not the king in person gone into the field, and checked their impetuosity by loud menaces; though all his authority could not prevent their savagely mangling the dead bodies which overspread the plain. Nothing could be more unjust than attributing this action to *Sigismund*; yet certain it is, that it strangely alienated the minds of the *Swedes* from him, and disgusted the sincerest of his friends in that nation, who considered him as guilty, because he did not punish the perpetrators, without reflecting on his ticklish situation, and the necessity he was under of preserving the affection of his troops. Several lords deserted his interest, and went over to the duke: in a word, his influence in *Sweden* was quite lost; he retired to *Poland*, and duke *Charles* was raised to the throne, in the manner we have already related in the History of *Sweden*.

*Sigismund is
deposed.*

Feb. 6.

*The Swedes
defeated in
Livonia.*

A. D. 1605.

SIGISMUND, however, did not tamely resign his crown: a war ensued between *Poland* and *Sweden*; *Stockholm* and *Calmar*, which, in despite of the duke's garrisons, had declared for *Sigismund*, were conquered by *Charles*, who held a diet, and prescribed a day for the king's appearance in *Sweden*, to answer to the charge of high crimes and misdemeanors drawn up against him; on failure of which he was to be formally deposed. The war was carried into *Livonia*; and all that province, except a few fortresses, yielded to the superiority of the *Swedish* arms. At last *Zamoski*, the most renowned general of the republic, was sent with an army to stem the torrent of disgrace; and he soon turned the scale of fortune, retaking, with the utmost rapidity, all the *Swedish* conquests: after which, covered with glory, he returned to *Poland*, leaving the army under the conduct of the spirited and experienced *Chotkiewitz*. The new general approved himself a worthy successor of the famous *Zamoski*: the same tide of prosperity attended his arms, and he seemed to possess every quality which natural talents, tutored under so great a master in the art of war, as *Zamoski*, could impart. The *Swedes* increased their army in *Livonia* with twelve thousand men, and laid siege to *Riga*, the harbour of which they blocked up with a numerous fleet. The besiegers were to have been joined by a *Swedish* corps of four thousand men from *Revel*. *Lundersen*, the commanding officer, begun his march; but the *Polish* general, having intelligence of his motions, way-laid and defeated him with abundance of slaughter, scarce a single man being left to join the enemy before *Riga*. *Chotkiewitz* next seized upon certain eminences in the neighbourhood of the *Swedish* camp. Here he possessed every advantage of being secure, of harassing the enemy with impunity, and overlooking all their operations. The *Swedes* made frequent attempts to dislodge him; but in vain. They made equally fruitless efforts to draw him into a general engagement: *Charles* encamped on an eminence directly opposite to the *Poles*, and separated from their camp only by a spacious valley. The opportunity, he imagined, would prove too strong a temptation for the *Polish* nobility, who sometimes force their general to battle, contrary to his inclinations, and to prudence. *Chotkiewitz*, however, had too much authority, and the *Poles* were made sensible of the rectitude of the measures he was pursuing. He foresaw that the irksome situation in which he kept the enemy, would at last oblige them either to raise the siege, or come to an engagement upon unequal terms. With this view he kept firm in his post, and the event fell out as he had conjectured. *Charles*, fretted with continual alarms, grew impatient of a battle, from which he expected relief, as the superiority of the *Swedes* would necessarily, he imagined, secure victory. He descended to the plain, and began an attack upon the outpost of the enemy; which being perceived by *Chotkiewitz*, he determined to seize the opportunity, and compensate the inequality of his numbers by the advantages of ground and situation. Accordingly he poured down like a torrent from the hills, and pointed his whole force against the center of the enemy, which he broke after an obstinate conflict. *Charles* rallied his troops, and detached the cavalry in the wings to attack the *Poles* in flank, and surround them, if possible; but the motion was foreseen and anticipated by prince *Sapieha*, who faced about with a strong corps, received the *Swedes* with vigour, and at last obliged them to retire in confusion. Yet these successes could not oblige victory to declare for the *Poles*: the enemy's numbers and courage prolonged the battle: they rallied repeatedly and made prodigious efforts; but were always repulsed by the gallantry and conduct of *Chotkiewitz*. Prodigious of valour were performed on both sides; but the *Swedes* were in the end defeated, and pursued with terrible slaughter. Eight thousand men perished in the field, great numbers lost their lives in the morasses, and

a and near two thousand of the fugitives were massacred by the peasants and parties of the garrison of *Riga*. In a word, the siege was raised, the army of the besiegers ruined, and *Livonia* remained the reward of victory to the conquerors (H).

SIGISMUND, being now at rest on the side of *Livonia* and *Finland*, by the uninterrupted flow of success which attended the *Polish* arms, applied his attention to the affairs of the *Russian* empire; which he hoped to turn to his own advantage. He saw it would be vain to prosecute the war against *Sweden*, with a view of dethroning *Charles*, who was now firmly established. Attacks on the frontier provinces could never work this effect; and to invade *Sweden*, or attack it in its vital parts without a fleet, or a more powerful army than the republic could maintain in her present condition, was impossible. He therefore prudently resolved to suffer the *Swedes* to be the aggressors, and endeavoured to deduce something to the interest of *Poland* from the civil divisions which tore *Russia*, the most formidable enemy of the republic, in pieces. The late czar *Fædor* had raised *Boris*, his brother-in-law, to the highest offices of the state. He was artful, insinuating, perfidious, and ambitious: his unmerited promotion served only to excite *Boris* to attempt greater matters, and grasp at sovereignty. Obligations never impressed him with a sense of gratitude: he saw *Fædor* without issue, the crown ready to devolve on prince *Demetrius*, the czar's younger brother; and he ventured, even in the life-time of his sovereign and benefactor, to stain his hands with the blood of the royal family, and pave the way to his own elevation by the murder of *Demetrius*. His cunning found means to conceal this base action from the czar. Some of the court, indeed, entertained suspicions; but the high credit of *Boris*, supported by the favour of the prince, and the interest of his sister, wife to the czar, locked up their tongues, and prevented their communicating to the czar suspicions not grounded on circumstantial evidence, or the strongest presumptions. Besides, the artful *Boris* had contrived to render himself equally the minion of the sovereign and the darling of the people. He diminished the taxes, redressed private grievances, listened to the complaints of the cities, and pursued every other measure which could render him popular. In 1598 the czar died, leaving the administration in the hands of his wife. The people offered to take the oaths of allegiance to the empress; but that princess, either influenced by her brother, or yielding to an excess of grief for the death of her husband, declined the honour proposed, renounced the world, and retired to a monastery. This paved the way for the elevation of *Boris*: he was a favourite; and the *Russians* demanded with one voice that he might be raised to the honours due to his sister, and now the just reward of his own merit. Nothing could be more politic than the conduct of *Boris* on this occasion: he pretended an unwillingness to accept so weighty a charge, and enflamed the ardour of the people by his scruples, which they construed into a proof of his superior merit and modesty. At last he yielded to their intreaties; but only on express condition, that the boiars, or lords, would divide with him the cares of so painful an employment. Soon after an offer was made of the crown, to avoid which he retired to the same convent where his sister had taken up her residence; and suffered himself to be supplicated for several days, before he yielded to his own inclinations; having at last secured the supreme authority, and wielded the sceptre with more power than any of his predecessors, because his empire was founded in the hearts of his people. Whether it was that he abused his power, or that some of the nobility envied his prosperity, history does not clearly specify: certain it is, that a stranger appeared by the name of *Demetrius*, called himself the brother of the late czar, alledged he had escaped from the snares laid by *Boris*, and now demanded the throne of his ancestors. The plausibility of this story, the resemblance of his person to prince *Demetrius*, and a thousand other circumstances conspired to give credit to the tale. The pope, from views of policy, seconded his design; and engaged the king of *Poland* in his interest. He came to *Sandomir*, made secret promises of marriage to the daughter of the palatine, and was presented by that nobleman to *Sigismund*, who was persuaded, from the dignity of his manner, that he must have been born a prince. The truth was, *Sigismund* willingly believed what he perceived might turn out to his interest. He suffered the impostor to raise ten thousand men in *Poland*, furnished him with arms and money, persuaded the *Cossacks* to take part in his quarrel, and enabled him to pass the *Boristhenes*, and surprise *Zerniga*.*

Revolutions in Russia, in which Sigismund takes part.

* BIZARDIERE, p. 76. HARTNOCH, lib. i. de Russ.

* Id. ibid. BIZARD, p. 84. LE COMTE. Révol.

(H) The *Swedish* writers, besides calling the *Polish* general *Codekewitz*, differ in numberless other particulars from the account we have given above. According to them the *Swedish* monarch, after a fatiguing march, attacked the enemy, without refreshing his

troops; however, they acknowledge that he was entirely defeated; and that he must infallibly have fallen into the hands of the *Poles*, but for the fleetness of a horse furnished to him by one of his officers (1).

(1) *Puff. tom. vi. p. 193.*

A. D. 1606.

THE assistance afforded to *Demetrius* produced expostulations from the court of *Moscow*: *Boris* remonstrated, supplicated, and menaced: he attempted the senators by bribes, and endeavoured to move *Sigismund* by threatening him with the vengeance of the whole empire of *Russia*; but the king was resolute in his measures, as he foresaw that a considerable party would declare for *Demetrius* in the very heart of the *Russian* dominions. *Boris* therefore raised an army, and marched against his rival with an hundred thousand men; while the palatine of *Sandomir*, who commanded the *Poles*, sought the opportunity of coming to an engagement, on the supposition that most of the czar's forces would desert their prince, and join *Demetrius*. Full of this hope, he met the enemy, gave them battle, and was defeated, *Demetrius* escaping with difficulty into a castle, where, with a handful of men, he defended himself gallantly, extricated himself from his distressed circumstances, soon appeared at the head of a fresh army, came a second time to action with greatly inferior forces, and by dint of conduct and valour obtained a complete victory over the *Russians*. After this success he over-run divers provinces, gained possession of several cities and fortresses, assembled a train of artillery, composed of one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, augmented his army almost to an equality with that of the enemy, and at last obliged *Boris* to have recourse to the thunders of the church, and the still baser weapons of assassination. The patriarch published a decree, whereby he excommunicated all the followers of *Demetrius*, and *Boris* employed emissaries to murder his rival. The assassins were discovered, seized and pardoned by the clemency of *Demetrius*; who at the same time admonished the patriarch to confine himself to the care of his flock, and relinquish politics, which did not by any means belong to his function. It was soon after this that he sent a spirited remonstrance to *Boris*, reproaching him with the perfidious measures by which he usurped the imperial throne; which is said to have operated so powerfully on the violent temper of that prince, that, in the transport of passion, he was seized with an apoplexy, of which he suddenly died.

THIS event did not, however, produce the consequences which *Demetrius* might reasonably expect. He was now supported by a powerful interest among the *Russians*, and a numerous *Polish* army; yet the son of *Boris* was raised to the supreme dignity by the nobility of the empire, and the same measures pursued for crushing the pretended *Demetrius*; but they proved unfortunate: the young prince was hurled headlong from the throne, and *Demetrius* placed in his room, only to shew the power and caprice of fortune. He had by dint of merit raised himself to the imperial diadem: a victory obtained over the *Russian* army, by the *Polish* general *Zapolski*, had opened the way to the capital, which *Demetrius* entered in triumph; the ceremony of his coronation was solemnly performed; he was backed by an army of *Poles*, and thought himself fixed in the affections of the *Russians*: but the partiality which gratitude induced him to exert in favour of the former, gave birth to a new revolution, and effected the fall of this prosperous impostor; for such he is really considered by the most authentic historians. He had imprudently attained seventy lords attached to the late czar, and distributed their estates among the *Polish* nobility, who had been instrumental in his elevation. So open a declaration in favour of a people whom the *Russians* always regarded as inveterate enemies, could not fail of exciting murmurings; which served rather to increase the insolence of the *Poles*, who saw themselves patronized by the monarch. They boasted of having given a sovereign to *Muscovy*, and very imprudently arrogated to themselves the glory of having conquered this vast empire. In fact, the consequences of *Zapolski's* victory was little less than a conquest; and what particularly flattered the pride of the *Poles*, was its being obtained with very unequal forces, by dint of superior conduct and valour. With this they occasionally upbraided the *Russians*, and assisted to blow up the sparks of sedition, and spread the discontents, which already became too general. *Basilius Suski*, or *Swiski*, a nobleman descended from the ancient czars, was however the only person, who ventured to declare his sentiments. *Swiski* was bold and impetuous: he not only attacked the czar's government, but declaimed against him in public as an impostor and usurper. He remonstrated, with the utmost vehemence and spirit, against the *Poles*, and encouraged the people to rise in arms, and drive both them and the false *Demetrius* out of the kingdom: but perceiving that his invectives produced no effect, and that the people wanted courage to pursue the dictates of their resentment, he entered upon secret intrigues, endeavoured to form a conspiracy against the person of *Demetrius*, was discovered, carried prisoner before the czar, and pardoned by an act of clemency which proved fatal to the generous *Demetrius*.

SWISKI, tho' he admired the character of the sovereign, could not brook the servitude in which the nation was kept by a set of proud foreigners, who engrossed all the lucrative and honourable employments, fleeced the *Muscovites* at pleasure, and basked alone in the radiance of the imperial power, to support which they contributed not the smallest proportion. He took the opportunity, when the czar was busied in solemnizing his nuptials with

a with the daughter of the palatine of *Sandomir*, sent with great magnificence from *Poland*, to set on foot new intrigues. He represented, in the most pathetic terms, that the knot of union between the czar and the *Poles* would be drawn harder by this alliance, and of consequence the chains of the *Russians* would become still more galling. He inveighed with such bitterness against this nation, and represented the state of *Russia* in so deplorable a situation; that pity, pride, and the antient animosity, began to exert themselves; the first effects of which were seen at a public entertainment, where the *Polish* ambassador insisted upon a seat at the czar's table, contrary to the established custom of the country. The *Russian* nobility resented the insolence, *Swiski* fomented the quarrel, and the parties were hardly restrained from coming to blows in the czar's presence¹.

b THIS was the signal to a general revolt. A few days after *Swiski*, at the head of the conspirators, appeared in arms: he was joined by great numbers of the nobility, and the people followed the example of the *boyards*. The *Poles* were but few in number, and *Demetrius* had no guards besides the disaffected *Russians*, having some time before dismissed the *Germans* in his pay. There was nothing to oppose to the general tumult, and he saw his favourite *Poles* massacred, without having the power of affording them protection. The *Russians* attacked that quarter of the city assigned for their residence, and put all to the sword without distinction. They next advanced to the palace, and obliged *Demetrius* to leap over the window with his sword in his hand. The violence of the fall stunned him; he was taken prisoner, brought before *Swiski*, and immediately put to death (I).

c His body was exposed for several days, and treated by the populace with the utmost indignity. Near two thousand *Poles* perished in cold blood; and a few only of the number retained by *Demetrius*, at his court, ever returned to *Poland*. The czarina, wife of *Demetrius*, and daughter of the palatine of *Sandomir*, was thrown down from the pinnacle of good fortune, and doomed to languish in a loathsome dungeon: and as soon as the fury of this barbarous people was satiated, they proceeded to the election of a new sovereign; and the choice fell upon *Swiski*, the hero who had so boldly vindicated the rights of his country, and broke the chains of servitude.

THOUGH this prince had taken the utmost pains to publish the particulars of the birth and death of the late *Demetrius*, yet he was scarce seated upon the throne before another impostor appeared, maintaining that he was the very *Demetrius* supposed to have been slain; and affirming, that he had escaped with a small party of his guards, who remained attached to his person. Nothing could be more impudent than this imposture, as crowds of the people had been witnesses to the death of the prince whom he personated; yet the tale obtained some degree of credit. The *Poles*, for political reasons, countenanced the imposture; and the *Cossacks* openly espoused the false *Demetrius*, because they foresaw that the struggle for the imperial diadem would furnish manifold opportunities of plundering with impunity. *Demetrius* was acknowledged by the widow of the late prince as her identical husband, and some progress was made in the design of seating him in the throne; but fortune did not prove so propitious as it had done to his predecessor.

e WHILE *Russia* was labouring with the throws of civil faction, *Sigismund* entered the frontiers of the empire at the head of a numerous army, and made rapid conquests. His pretext was the revenging the late horrible massacre of his subjects, and supporting the legitimate prince; but his real aim was the extension of his own dominions, and the conquest of all *Russia*. A fairer opportunity could not have offered: *Sigismund* advanced against *Smolensko*, a strong city formerly belonging to *Poland*, after having defeated an army of thirty thousand *Russians*. By the way a detachment from the main army reduced *Zareva*; and now, all obstructions being removed, the city was invested, and the siege pushed with the utmost ardour. For the space of two years the *Russian* garrison defended themselves valiantly, and frequent battles were fought under the walls. Several armies f had been sent to force the *Polish* works, and raise the siege; but they were always repulsed, and above two hundred thousand *Russians* perished by the sword of the conqueror. At last the brave garrison, spent with sickness, fatigue, and famine, surrendered at discretion: whole provinces followed their example; and the *Poles* were directing their march to the capital, when, to avoid the disgrace of being conquered, the *Russians* deposed *Swiski*, sent him prisoner to *Sigismund*, and raised to the imperial throne *Uladislaus*, prince of *Poland*².

Sigismund in person enters Russia, and places his son on the throne.
A. D. 1610.

¹ LA COMBE. Hist. des Revol. p. 61.

² FONTAINES, cap. v. CONNOR, tom. i. lib. iii.

(I) We refer the reader for the particulars of this extraordinary series of revolutions to our account of *Russia*, as we cannot in this place recite more than is absolutely inseparable from the *Polish* history. It may be necessary, however, to mention that *Demetrius* maintained his courage to the last; and, even when he was

expiring, supported the dignity of his rank, and the justice of his claim. Some writers indeed alledge, that the dowager czarina disowned him for her son, when she found he was no longer able to support her with royal splendour; but even this we cannot regard as a proof that he was an impostor (1).

(1) La Combe Revol. d'Empire de Russie, p. 57.

Uladislaus is
deposed.

A. D. 1618.

THE young prince had not taken possession of the throne when the whole *Russian* empire again revolted, notwithstanding the usual oath of allegiance had been taken to *Uladislaus*; and he could not possibly have given offence, as he had not yet assumed the reins of government. Some attribute this event to the terror they were under of becoming slaves to *Poland*: others ascribe it to the natural inconstancy of the people; while a few seem to think, with more reason, that the people were seduced by the address of *Miceslaus*, governor of *Moscow*, to elect the prince of *Poland*; a measure of which they presently afterwards repented, regarding it not only as an indignity to the whole empire, but the greatest injury to themselves, to become the voluntary subjects of a prince whom they ought to consider as a natural enemy. Whatever might be the motives, certain it is, that *Uladislaus* was no sooner elected than he was deposed. *Zachary Lippanow* raised an army, marched to *Moscow*, drove out the *Poles*, and reversed the election, raising *Michael Federowitz Romanow* to the imperial throne. Before this prince could establish himself in the sovereignty, the *Poles* regained possession of the capital, in which they were soon besieged by the new czar; and finding it incapable of defence, they evacuated it, after having laid an hundred thousand houses in ashes, and consumed immense riches. The *Poles* then, to the number of seven thousand, retired to the citadel, where they made so obstinate a resistance as would have foiled all the power of *Russia*, had they been seconded by *Sigismund*; but though his glory and interest dictated that he should succour this garrison, he was so chagrined with the disappointment of *Uladislaus*, that he suffered them to waste and languish under the pressure of a tedious siege, and at last to capitulate, after having suffered the last extremities, and been reduced to a third of the original number^w.

To the same inactivity on the side of *Poland* we may ascribe the resolution taken by the czar *Federowitz*, of regaining the provinces and cities conquered by the *Poles* during the late civil dissensions. With this view, having provided for the defence of *Moscow*, he advanced with a numerous army to *Smolensko*, defended only by a slight dispirited garrison. The first attack carried the city; the garrison was unable to withstand the fury of an assault made with such superior numbers, and every living soul was put to the sword without distinction of age or sex. Every thing yielded before the weight of this powerful empire, now unanimous in redeeming past errors, in revenging past insults, and the blood of above two hundred thousand *Muscovites*, which streamed in every quarter, and cried aloud for vengeance. All *Sigismund's* endeavours to retrieve his affairs proved fruitless; the critical moment escaped when he either might have subdued the divided *Russians* by his power, or united them in his interest by his policy; the same circumstances never again returned, and thus, after seeing himself in possession of the whole empire, and his son called to the throne by the voice of the people, he was glad to sit down satisfied that he had preserved the duchies of *Severia* and *Novogrod* of all his conquests, and these too purchased at the expence of a multitude of lives and immense treasures. In this manner ended a war which proved almost fatal to *Russia*, and had once raised *Poland* to the most powerful and formidable state in *Europe*. The indolence of *Sigismund* is blamed on all hands as the cause of the last revolution, though we must confess we do not conceive how it was possible for him to avoid the consequences of so general and sudden a change in the sentiments of the people, which seemed to be effected by means invisible and inscrutable to the human eye: besides, it is highly probable that his attention was necessarily diverted from the affairs of *Russia*, by the revolution which fell out in *Transylvania*, and threatened *Europe* with a dreadful storm on the side of the *Othoman* empire. It would be difficult otherwise to rescue the character of *Sigismund* from contradiction. He was allowed to be a wise and politic prince; he had for several years given the closest application to the revolutions in *Russia*, and narrowly watched every change; he had lavished great sums of money, and shed rivers of blood in pursuing the conquests of that country: it would be absurd therefore to ascribe to indolence his now dropping a scheme which he had so long and so eagerly prosecuted; let us rather impute it to the necessity of the times, and the alteration in circumstances, which required a change in his measures.

A. D. 1620.

A VARIETY of circumstances concurred to disturb the peace of all the countries bordering upon *Poland*; and in this situation it was not possible that *Sigismund* could sit a tame spectator. *Bethlem Gabor*, a nobleman of *Transylvania*, aspiring at the sovereignty of that country, defeated and deposed *Gabriel Batori*, and made himself master of the principality. The unsettled situation of *Bobemia* furnished him with the means of extending his conquests. *Gabor* had ambition, and he resolved to gratify it at the expence of *Hungary*, which kingdom he attacked with great vigour, and reduced several important towns and fortresses. At last he seized upon *Presburg* the capital, and assumed the title of prince of *Hungary*. The *Bobemians* applied for his assistance against the emperor, and *Gabor*, sure of being

^w BIZARDIERE, p. 86. LA COMB. ibid.

a supported by the *Ottoman* court, promised all they desired. The *Poles* on the other hand, dreading the power of the usurper *Gabor*, and compassionating the situation of *Batori*, a descendant of the family of their beloved monarch, took part with the emperor. *Sigismund* detached a body of *Poles* and *Cossacks* to join the Imperialists in *Bohemia*, and by their assistance *Frederic*, elector-palatine, chosen king of *Bohemia*, was driven out of that country *.

THIS was only the prelude to a bloody war. Hitherto the *Turks* had remained neutral; now they resented the part which *Poland* took in the affairs of provinces, over which the sultan claimed a sovereignty. *Transylvania* had repeatedly passed from the hands of the Imperialists to those of the infidels; at this juncture *Gabor* was protected by the Grand Seignior, and the interposition of the *Poles* was deemed an infraction of the treaty subsisting between the *Porte* and king *Sigismund*. The intrigues of *Gabor* likewise accelerated the rupture; for this prince accused *Gratiani*, vaivode of *Moldavia*, of adhering to the *Poles*, though he was protected by the sultan. In consequence, a *Turkish* army was ordered to pass into that province, and seize upon the person of the vaivode. The honour of *Sigismund* was interested in the defence of this ally, on the brink of falling a sacrifice to his attachment to *Poland*. Accordingly *Zolkiewiski*, general of the crown, was detached with eight thousand *Poles*, and a body of *Cossacks* to his assistance. The vaivode promised to join him with fourteen thousand *Moldavians*; but the sudden irruption of the *Turks* had disconcerted his measures, and obliged him to seek shelter in the *Polish* army, with no more than six hundred followers. In this situation the *Polish* general was forced to place his whole confidence in his own abilities and the valour of his troops. His intire force did not exceed twenty thousand men, most of these were irregular *Cossacks*, upon whom he could have no dependence, because they embraced every opportunity of going in quest of plunder. The *Turkish* army amounted to seventy thousand men, among whom was a large body of janissaries, the flower of the whole *Ottoman* empire. *Zolkiewiski* however perceiving the impossibility of retreating with honour, formed the brave resolution either of conquering this vast multitude, or of perishing in the attempt. He omitted nothing that prudence could dictate to support valour: he seized upon the most advantageous posts, and by his address and superior skill in chusing his ground and encampments, drew the *Turks* into a situation where they could not possibly put forth their whole strength. Having gained this point he harrassed their out-parties, cut off their convoys, and reduced them to the necessity of attacking him in a situation almost impregnable, to avoid perishing by famine. Never was any action brought on with more conduct, or maintained with greater valour: for a whole day he sustained the most furious attacks from the janissaries in front, and the *Tartars*, who had found means to penetrate the woods and climb vast mountains, in his rear and flanks. After prodigious carnage of their troops, the *Tartars* were forced to sound a retreat, and leave the glory of the day to the *Poles*, though they proposed renewing the attempt in the morning. Had *Zolkiewiski* been supported by his officers, it is probable he must have intirely ruined the *Turkish* army; but either the bashaw's money, or their own fears prevailed upon them to forsake their gallant general, and to quit the camp at this critical juncture with half the *Polish* army.

The memorable victory and retreat of *Zolkiewiski* the *Polish* general.

THERE now remained no hopes of being able to resist so powerful an enemy, reduced to despair by necessity. *Zolkiewiski* was forced to think of a retreat, and the great difficulty was how to effect it and regain *Poland*, by cutting his way through the swarms of *Turks* and *Tartars*, which occupied all the passes in *Moldavia*. Imagination cannot form a more beautiful plan than he had laid for this purpose, and though it was frustrated by accident, the name of *Zolkiewiski* will be transmitted to posterity among the first of heroes who do honour to the republic of *Poland*. He was no sooner informed of the perfidy of his officers, and the desertion of half of his troops, than he formed the remainder into a square battalion, enclosed by a kind of moveable entrenchment composed of the waggons and carriages that accompanied the army. In this order he begun his march for the *Neister*, and had reached within three days journey of the *Polish* frontiers, in despite of the utmost endeavours of the whole *Turkish* and *Tartarian* forces, who were making continual attacks upon him during his march, blocking up the passes, breaking the roads, and cutting off his provision and means of subsistence. All the day was employed in repulsing the enemy, foraging and bringing provisions to his flying camp; at night he made forced marches, and by break of day advanced so far, that sometimes the enemy were uncertain what route he had taken. History affords no instance of so extraordinary a retreat, performed with success for the space of eight days by five thousand men, in the face of eighty thousand incensed enemies. Even the retreat of the ten thousand *Greeks* under *Xenophon* would appear less memorable than this exploit of the *Polish* general, had it not

* BARRE Hist. sub Ann. FONTAINES, cap. v.

been recorded by the inimitable pen of the same person who had conducted the enterprise.

ZOLKIEWISKI had now reached within two leagues of the *Neister*, the repassing which river would have placed him in perfect security, and eternized his glory. He was on the point of compassing his last wish, and his little troop were preparing the bridges; when a panic, which seized the attendants of the camp, sent upon a foraging party, spread through the whole army, and sacrificed to imaginary dangers a corps that had resisted so many real ones, and surmounted difficulties hardly incredible. All fell into confusion; the endeavours of the general, the exhortations, menaces, and example of *Zolkiewiski* were vain. They fled about the country without a possibility of escaping, and were cut in pieces or made slaves by the *Tartars*. *Zolkiewiski* was almost the only person of the whole army who ventured to dispute his life: his courage and presence of mind never forsook him; but now he was abandoned by all his forces, they were exerted to no purpose. He made the noblest efforts, but was at last overpowered with numbers, slain, decapitated, and his head sent to *Constantinople*, as the most valuable present that could be offered to the sultan. In this unfortunate manner ended the glorious achievements of the *Polish* hero, while the enemy ravaged *Podolia*, the only important consequence they deduced from their triumph over the *Poles*.

A. D. 1622.
The sultan
takes the field.

THE destruction of *Zolkiewiski* and his little corps only whetted the ardor of the *Porte* for greater advantages; and perhaps the policy of that court required that the army should be kept employed to prevent intestine commotions. *Osman* was at the head of the empire in the room of the deposed *Mustapha* (K). He was young, fierce, ambitious, and warlike: he beheld with indignation the check given to an army of eighty thousand *Turks* by a handful of *Poles*, and was not satisfied with the blood of the hero who had thus set the *Othoman* empire at defiance. As if *Poland* could not produce another *Zolkiewiski*, he meditated the entire destruction of the republic, and made sure of success. Indeed his vast preparations threatened very fatal consequences to *Poland*. All *Turkey* was in motion, and the emperor appeared early in the spring upon the frontiers of *Moldavia*, at the head of three hundred thousand men. *Poland* stood singly against this formidable power, which seemed capable of crushing the republic at one blow. The emperor, apprehending that the torrent would fall upon his own dominions, deserted *Poland*, though *Sigismund* had brought this danger upon himself, by affording him assistance against the king of *Bohemia* and the usurper of *Transylvania*. In this critical juncture *Cholkiewitz*, who had gained such reputation against the *Swedes* and *Muscovites*, was detached towards the frontiers with an army of no more than twenty thousand men, to oppose the progress of the enemy. He encamped on the banks of the *Neister*, in an advantageous situation, where he was attacked with great impetuosity by the whole *Turkish* army. *Osman* despised the weakness of the *Poles*; encouraged by the presence of their emperor, the *Turks* made frequent attempts to force the lines, and were constantly repulsed with great slaughter.

He is foiled,

WHILE the two armies lay facing each other, and in continual action, the brave *Cholkiewitz* died of a malady contracted by the perpetual care, vigilance, and activity which he exerted, leaving the command of the *Poles* to *Stanislaus Lubomirski*, an officer who had exhibited signal proofs of his courage and ability. This event threw a considerable damp over the spirits of the *Polish* soldiers; but the vigorous measures taken by the new general revived their courage, and the junction of the *Cossacks* augmented their numbers, and enabled them to fight upon more equal terms, though still inferior to half the number of the enemy. The *Cossacks* had fought their way through a superior army of *Tartars* sent to oppose their joining the *Poles*. For the space of eight hours a pass had been disputed, and at last carried sword in hand by the *Cossacks*, who must be allowed to have contributed greatly to the happy issue of this war, in which they had eminently signalized their valour.

and forced to
make peace.

OSMAN, perceiving that the Christian army was encreasing daily, proposed a general attack on their lines by the twenty-eighth of *September*, and led his troops in person. The janissaries began the action by break of day, and fought with the most desperate fury for the space of twelve hours, fresh troops constantly supplying the place of the fatigued, wounded, and slain. Ten times were the *Turks* repulsed, and as often were they led back to the attack by their bashaws, who charged under the immediate eye of the sultan, and were ambitious of distinguishing themselves. All their efforts were fruitless; the *Poles* were impenetrable, and the infidels were at last forced to sound a retreat, after

Y BIZARD, p. 97. FONT. lib. v.

(K) This prince, called *Osman* by the Christian writers, was *Morad IV.* who succeeded in the beginning of the year 1622. It is probable, that by a mistake in the chronology they mean *Othman*, who was strangled the preceding year; a point which will be cleared up by comparing this with what we have related in the fourth volume of the *Universal History* (1).

(1) *Sub hoc Ann.*

a having left near thirty thousand slain before the intrenchments. From the time the two armies had first faced each other, the different attacks cost the sultan upwards of threescore thousand lives, the bulk of whom consisted of janissaries, the flower of the army, and the bulwark of the *Othoman* empire. Disease and famine co-operated with the sword, and the *Turkish* army was diminished to half the forces brought into the field. The country was incapable of supplying either provision or forage; the horses on both sides perished in thousands of hunger; the stench of dead carcases in the neighbourhood of the camps became intolerable; even at this season of the year a pestilence was dreaded from the putrid exhalations which had impregnated and poisoned the atmosphere: the sultan relinquished all hopes of penetrating into *Poland*; and *Lubomirski* grew tired of contending with so
b vehement, obstinate, and potent an enemy: a conference was proposed by the *Turk*, and accepted by the *Pole*; in consequence of which a truce was concluded, extremely honourable to the republic, though it did not produce a single advantage. By this treaty it was stipulated, that notwithstanding the sultan should have the nomination of the vaivode of *Moldavia*, that prince should always be a Christian, and all infidels be excluded from the sovereignty of the principality: this was gaining a barrier against the future incursions of the *Turks*. That the *Poles* should restore *Cboczin* to the *Porte*; and that the *Tartars* and *Cossacks*, who should henceforward commit ravages, and occasion a rupture between the sultan and the king of *Poland*, should be mutually punished by these monarchs with the utmost severity. These were the principal articles of a treaty which restored tranquility to *Poland*, and diverted that gathering storm which threatened to overwhelm all *Europe*².

c THE state of repose now restored to *Poland* was but of short duration. The active, ambitious, and heroic *Gustavus Adolphus* now filled the throne of *Sweden*, and among other projects for extending his dominions, and gaining *Sweden* weight in the scale of Christendom, laid a scheme for the recovery of *Livonia*, which had been repeatedly attempted in the late reign, while *Poland* was engaged in wars with the *Turks* and *Muscovites*. As far back as the year 1607, king *Charles* endeavoured to retrieve his disgrace before *Revel*, and for that purpose sent the count *de Mansfeld* with an army into this province. At first the *Swedes* met with some success; he laid siege to *Wissenstein* and reduced it: the same fortune attended him before other fortresses, which he took by assault; after which
d he made a fruitless attack on *Wolmar*, and was defeated by the garrison of *Derpt*. Next year a suspension of arms was agreed upon by the generals; but the *Swedish* monarch refusing to ratify it, ordered *Mansfeld* to lay siege to *Dunnamunde* and *Rockenhausen*, both which he reduced. To the campaign succeeded negotiations, which were rendered abortive by the obstinacy of the parties. The *Poles* insisted upon the restitution of the places perfidiously attacked by the enemy, while a truce subsisted between the armies; and the *Swedes* refused this demand, under pretence that their king had not ratified the armistice. Thus the conferences broke up, because the deputies could not agree upon preliminaries. Mean time the *Swedish* fleet was cruising off *Dunnamunde*, to intercept the *Riga* shipping, and ruin the commerce of the *Poles*. The inhabitants of *Riga* had their revenge, by seizing upon a favourable opportunity of slipping several fireships in the night into the middle
e of the *Swedish* fleet, by which three men of war and two frigates were destroyed, and the admiral forced to quit his station. In the year 1613 the republic of *Poland*, being deeply engaged in the affairs of *Muscovy*, was desirous of compromising the differences with *Sweden* about *Livonia*. It was with this view that an armistice was signed by the generals of both sides; but as it had not received the sanction of either government, *Sigismund* was sensible that the *Swedes* might profit by it, as they had done in the late reign. He therefore sought to establish a solid peace, under the mediation of the elector of *Brandenburg*. To gain more weight, the elector solicited the king of *Great Britain*, and the states-general of the United Provinces, to join in the mediation, and exert their influence with
f the court of *Sweden*: and they were both the more readily induced to interpose their good offices, because they hoped, by ridding *Gustavus* of the *Polish* war, to engage him in defence of the Protestants of the empire. *Gustavus-Adolphus* expressed his inclination to yield to the terms offered by the mediators, provided that *Sigismund* would acknowledge his right to the crown of *Sweden*, and make a formal renunciation of his own pretensions. The result was, that the truce concluded between the generals should be confirmed in its full intention and extent by the monarchs; that each should retain what he then possessed; but that the *Swedish* troops should not be required to act in conjunction with the *Poles* against the *Russians*. Afterwards the truce was prolonged by authority for two years, and repeated armistices were made by the commanders of both sides, as soon as the truce
g between the nations was expired; but in the year 1616 *Gustavus* sent *Ferom Gyldestern* with a squadron, and *Nils Sternbild* with a body of forces to *Livonia*, by which means

War with
Sweden in
Livonia.

² Univ. Hist. vol. iv. Loccen. lib. viii. HEIDEN. lib. xi. PUFFEND. tom. vi. lib. vi.

Gustavus-
Adolphus lays
siege to Riga.

Riga taken by
the Swedes.

he surprised fort *Dunnamunde*, which had been restored by the late truce to *Poland*, and thereby struck such terror into *Riga*, that if the *Swedish* general had pursued the blow, and improved his advantage, that valuable city must have submitted. Nothing besides slight skirmishes passed until the year 1620, when *Gustavus* resolved to carry on the war in person in *Livonia*, and to make intire conquest of that province. The *Polish* troops were now employed in *Moldavia*, and the conjuncture appeared in every respect favourable. With a numerous fleet of men of war and transports, on board which was an army of twenty-five thousand men, he steered his course to *Riga*, made a descent, and laid siege to that important city, which had long been the cause of dissention between the republic and *Sweden*. *Sigismund* had no army to oppose to the young king, and he was forced to repose his whole confidence in the valour of the besieged and the strength of the fortifications. *Radziwil*, general of the *Lithuanians*, endeavoured to throw in succours; but he was too weak to keep the field against the *Swedish* out-parties. For six weeks the inhabitants defended the city with all imaginable gallantry and conduct; but it was not possible to resist the united pressure of fatigue, disease, famine, and an active powerful enemy; despairing of relief, they at length capitulated, and obtained conditions worthy of the valour they had exerted. *Gustavus* not only granted all the former privileges of the city, but endowed it with new and valuable immunities, which he promised to extend further, should the people prove equally faithful to him, as they had shewn themselves to the king of *Poland*. The only change he introduced was the banishment of the Jesuits; and this measure was absolutely necessary to the repose of the city, as these meddling ecclesiastics were perpetually at the bottom of some intrigues, dictated by ambition and a restless spirit.

NOR could *Sigismund* prevent the *Swedish* monarch from carrying his conquests into *Courland*, where he reduced *Mittau*; a place of which he made restitution at the ensuing truce. A negociation for this purpose had been set on foot immediately after the surrender of *Riga*, and was now at last concluded for the space of one year; by which time *Sigismund* hoped to clear his hands of the *Turkish* war that had given full employment to all the forces of the republic. However, before this *Polish* army could be withdrawn from *Walachia*, the truce was expired, and *Gustavus* renewed hostilities, extending his conquests to the gates of *Dantzick*, which city he likewise blocked up with a squadron. Several towns in *Prussia* submitted to the *Swedes*; and *Sigismund* perceiving that even his presence and utmost endeavours could not stem the torrent of disgrace, solicited a prolongation of the armistice, and obtained it, on condition that he would contribute all in his power towards accomplishing a solid and durable pacification^a.

Truces between
the two na-
tions.

DURING this cessation of hostilities, a variety of expedients were proposed for terminating the differences between the two monarchs. The *Swedish* writers blame the obstinacy of *Sigismund*; while the *Poles* recriminate by ascribing the continuation of the war to the ambition and unreasonable demands of *Gustavus*, who was desirous of treating with the high hand of a conqueror. Among other schemes of accommodation, it was proposed, that *Gustavus* should cede *Livonia* to the *Poles*, and *Sigismund* renounce all claims to *Esthonia* and *Finland*; that, in case *Gustavus* died without issue, one of *Sigismund*'s sons should succeed to the throne of *Sweden*; that *Sigismund* might in the mean time quarter the *Swedish* arms; but that he should bind himself by the most solemn engagements not to disturb the government of *Gustavus*, or make any attempts for the recovery of the *Swedish* crown in the life-time of that prince. If we may credit *Loccenius* and *Puffendorf*, this proposal was strongly supported by *Radziwil*, general of the *Lithuanians*, by which he incurred *Sigismund*'s displeasure. Certain it is, that the republic differed widely in opinion from the king, who was almost single in rejecting the terms offered by *Sweden*. *Sigismund* sought only the opportunity of taking the *Swedes* at a disadvantage, when the projecting head of *Gustavus* should have involved them in other affairs. For this reason he would only consent to short cessations, which were from time to time prolonged, while the states were desirous of a permanent peace, and persisted so strenuously in these sentiments, that they refused contributing to the support of the war. This contention between the king and people furnished *Gustavus* with the fairest opportunity of extending his dominions, and forcing *Poland* into such terms as he should chuse to prescribe. Immediately on the expiration of the last truce he took the field, and made himself master of all that remained to *Sigismund* of *Livonia*. In vain did prince *Sapieha*, with three thousand *Lithuanians*, make several vigorous efforts to check his progress; his force was unequal, and his talents greatly inferior to those of *Gustavus*. In consequence *Derpt*, *Rokenhausen*, and a variety of other places were reduced, and garrisoned by *Swedish* forces. Nothing indeed could withstand this young conqueror, who was now justly stiled the Lion of the North; and it proceeded

^a Mem. Suec. Gent. p. 61, 62.

a from ignorance of his true character, that *Sigismund* had so long persevered in a resolution which was like to have proved fatal to *Poland*. The fire, courage, genius, and ambition of *Gustavus* had not yet blazed forth in meridian lustre: however, his talents had sufficiently appeared to convince the states of *Poland*, that their wisest conduct would be to steer clear of all disputes with a monarch so well acquainted with his own rights, so jealous of the honour of his crown, and so able and ready to do himself justice.

THE fluctuating councils of *Poland*, and the advantages already obtained, encouraged *Gustavus* to penetrate into *Lithuania*, where he reduced *Birsen*, and spread consternation over the whole duchy. This town he despoiled of sixty pieces of fine cannon, which he sent to *Riga*, a port that he cherished with the most tender care, in hopes of attaching the inhabitants to his interest. The reduction of *Birsen* was succeeded by the entire defeat of prince *Sapieha* with a body of *Lithuanians*, which was cut in pieces near *Wolsen*, by the Swedish generals *Horn* and *Tburn*. Yet did not these successes prevent *Gustavus* from making overtures of peace, in order that he might pursue unmolested some other schemes which he had planned. He made now the same proposals that had been rejected the preceding year, offering to divide with *Sigismund* the title of king of *Sweden*; to declare his son presumptive heir of his crown; and to restore *Livonia* upon no other conditions than that *Finland* and *Esthonia* should be confirmed to *Sweden*; but *Sigismund*, grown peevish with old age, infirmity, and disappointment, carried his pretensions beyond his power, and indiscreetly refused offers which in a little time he could not expect. It is thought that he relied greatly on the emperor's assistance, whose arms were at this time triumphant in *Germany*; a delusive hope that soon vanished before the vigour and good fortune of *Gustavus*. It was on the refusal of these second overtures, that *Gustavus* made a descent on *Pillau* with a numerous squadron, and an army of twenty-six thousand well-disciplined soldiers. *Elbing*, *Marienburg*, *Drischau*, *Christburg*, *Great and Little Werden*, with a variety of other towns, cities, and fortresses in *Prussia*, yielded to the conqueror, and *Sigismund* had scarce found time to throw a body of three thousand men into *Dantzick*. The ability however of *Konieckspolski*, and the return of *Gustavus* to *Sweden*, turned for a while the scale of fortune, and produced some advantages to *Sigismund*. The Poles laid siege to *Marienburg* and *Merve*, fought two obstinate battles with the Swedish generals, who attempted the relief of the garrisons, and though worsted upon both occasions, found means to reduce the latter place to surrender at discretion. The same general likewise prevented the Swedes from succouring *Pautzke*, took that place, and defeated, on the frontiers of *Pomerania*, a body of *Germans*, who were on their march to join the enemy; but the return of *Gustavus* again changed the face of affairs. He defeated the Poles at *Kasammarck*, with the slaughter of three thousand of their men; after which he laid siege to *Dantzick*, now almost the only sea port belonging to the republic. *Konieckspolski* exerted his utmost diligence and ability for the relief of a city so important: he assembled his troops, attacked the Swedish intrenchments, was seconded by a vigorous sally of the besieged, and proved so fortunate as to oblige the king to break up his camp, in consequence of a dangerous wound which he received (L). It must be confessed indeed, that the relations of the Polish and Swedish historians of the principal actions of these two campaigns, differ widely in material circumstances, which it would be impossible to clear up at this distance of time, as each speak positively to facts, which the other denies. For this reason we have only given a superficial review of transactions which we have already explicitly related upon the best authorities, merely to preserve the thread of the Polish narrative. It will be sufficient to mention in this place, that ambassadors from the states-general now arrived in *Prussia* to mediate an accommodation, with a view that *Gustavus* might be at liberty to turn his arms to the succour of the Protestants in *Germany*.

WHILE the conferences were carried on, both sides endeavoured to gain better conditions, by some fortunate stroke and successful act of hostility. In the neighbourhood of *Drischau*, *Konieckspolski* was attacked by the Swedes, with such impetuosity, that his army being defeated he escaped with great difficulty. In this action *Gustavus* was a second time wounded, as he was forcing the Polish intrenchments. The Polish general however retrieved this disgrace by an advantage obtained before *Marienwerder*, which might have proved fatal to the glory of *Gustavus*, had the Poles been sufficiently strong to pursue the blow. It was the inferiority of his troops that induced *Konieckspolski* to press *Sigismund* to listen to the terms of accommodation proposed by the *Hollanders*. The king of *Sweden* consented to restore all his conquests except *Riga*, which he insisted should be sequestered

A. D. 1626.
Progress of the Swedish arms.

(L) The account given of this transaction by the Swedish writers is very different: they alledge, that no attack was made on the king's intrenchments; but that having effected a breach in the walls, he ordered it to be stormed, was warmly received, and wounded by a musket-ball in the belly. The consequences deduced by the historians of both nations are similar.

for

Sigismund is
made the dupe
of the house of
Austria.

for thirty years in his hands. He renewed the proposal for a partition of the title and arms of *Sweden*, which might be retained by both monarchs, and was supported in this offer by the *Polish* senate, which made the warmest remonstrances to *Sigismund*. However, all the fruits of *Gustavus's* moderation, and of the prudence of the senate, were blasted by the intrigues of the house of *Austria*. Both the emperor and the king of *Spain* were aware of the advantages they might deduce from keeping up the flames of war in the North; and they gave *Sigismund* the most flattering hopes that he should not only recover, with their assistance, the provinces of *Livonia*, *Finland*, and *Prussia*, but the crown of *Sweden*. For this purpose a splendid embassy was sent to *Poland* by the court of *Madrid*^b; *Gabriel de Roi* was at the head of this embassy, and authorised to assure the king, that his Catholic majesty would immediately send a fleet of twenty-four men of war to the *Baltic*, and twelve thousand men, under the conduct of the celebrated *Wallenstein*, in order to carry fire and sword into the bowels of the *Swedish* dominions. Promises were likewise made, that *Spain* would support the whole expences of this armament, in proof of which a large sum was already advanced by bills of exchange. *Sigismund* was the dupe of these large unmeaning protestations; even the senate gave credit to the solemn asseverations of the minister, and consented to the king's breaking off the conferences, to which the troops sent by the imperial court, under *Adolphus* of *Holstein*, greatly contributed. Hostilities were now immediately resumed, and *Gustavus*, by dint of activity, made himself master of *Worndit* before the *Poles* were in motion. But the circumstances most pernicious and irksome to the republic were, that the *Lithuanians* concluded a separate truce with *Gustavus*; and that the *Swedes* carried on the war in *Prussia* without any expence, merely by means of the heavy contributions which they levied on the province. To this may be added the vain expectation of the *Spanish* squadron, which had for months cheered the hopes of the king and republic. *Sigismund* had collected nine ships of war to reinforce this auxiliary fleet; but he now found that the court of *Spain* relied on her influence with the hanse towns to perform her engagements; and that for this purpose the ambassador was gone to solicit the regencies of *Rostock* and *Lubeck*, who, dreading the establishment of the *Spanish* power in the *Baltick*, refused to furnish a single vessel. Besides these disappointments, *Sigismund* was let in more clearly into the designs of the house of *Austria* by another incident. When he applied to the ambassador to advance him the remittance sent by *Spain*, that he might hire ships in *Denmark* for transporting his army to *Sweden*, he was answered, that the court of *Madrid* had given no instructions upon that head. Yet did the artful ambassador still continue to flatter the republic with the hopes of the speedy arrival of the promised squadron, and contrive means to prevail on *Sigismund* to send the little fleet he had collected to *Wismar*, in order to raise a spirit among the hanse towns, which he affirmed would declare themselves as soon as they found sufficient protection. In consequence the *Polish* squadron set sail, and by the way encountered a small squadron of *Swedish* ships, which they attacked, defeated, and destroyed; though, before the end of the campaign, the *Poles* themselves were either taken, run aground, burnt, or dispersed by the fleets of *Sweden* or *Denmark*, both these powers being equally jealous of their acquiring a maritime force.^c

Sea-fight between the
Poles and
Swedes.

DURING the next campaign the *Poles* were generally worsted in *Prussia*, because the states, finding they were deceived by the court of *Madrid*, strongly insisted upon peace; and to drive the king into their measures, refused contributing the supplies necessary for the continuance of the war. On some occasions now even the *Poles* were successful; *Gustavus* had sent a detachment from his army to seize one of the out-forts of the city of *Dantzick*: this party was attacked with great vigour by the *Poles*, and defeated; but the advantage was more than compensated by the event of another more general engagement, in which the *Poles* sustained a complete overthrow, by which *Gustavus* opened a way to lay siege to *Dantzick* a second time. He had stationed a squadron of nine ships to block up the harbour, and was advancing with his army on the other side, when the *Dantzickers* ventured to give battle to the *Swedish* admiral. The *Dantzick* squadron consisted of ten ships of war; it bore down with a favourable gale on the enemy, began an engagement, and maintained it with skill and obstinacy for several hours. *Nils Sternchild*, the *Swedish* admiral, was slain by a cannon-bullet, his ship taken, and his vice-admiral blown up; whilst the *Dantzickers*, on their side, lost their admiral and four hundred seamen, together with two of their best ships, one of which was sunk, and the other set on fire. The *Swedes* claimed the victory, though from the consequences we may fairly ascribe the advantage to the *Dantzickers*, who by this action opened a free passage to their harbour, and obliged *Gustavus* to relinquish the design of besieging the city (M). At the same time the *Poles*

^b PUFFEND. tom. vi. lib. vi.

^c BIZAR. p. 72. PUFFEND. lib. vi.

(M) It is extraordinary, that in an event so recent, the accounts of writers should be so inconsistent. According to *Puffendorff* and the *Polish* writers, *Gustavus* laid siege twice to *Dantzick*; whereas *Loccenius* and

Mr. *Harte* mention only one siege, which he broke up in consequence of his wound and the overflowing of the *Vistula*.

a frustrated a design which *Gustavus* had formed, of seizing upon certain magazines they had established in the neighbourhood of *Newburg*, where likewise a sum of six hundred thousand crowns was lodged for the support of the army. On this occasion the *Swedish* detachment was cut in pieces, and the military chest, with all the provision and ammunition, transported safe to a place of greater security. Retribution was made by the *Swedes*, who not only reduced *Straßburg*, but concluded the campaign with gaining possession of *Broderitz*. Upon the whole, the fortune of the combatants was pretty equal for the whole season, and the *Poles* more successful in general than could be expected, when we consider the inferiority of their troops, the divided state of the republic, the vigour of *Gustavus*, and the excellency of the *Swedish* soldiers.

b THE winter was spent as usual in fruitless negotiations, and early in the spring the *Poles* attempted to regain possession of *Broderitz*; an enterprize that terminated unfortunately. There they were attacked in their lines by the *Swedish* general *Wrangel*, and defeated, with the loss of three thousand men, some pieces of cannon, and near two thousand waggons loaded with provision, ammunition, and baggage. This victory would have put them in possession of *Thorn*, had not general *Dorckoff* provided reasonably for the security of that city, by augmenting the garrison with a chosen body of troops, and assuming the command in person, by which the burghers were encouraged to take arms in their own defence. Yet after all, *Wrangel's* victory would have compelled *Sigismund* to sue for peace, had not his hopes been once more revived by the arrival of *Arnheim*, who joined the *Polish* general with five thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry; a reinforcement which enabled him again to take the field and face the enemy. In point of numbers the *Poles* were now greatly superior; but the auxiliary *Germans* consisted of new levies, and the national troops had never seen action before the present campaign, all the old troops being so much fatigued and worn out, as rendered it necessary to put them in garrison. A battle ensued at *Quidzin*, and the *Poles* were defeated with great slaughter, after a very obstinate conflict, in which *Konieczpolski* displayed talents that merited better fortune. Even after his losses he found means to lay siege to *Steim*; an enterprize which proved more fatal to the *Polish* affairs than the overthrow at *Quidzin*, though no blame could be laid upon the general. In a sally of the besieged four thousand men were slain; a calamity, with great probability of truth, charged upon the perfidious *Arnheim*, who communicated all that passed in the *Polish* councils to the elector of *Brandenburg*, by which means it became known to the *Swedish* monarch.

Poles defeated by land.

In this manner was *Sigismund* betrayed by the imperial general, and deluded by the *Spanish* ambassador. The courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* had no other aim than to suppress the Protestant interest in *Germany* and the *Netherlands*, before *Gustavus* could disengage himself from the war with the republic. He now at length perceived how little confidence he ought to place in allies, who had so repeatedly deceived him. He highly resented the perfidy of *Arnheim*, attributed it to the instructions of his court, and filled *Europe* with his complaints. The mediators embraced the favourable opportunity, confirmed the king in his suspicions, and renewed the conferences for an accommodation, to which *Sigismund* made no objection, because he was sensible of his inability to cope singly, and against the inclinations of the republic, with so powerful an enemy as *Gustavus*. The famine, the pestilence, and the desertion which raged in the *Polish* camp, together with the eagerness of the *Swedish* monarch to enter upon the *German* expedition, which he had so long projected, greatly facilitated the measures of the mediators. Accordingly a truce for six years was concluded, upon terms more favourable than *Poland*, after so many losses, could reasonably expect. The particulars we have already seen in the *Swedish* history; yet did *Sigismund* sign it with reluctance, because it was stipulated that certain places should be ceded to *Sweden*, in the defence of which he had lavished so much blood and treasure.

Truce with Sweden for six years.

f However, he yielded to the importunity of his subjects and to necessity, fell into a melancholy state of mind, became dejected, desponding, and froward, which brought on a lingering disorder, that ended only with his life, in about two years after he had restored tranquility to a people who had scarce tasted the sweets of repose since his accession. Unfortunate as the last years of *Sigismund's* reign were, he certainly possessed a virtuous mind, and considerable talents both for the field and cabinet. His reputation suffered by the loss of the crown of *Sweden*, and the imperial diadem of *Russia*; but if we consider that his attachment to the doctrines of the church of *Rome* rendered his authority unpopular in the former kingdom, and reflect impartially on the concurrence of extraordinary circumstances which wrought a revolution in the latter, we shall find less reason to censure the conduct of *Sigismund*, than to admire the power and wisdom of that Being, who effects the greatest purposes by means the most trivial and incomprehensible to human understanding. Yet it must be confessed, that bigotry, obstinacy, and self-sufficiency, led him into some irretrievable blunders, and that he frequently persisted in error, not for want of penetration to

A. D. 1629.
Death and character of Sigismund.

discover his mistake, but from shame to acknowledge that he ever was in the wrong. Principle occasioned the loss of *Sweden*; zeal for religion contributed to the loss of *Russia*; attachment to the house of *Austria*, and the good of Christendom, involved him in a war with the *Turks*; and a regard for the dignity of his crown brought on the last rupture with *Sweden*. Indeed we may affirm, that a regard for equity, beyond what sound policy dictated, was the cause of the long struggle with *Gustavus*. He regarded that prince as an usurper; and, as he was incapable of injustice, he would not suffer it in another. Upon the whole, he was a prince whose virtues exceeded his vices, and who, in other circumstances, would have died equally esteemed and regretted^d.

S E C T. VI.

Containing the Reigns of Uladislaus, John Calimir, and Michael Wiesnowiski, to the Election of the celebrated John Sobieski, in 1674.

PRINCE *Uladislaus* was considered as heir to the crown of *Poland*, though the constitution required that a diet should meet to determine the succession. When *John Sigismund* was in his last agonies, he placed the *Swedish* crown on the head of the prince; but was so tender of the liberties of the republic, that he left the *Polish* diadem to be given at the pleasure of the diet. At first it was imagined that *Gustavus Adolphus*, covered with the laurels reaped in *Germany*, and become the admiration of mankind, in consequence of thirty victories obtained over the most celebrated generals of *Europe*, would have demanded the crown of *Poland* as the reward of superior merit. This was earnestly wished by all the Protestant members of the republic, who were now extremely numerous; but *Gustavus* was too deeply engaged in war, to apply his attention to canvassing at an election. It is remarkable indeed, that the *Lutherans* in *Great Poland* declared openly against the king of *Sweden*, the moment his name was mentioned as a candidate, and marked all those as enemies to their country who should presume to nominate a prince so bold, ambitious, and dangerous to republican liberty; yet had *Gustavus* declared his resolution of appearing a candidate, it is probable they must have altered their measures, and yielded to the satisfaction of seeing the throne filled by a prince of their own persuasion, under whom they might reasonably expect extraordinary privileges.

A. D. 1632. It was with more truth that prince *John Casimir* was supposed to entertain hopes of being raised to the sovereign dignity. The queen his mother, who was second wife to *Sigismund*, made some attempts in his favour, to the prejudice of *Uladislaus*, whom she had always regarded with the indifference of a step-mother. She had set on foot certain intrigues in the king her husband's life-time to have *Casimir* declared heir to the crown; and propagated reports injurious to the character of *Uladislaus*; but the generosity of her son, his paternal affection and regard for the *Polish* constitution, broke all the measures of this ambitious princess. *Casimir* despised the thoughts of supplanting a brother by acts of calumny, and put himself at the head of the nobility who declared for *Uladislaus*. The diet of election was fixed for the twenty-seventh of *September*; but though there appeared no competitor, the session was spun out to a considerable length. *Casimir* proposed his brother *Uladislaus*, and was supported by the bishop of *Premislaw*, who enforced the nomination with all the powers of oratory. He soothed the diet with the most flattering encomiums on their independency, but artfully insinuated the particular regard always shewn for the offspring of good princes: he reminded the assembly of the obligations which *Poland* owed to the excellent administration of the house of *Jagello*; of the affinity which *Uladislaus* had to that family, who, he said, might be considered as a lineal descendant: he pleaded the merit of his father the late king, and the promising genius of the prince, which afforded the most pleasing hopes of a happy reign: and he concluded with observing, that there was scarce room for opposition or deliberation, when every motive of reason, interest, and passion united in determining their choice of prince *Uladislaus*. Next the pope's nuncio, and the ambassadors from the emperor and king of *Sweden* were admitted. The two first warmly recommended *Uladislaus*, and the latter made no objection to his election, provided he would renounce all pretensions to the crown of *Sweden*; a proposal that was resented by the diet as unreasonable and impertinent to the intention of the embassy. Thus no competitor appearing, and the votes being unanimous in favour of *Uladislaus*, he was declared king of *Poland* on the thirteenth day of *November*, and crowned the succeeding year with the usual formality.

^d FONTAIN. cap. v. BIZARDIERE, p. 82. CONNOR, tom i. lib. iii.

U L A D I S L A U S VII.

^a BEFORE *Uladislaus* was firmly established in the throne, an occasion offered for the exertion of his utmost ability. The *Russians*, hoping to profit by the unsettled state of the government under a young monarch, determined to recover the provinces lost during the late troubles. With this view they advanced with a great army towards *Smolensko*, from whence they made irruptions into *Poland*, desolating the countries through which they passed. They laid siege to *Smolensko*, pushed their operations with great fury, and were bravely resisted by the *Polish* garrison, who were animated by advice they received that *Uladislaus* was advancing with the flower of his troops, to give battle to the besiegers. The king was greatly inferior in point of numbers to the enemy; but relying on the attachment of the *Poles*, and convinced of their courage, and the ability of his generals, ^b he ventured to attack the *Russian* lines. The battle was obstinate, but their intrenchments were at last forced, and the *Russians* driven into a narrow defile, surrounded with impervious woods, where they were obliged to submit to the terms imposed by the victorious *Uladislaus*. These were, that they should lay down their arms, return quietly to their own country, and not again molest the tranquility of *Poland* for the space of six years. To these terms the king added another article; namely, that the czar should renounce all pretensions to the duchies of *Smolensko* and *Zernikow*. The *Turks*, displeased with the last treaty into which they had been compelled, thought to retrieve the credit of the *Othoman* arms at this juncture, when the chief strength of *Poland* was engaged in stopping the progress of *Russia*. They made several irruptions into the *Polish* dominions; but after the ^c defeat of the *Russian* army, they were surprised by *Uladislaus*, defeated with great slaughter, obliged to indemnify *Poland* for her losses and the expences of the war*, and to conclude a truce for several years. The Grand Seignior was even under the necessity of apologizing to the republic for the infraction of the treaty concluded with *Sigismund*, by capitally punishing the bashaw who commanded the *Turkish* army, as if he had acted without orders from the divan. In a word, the *Turks* and *Muscovites* were soon convinced of the vigour that reigned in the *Polish* councils, and the spirit of the monarch, which determined them to become more religious observers of their treaties with the republic.

Uladislaus VII.

A. D. 1634.
He obliges the
Russians and
Turks to so-
licit peace,

BUT as if the glory of *Poland* could not be complete before *Sweden* was humbled, *Uladislaus* turned his attention to that side, and took advantage of the unhappy state in which ^d that kingdom was involved, in consequence of the death of the great *Gustavus*, slain in the arms of victory at the famous battle of *Lutzen*. *Sweden* was governed by an infant princess and a regency. The generals who served under *Gustavus* had, for some time after his death, sustained the glory of his arms; but the unfortunate issue of the battle of *Nordlingen*, gave a turn to affairs favourable to the designs formed by *Uladislaus*. It was impossible for the regency to extricate themselves from the affairs of *Germany*, and their enemies were daily multiplying on every quarter. The truce with *Poland* being now expired, it was necessary to send an army for the defence of *Prussia*, which could not be accomplished without leaving some other quarter of the *Swedish* dominions exposed. In this situation it appeared expedient to prolong the truce with the republic at any rate, to ^e prevent *Uladislaus* from joining his victorious arms to the enemy. *La Gardie* marched indeed a body of forces into *Prussia*; but this motion was intended only to give weight to the negotiations they were labouring to establish. On the other hand, *Uladislaus* was rather averse to a war with *Sweden*, though he resolved not to neglect the opportunity of reclaiming a valuable province, which he considered as the undoubted right of the republic. As the *Swedes* now proposed a method by which he might attain the same end, without involving his people in fresh scenes of blood and horror, he consented to the conferences proposed, and reaped the fruits of his policy. Deputies met at *Stumsdorf*, and without much difficulty it was agreed that the truce between the two nations should be prolonged ^f for twenty-nine years, on condition that *Sweden* should evacuate all the towns they possessed in *Prussia*, and make formal renunciation of that province, which was all that *Uladislaus* could have expected in consequence of a successful war, attended with vast consumption of blood and treasure. It was necessary likewise to avoid a rupture with *Sweden*, at a time when the domestic concerns of the kingdom required his utmost attention†.

and Sweden to
restore Prussia,
and prolong
the truce.

For a series of years the *Cossacks* had acknowledged the sovereignty of the republic, though they were governed by their own laws, and acted in most respects as an independent people. They were regarded as a strong bulwark against the designs of the *Turks* and *Muscovites* to extend their dominion on that side, at the expence of *Poland*. In many instances however their irregularity and love of plunder involved the republic in wars with her neighbours; yet this inconvenience was winked at on account of the services performed

* Id. ibid. PUFFEND. lib. iv. tom. iv. p. 326.

† Id. tom. vi. lib. vi.

by the *Cossacks* to *Poland*, and from a dread of giving offence to a warlike powerful people a tenacious of their privileges. *Batori*, who foresaw the utility which this body of militia might produce to the state, had indulged the *Cossacks* with lands and variety of immunities. This proved an inducement to the *Polish* peasants, oppressed by their masters, to take refuge in the *Ukraine*, where they could enjoy more liberty, and possess their property without fear of being despoiled by rapacious cruel tyrants set over them as lords. Multitudes of people, harrassed with the exactions and drudgery required of them, retired with their families to the *Ukraine* to live under the free government of the *Cossacks*, who received them joyfully, as it strengthened the community, and rendered the country more populous. These migrations proved not only an injury to the republic in general, but were particularly detrimental to many of the gentry, whose estates were left without sufficient hands to b cultivate the earth. They applied to the government, and demanded back their vassals; but the *Cossacks* refused to surrender unhappy wretches who threw themselves upon their protection. This produced altercation, and set the nobility of *Poland* upon a scheme of revenge, which might at the same time turn out to their own emolument. Several of them possessed large estates in the *Ukraine*, but upon a different footing with their lands in *Poland*. In the *Cossack* country the inhabitants of the lands were free, and subjected only to a moderate annual rent to the landholder. The *Poles* now required, that they should be put upon the footing of the peasants of the republic, which would not only enrich the nobility, but likewise very considerably encrease the revenue. It was this motive which c swayed with the king and senate, who imprudently embraced the project, not only for the above reasons, but because they imagined it would be the means of civilizing this barbarous lawless people, and uniting them still more closely to the republic. They never reflected upon the difficulty of reducing to a state of slavery, a bold warlike free people, strongly attached to liberty, and the allies of *Poland* merely out of gratitude and policy; nor should they be able to accomplish their scheme, that it would be destroying the very intention of this militia, by emasculating and breaking the spirit of men, who ought to be regarded as the strength and barrier of the republic against the ambitious designs of the czar of *Muscovy* and the Grand Seignior. The senate was composed of persons who found their interest in this ruinous project; the king was directed by the senate, and thus, d without deliberating seriously on the consequences, *Koniespolski* was sent with an armed force to the *Ukraine*, where he erected the fortress of *Hudac*, at the confluence of the *Zwamer* and *Boristhenes*, as a check on the *Cossacks*, and the first step towards the destruction of their liberty.

A. D. 1637.
The *Cossacks*
revolt.

As it could not be imagined that the *Cossacks* would sit tame spectators of this infraction of their liberties, and breach of the conditions on which they acknowledged the sovereignty of the republic, measures were taken for supporting the first violation. The *Cossacks* armed in defence of liberty, and exerted their utmost endeavours to frustrate the designs of the *Polish* general; but all their efforts were baffled by the vigilance, activity, and valour of that commander. They were defeated in divers encounters, and obliged to submit, to deliver up their general *Bauluski*, and several persons of the first quality among them, who e were beheaded contrary to the treaty, and in defiance of the pardon granted and signed by the hand of the sovereign. This is an indelible stain on the character of *Uladislaus*, as it evinces either that he paid no regard to his word, or that he had no authority in the government. In the treaty with the *Cossacks* not only a general amnesty was agreed upon, but the republic solemnly promised to withdraw her forces; instead of which she augmented the army in the *Ukraine*, and assembled a diet wherein it was decreed, that all the privileges bestowed on the *Cossacks* by *Batori* should be revoked and extinguished; that they should be deprived of the fortress of *Techtemeravia*, given them by the same monarch (A), and reduced to the same state of subjection as the *Polish* peasants.

MEASURES so extravagant can hardly be attributed to *Uladislaus*, as they appear totally f inconsistent with all his former conduct; but he cannot be excused for not opposing, with his whole authority, a project that favoured strongly of insanity, and that rage of despotism which has ever distinguished the nobility of *Poland*. A more numerous army was sent to the *Ukraine*, to enforce the decrees of the diet; and the *Polish* general advanced to lay siege to that fortress which the *Cossacks* regarded as the bulwark of their liberty. They assembled to oppose the *Poles*, and, by dint of stratagem and valour, defeated all their designs, reduced the *Polish* army to great extremity, and forced the general to relinquish the enterprize. Notwithstanding this advantage, they solemnly protested that they were far from any design of revolting from the obedience they owed the republic; their sole view was to preserve the immunities conferred on them by the illustrious *Batori*, and con- g

(A) The name of this place is differently spelled by *ravia*; the *French* call it *Tretimerov*; but we have writers. Some of the *Latin* authors write it *Tetimo-* followed the *Polish* orthography.

signed

a firm'd by all his successors. These they boldly affirmed they would assert with the last drop of their blood; but, as a proof of their attachment to the republic, they were willing, though conquerors, to lay down their arms, upon the same conditions stipulated in the late treaty, and a renewal of the amnesty then granted. The king and senate assented to all that was proposed, because they were in no condition to withstand the power of the victorious *Cossacks*; but they resolv'd to break through their engagements as soon as the opportunity offer'd; and the *Cossacks* had scarce return'd to their houses and disbanded their forces, when the *Polish* lords committed a variety of outrages, which rekindled the flames of war with redoubled vehemence. They sent detachments thither to seize upon the peasants who had taken shelter with the *Cossacks*; they suppress'd the *Greek* religion which b that people profess'd, and deprived them of their churches; they tyranniz'd over a people who were really their conquerors, and whom they ought to have soothed and cajoled; had they paid the least regard to the true interest of the republic: in a word, they drove to extremity this warlike body of militia, and lighted up a fire which was scarce extinguish'd but with the destruction of *Poland*. The particular cause of the revolt is thus related:

KZMIELNISKI, originally a *Lithuanian*, had acquired great influence and credit among the *Cossacks*. In his youth he had been carried off by the *Tartars*; but redeemed by his mother, he return'd to the *Ukraine*, and cultivat'd an estate bequeath'd to him by his father, in the neighbourhood of the *Polish* fortress of *Czerin*. He added a piece of waste ground to his patrimony, which lay contiguous to the fort; but after he had c clear'd and cultivat'd it, the *Polish* governor claim'd it as his right, and enforced his pretensions by a violent seizure of the ground. The *Cossack* appeal'd to *Uladislaus*, and he was determin'd to be in the wrong, the land being adjudg'd to the *Polish* governor, whose interest prevail'd at court; nor was any acknowledgment made for the expence with which he had cultivat'd a piece of waste ground. Fired with the injury, the *Cossack* complain'd to his countrymen, exclaim'd against the partiality of the court, and behav'd with great haughtiness to the governor, whom he treat'd as a tyrant. The dispute rose higher; and the governor, in contempt of *Kzmielniski*, carry'd off his wife by violence, ravish'd, and then put her to death. Not contented with this piece of barbarity, he set fire to the house of the *Cossack*, in which perish'd his infant son in the cradle. Some d writers vindicate the *Pole* by asserting, that he committed these cruelties in revenge of *Kzmielniski's* having him publicly and ignominiously whipp'd^s. Be this as it may, certain it is, that these transactions, together with a number of other violences, gave birth to the revolt which now suddenly broke out. The *Cossack* chief desert'd his habitation in a rage, took sanctuary in the islands of the *Boristhenes*, where he stirr'd up the whole nation to a resolution of renouncing the sovereignty of the republic, revenging the injuries they had sustain'd, assembling an army, and either conquering or perishing in the cause of liberty. *Kzmielniski* was elect'd chief, and the most vigorous measures were pursu'd for executing the dictates of the most signal vengeance.

SUCH was the situation of *Poland*, on the eve of a dangerous war, when the sovereign e was seiz'd with a malignant fever, of which he died in a few days at *Merick* in *Lithuania*, in the sixteenth year of his reign. This was a terrible blow to the republic, who, besides the troubles to be apprehend'd from an election, had lost in *Uladislaus* the best general in *Poland*, at a period when she most wanted the exertion of his valour and abilities. His death remov'd the barrier which had restrain'd the *Cossacks* from breaking out some years before into open rebellion; and they now seiz'd the opportunity of giving vent to their fury during the inter-regnum. Their general, though brought from the plough to command an army, display'd a courage and capacity which would have reflect'd honour on the most consummate officer and politician. By his address and eloquence he subdu'd that invincible hatred which had always render'd the *Tartars* and *Cossacks* declar'd enemies, f and unit'd both nations by the closest ties of union and amity against *Poland*. The confusion in *Poland*, consequent on the divisions of the nobility, who declar'd in favour of different competitors for the crown, facilitat'd his projects; he march'd with an army of *Tartars* and *Cossacks*, gave battle to the *Polish* general *Potoski*, and obtain'd a complete victory in the neighbourhood of *Korsen*. This success was follow'd by another victory gain'd over the *Poles* in *Volhinia*, and by an irruption into the provinces of *Podolia* and *Russia*, which he desolat'd with all the fury of an enrag'd barbarian. All the gentry were put to death, and the peasants were pillag'd, stripp'd, and turn'd out naked into the fields to starve with cold and hunger, if they refus'd to enlist under his banners. *Leopold* escap'd being plunder'd by paying a large contribution, and *Cracow* was threaten'd with such imminent g danger, that the crown-jewels were remov'd to a place of greater security. In a word, the ravages of the *Cossacks* were so dreadful, that whole provinces were render'd desert,

Death of
Uladislaus;
May 1648.

The Cossacks
defeat the
Poles.

^s HEIDENSTEIN, lib. xi. p. 327. FONT. lib. v. CONN. tom. i. lib. iii. BIZARD. p. 89.

and the *Polish* frontiers, towards *Muscovy* and *Tartary*, which before were so populous, turned to a solitude, remaining destitute of inhabitants to this day. Every town in *Poland* was overwhelmed with consternation; and the diet at *Warsaw* entertained some thoughts of translating the assembly to *Dantzick*, as the only place of safety; but this intention was rendered unnecessary by some fortunate circumstances, to which, and not to the manly endeavours of the *Poles*, we are to ascribe their escape from the most imminent peril that ever threatened the republic.

THE *Cossack* general, pursuing his advantage, advanced with his army to *Pilavi*, where he defeated a third army of *Poles*, and found in their camp an immense booty, called by some equal to six millions of the money of the country. Though the victory was obtained without the assistance of the *Tartars*, yet as these free-booters joined the army next day, they demanded a share in the spoils, and were refused by the *Cossacks*; who, fearing they should attempt violent means, returned with the utmost dispatch to the *Ukraine*, relieving the diet from the most terrible apprehensions. To this booty may we attribute the safety of *Poland*, which otherwise must have fallen inevitably under the power of the conquering *Kzmielniski*. Now the diet was at liberty to enter upon measures for checking the progress of the rebels, for restoring the usual vigour of the government, by terminating an interregnum which had almost proved fatal to the kingdom. A spirit began to display itself among all degrees of men; even the clergy contributed half their revenues towards levying and maintaining an army. The example was followed by the gentry, and recruits were raised in such abundance, that an army, more than sufficient to crush the *Cossacks*, might have been assembled, had not the divisions about a prince rendered the laudable efforts for the defence of the state fruitless. Some of the candidates were formidable, and threatened to assist either in succouring or destroying *Poland* with powerful armies, according as they succeeded in their election. Among these were *Ragotzi* prince of *Transylvania*, and the czar of *Muscovy*; the former appearing at the head of thirty thousand men to serve against the *Cossacks* if he was chosen, or to join with them if his proposals were rejected; the latter expressing himself in a still more imperious manner, and determining to seize by force, a crown which always depended on the free gift of the people. Such menaces could not fail of encreasing the inquietude of the nation at so critical a juncture; the diet however had the courage not to be influenced by them so far as to relinquish their own rights. A majority of voices appeared in favour of *John Casimir*, though assisted by no troops, recommended by no powerful foreign interest, and labouring under the disadvantage of ecclesiastical engagements, which at the same time disqualified him as a candidate, and intimated his incapacity of supporting the weight of sovereignty. He had been educated a Jesuit; but to absolve him from the vows made to that society, the pontiff bestowed on him a cardinal's hat. The Jesuits had occasioned great disturbances in the last reign; and the hatred which several of the nobility bore to the whole society, fell heavy upon a prince who had once been a member of the community of *Jesus*. Accordingly *Charles Ferdinand*, bishop of *Ploskow*, the younger brother of the late monarch, was opposed to *Casimir* his brother, and warmly supported by the bishop of *Kiow*, whose ambition flattered him with the primacy and diocese of *Cnesna*, could he succeed in appointing the sovereign. *Christina* queen of *Sweden* likewise supported this prelate strenuously from motives of policy, and merely because she knew his want of capacity. It was her interest to see *Poland* governed by a weak prince; she therefore exerted her utmost influence against *Casimir*, because she dreaded his talents, and the popularity he was likely to acquire. The Protestants of the kingdom too unanimously closed in with the designs of the prelate of *Kiow*, because they apprehended *Casimir's* education among the Jesuits must necessarily influence all his future conduct; but the *Roman Catholics* urged his election with the utmost zeal, from the notions they entertained of his ability and piety. But what operated the most powerfully on the minds of the electors was an elegant manly speech made by the bishop of *Samogitia*, in which, by the force of his eloquence, he overturned all the arguments advanced against *Casimir's* elevation by the opposite party, and unanimously determined the diet to his election. Even the *Swedish* ambassador yielded to this prelate's irresistible persuasion: and, informed of the engagements which *Charles Ferdinand* had contracted with the house of *Austria*, queen *Christina* became a strong advocate for the prince she had lately opposed^a. The pope's nuncio, and the *French* ambassador likewise, contributed to bring over some of the more obstinate among the deputies to his interest. Thus prince *John Casimir* was proclaimed on the twentieth day of *November*.

Disputes about
the election of
a successor.

^a HEIDENSTEIN, lib. xi. PUFFEND. lib. iv. tom. iv.

J O H N C A S I M I R .

^a *CASIMIR* was no sooner established in the throne than he expressed his disapprobation of the measures which had given birth to the *Cossack* rebellion. He knew the true interest of the kingdom, and persisted in accommodating matters, in opposition to the whole body of nobility. No advantage he was sensible could arise even from a successful war, except to a few individuals, whose avarice and tyrannical dispositions might possibly be gratified by imposing servitude on this warlike race, and thereby augmenting the number of their own dependents, and enlarging the sphere of their despotism. They exhorted *Casimir* to take the field, and received for answer, that they ought not to have set *Kzmielniski's* house on fire (B). In these sentiments he proved so inflexible, that the nobility resolved to act without his consent, and accordingly raised an army, and marched into the *Ukraine*. The relations given of the first operations of the campaign are extremely deficient. One writer alledges, that the nobility, raising fifty thousand men, were defeated on their first appearance by ten thousand *Cossacks*, who, in consequence of the victory, reduced and plundered *Kiow*; and that, resolving to repair their loss, and wipe off their disgrace, they raised every seventh man in the kingdom without the king's consent, came to action a second time, and were defeated with still greater slaughter and ignominy¹. Other historians on the contrary alledge, that the *Polish* army did not exceed nine thousand men^k, who were attacked by the *Cossack* chief and the cham of *Tartary*, at the head of three hundred and forty thousand men: that, shut up in *Zbarro*, they courageously defended themselves, and resisted the united pressure of famine, fatigue, and a powerful enemy, until *Casimir*, taking compassion on their deplorable circumstances, pardoned their errors out of admiration of their valour, and marched with the utmost rapidity with the crown-army to their relief. The king's forces amounted only to twenty thousand men, but they were composed of veterans and the flower of the *Polish* dominions. On his approach the cham and *Kzmielniski* marched out of their lines with an hundred and ten thousand chosen men to give him battle, the remainder of their army being employed in blocking up all the passes, and resisting the sallies of the *Poles* besieged in the town. *Casimir* prudently entrenched himself, the better to withstand this unequal force; his camp was attacked, and he gave so warm a reception to the combined chiefs, that they soon became tractable, and voluntarily made overtures of pacification, which the king, always averse to the war, gladly embraced. A treaty was accordingly concluded, whereby the king promised to renew the tribute paid to the cham by the republic, and abolished in the last reign; to pass an act of indemnity; to confirm the *Cossacks* in all their privileges; to grant them the free exercise of the *Greek* religion; and to augment the number of their militia. On their side, the chiefs engaged to defend the frontiers of the republic, and that the *Cossacks* should strictly observe the allegiance which they owed to the king and commonwealth of *Poland*.

John Casimir elected.

A. D. 1649.

He concludes peace with the Cossacks.

^e *AMBITION* had now taken possession of the mind of *Kzmielniski*, who at first was actuated only by the desire of obtaining justice, gratifying a private revenge, and securing the liberty of his country. His successes had inspired him with the thoughts of entirely throwing off his dependence on the republic, and of forming a community under the protection of the *Ottoman* empire, with which he could stipulate his own terms, as the submission was voluntary, and equally advantageous to the Grand Signior and to the *Cossack* chief. To this circumstance, and to the refusal of the peasants in the *Ukraine* to submit to the *Polish* lords, the bulk of writers ascribe the infraction of the late treaty, and the fresh rupture which ensued. *Puffendorf*¹, however, lays the blame on the *Polish* nobility, who, he alledges, attacked *Kiow* at the time *Kzmielniski* was celebrating his son's nuptials with a daughter of the vaivode of *Walachia*, plundered the town, and carried off the *Greek* patriarch. The *Cossacks* sent deputies to the king to complain of the injury, to know if he had authorized it, and to demand redress; to which *Casimir* replied, that it was an act of the *Polish* nobility, which he had no power to punish, though he greatly disapproved the proceeding. Upon this the *Cossacks* assembled, and in revenge made an irruption into *Poland*, in conjunction with the *Tartars*. To which ever of these causes we ascribe the war, certain it is, that the preservation of the state obliged the king to take the field, to oppose the ruinous depredations of the united barbarians, who laid every province desolate through which they passed. He levied an army of one hundred thousand men, advanced against the enemy, and in a pitched battle defeated, with great slaughter, a *Tartarian* army of

War renewed.

Casimir defeats the enemy.

ⁱ Id. ibid.

^k FONT. cap. v.

¹ Lib. iv. tom. iv. p. 329.

(B) Some writers alledge, that it was the *Cossack* chief's mill, and not his house, that was burnt; a circumstance indeed of very little consequence (1).

(1) *Puffend. Hist. Gener. tom. iv. p. 328. Connor, let. iii.*

thrice his number. This victory was obtained in the neighbourhood of *Bereteskow*, before the *Cossacks* could come up to the relief of their allies, and the very report of it was sufficient to put those rebels in confusion. *Kzmielniski's* lieutenant marching out with a detachment to attack an out-post of the *Poles*, a panic seized the whole *Tabor*: it was thought their general had deserted them, the whole fled with precipitation, and reached the *Ukraine*, before they had discovered their mistake, or recollected their spirits. Here cool reflection took place of their resentment: proposals of peace were sent to the king, and accepted, on condition that the *Zaporavian* militia should be reduced to twenty thousand men; that the *Cossacks* would express their penitence, and engage to adhere to the articles of the late treaty. The nobility murmured at this treaty, as too favourable to the enemy; and the *Cossack* chief determined to maintain it no longer than until he could retrieve his affairs, and raise sufficient forces to vindicate his perfidy.

A. D. 1653.
The Russians
break with
Poland.

In this situation was the republic, when the *Russians* determined to make their advantage of the disposition of the *Cossacks*, and the divisions that subsisted between *Casimir* and the *Polish* nobility. They entered *Lithuania* by the way of *Smolensko* with a prodigious army, and were immediately joined by a strong detachment of *Cossacks* sent by *Kzmielniski*; while the main bodies of the *Cossack* and *Tartarian* armies ravaged *Poland* on the other side. The *Russians* laid siege to *Smolensko*, and reduced it, after a tedious siege, and gallant defence made by the *Polish* garrison. They afterwards ravaged the great duchy of *Lithuania*, reduced *Wilna* and other cities, which they pillaged, after treating the inhabitants with the utmost barbarity, and committing the most horrible cruelties. But, as if the republic had not been sufficiently embarrassed with such a variety of powerful enemies, *Charles Gustavus*, who succeeded to the crown of *Sweden* on the abdication of *Christina*, determined to assist in completing her misfortunes. The opportunity was seasonable for retrieving the losses consequent on the battle at *Nordlingen*, and breaking the treaty of *Stunsdorf*, by which *Prussia* was intirely evacuated. The ambitious *Charles* carried his designs to the intire conquest of *Poland*; and as he was assisted not only by the numerous forces of the barbarians, but likewise by certain discontented lords, who resented *Casimir's* lenity to the *Cossacks*, his project had all the appearance of success. In vain did the court of *France* interpose her good offices, and endeavour to break the storm which threatened *Poland* with inevitable destruction. The king of *Sweden* was too earnest in the pursuit of his schemes, and too sanguine of success, to listen to any reasonable conditions. What chiefly incensed *Charles* was the protest entered by the *Polish* ministers at *Stockholm* against *Christina's* resignation. This first put him on the scheme of revenge, and made him deaf to all the proposals made by *Casimir*, by the several ambassadors whom he dispatched to *Sweden*. *Charles* refused giving audience to some of these; and in particular ordered the *Polish* minister *Merstein* to quit his court, with an air the most insolent and contemptuous.

The king of
Sweden in-
vades and con-
quers Poland.

IMMEDIATELY after the departure of the ambassador, he ordered part of his army to advance into *Poland* by the *Lower Pomerania* and the *New Marche*, under the conduct of general *Wittemberg*, whose first appearance dispersed a body of fifteen thousand *Poles*, sent by the king to oppose his progress. In consequence several discontented palatines submitted, and took an oath of allegiance to *Charles Gustavus*. At the same time the king, at the head of the main army, penetrated into *Great Poland*; and after reducing the province of *Mazovia*, and almost all *Little Poland*, laid siege to *Cracow*, and carried that capital, after a feeble resistance. The conqueror entered the city in triumph, and obliged the unfortunate *Casimir*, destitute of money and troops, deserted by the nobility and army, to seek an asylum in *Silesia*. *Puffendorf* indeed affirms, that *Stephen Czarneski*, governor of *Cracow*, defended himself with great courage and ability; and did not surrender before his garrison was quite spent with fatigue, covered with wounds, and greatly diminished, after having made dreadful slaughter among the besiegers.

THOUGH necessity, and the timidity or perfidy of the nobility, had occasioned *Casimir's* flight; yet the provinces and militia considered his retreat as an abdication, took an oath to the conqueror, and acknowledged themselves subject to the crown of *Sweden*. The governors of *Great* and *Little Poland*, of *Mazovia*, of *Red Russia*, *Podolia*, and *Volhinia*, all sent deputations to the *Swedish* monarch, meanly complimenting him on his arrival in the dominions of the republic; and it was even deliberated whether an offer should not be made him of the crown. *Lithuania*, in particular, thro' the intrigues of the discontented *Radzivil*, appeared extremely forward in this proposal; but the spirited conduct of the city of *Dantzick* soon altered the sentiments of the *Polish* nation, and animated the people with fresh courage, as soon as their first terrors were effaced. *Charles Gustavus* having, as he thought, intirely subdued *Poland*, turned his arms to the conquest of *Prussia*, where all the cities and fortresses made scarce any resistance, except *Dantzick*. Here the burghers at first appeared disposed to copy the pusillanimous example of the rest of the nation; but suddenly changed their resolution by the address and spirited harangues of the clergy, who animated them with

The spirit of
the Dant-
zickers.

a with their exhortations and example; and by dint of eloquence, of public spirit, and of valour, attached them more strongly than ever to the crown of *Poland*. The king of *Sweden*'s own conduct likewise assisted their designs. He had ordered a fleet to cruize before the harbour, and to levy exorbitant duties upon all merchandize: the clergy turned this circumstance to their advantage, representing it as a specimen of what they were to expect under the government of the *Suedish* tyrant. All now flew to arms; and the example of the *Dantzickers* operated powerfully on all the other cities, that were oppressed with heavy contributions and grievous exactions; notwithstanding the people were in other respects treated with great lenity. The imposition of fifteen *timphes* upon every hearth excited a general disaffection in a free people, ever averse to servitude and despotism. They could not consent to become tributary to *Sweden*, a kingdom upon which their sovereigns formed legal claims; and they took the noble resolution of repairing their errors, and breaking the chains in which they saw themselves held by the conquerors. To accomplish their schemes with the greater facility, such conditions were offered to the *Tartars* as not only established a peace, but an alliance with that people, which proved of the utmost utility to *Poland*. *Casimir* was privately invited to return to his dominions, and he immediately put himself at the head of a considerable army assembled by the nobility. In conjunction with the *Tartars*, *Czarnecki* surprised a corps of *Swedes* in the neighbourhood of *Jarislav*, defeated them, and became master of their baggage. The effects of this victory were of still more consequence, as it raised an emulation through the whole *Polish* dominions, who should best distinguish their loyalty, and by acts of gallantry efface the stains of perfidy to an excellent prince, and national pusillanimity. The *Lithuanians*, who had lately been the strong advocates of the *Swedish* monarch, now of a sudden altered their sentiments, attacked and massacred the *Swedish* soldiers, dispersed in quarters, before they could unite or form themselves into a body. Besides these advantages, the *Poles* had reduced *Warsaw*, where they made general *Wittenberg* and a numerous garrison prisoners, contrary to the express conditions of the capitulation.

The Swedes defeated.

THIS treacherous action soon met with the punishment it merited, and proved almost fatal to *Poland*. *Charles Gustavus* had about this time formed an alliance with the elector of *Brandenburg*, whereby it was stipulated, that the elector should enjoy an absolute dominion in *Ducal Prussia*, on condition that he would assist in retaking *Warsaw*, punishing the perfidy of the *Poles*, and conquering the republic. Reinforced by the electoral troops, the king advanced to *Warsaw*, and laid siege to the city. The *Poles* exerted their utmost endeavours to preserve it: a battle was fought before the walls, and victory obstinately disputed for three days, when it at last declared in favour of the *Swedes* and *Brandenburghers*. The city was taken, and the slaughter was the more dreadful, as the conquest was so valiantly disputed: scarce a soul escaped the sword, the town was pillaged, and the republic now reduced to a more deplorable state than ever, because *Charles* considered the people as traitors.

A. D. 1656

WHILE *Poland* was bleeding under the last severe blow, another enemy appeared. *Ragotski*, prince of *Transylvania*, seized this opportunity of resenting his exclusion from the throne at the last general election. He now thought he might effect his purposes with the assistance of the king of *Sweden*, and, by acknowledging *Poland* tributary, obtain the crown from that monarch. Puffed up with the delusive promises of an astrologer, who had flattered him with the hope of a diadem, his imagination even carried him not only to renounce the tribute to *Sweden*, but to conquer that kingdom; though policy required, that he should in the mean time make use of *Charles Gustavus* as the instrument of his great projects. He had an army of thirty thousand men at his command; and it is probable that his ambitious schemes might have succeeded in part, had he not been too confident of success, and assured that his forces were irresistible. *Gustavus* advised him to penetrate into *Poland* by the palatinate of *Bressia*, and to wait there for the junction of the *Swedish* army. Had he followed this counsel, he would have at least avoided the disgrace of a signal defeat; in consequence of which he was forced to retire precipitately to *Transylvania*, with the shattered remains of his forces (C).

HAPPILY for the republic, the king of *Denmark* and several other potentates took umbrage at the unprovoked attack on *Poland*, and grew jealous of the rapid success which attended the arms of *Charles Gustavus*. His *Danish* majesty was busied in warlike preparations; the *Russians* made an irruption into *Livonia*, and was laying siege to *Riga*; the *Dutch* expressed some uneasiness at the conquests made in *Prussia*; and other powers gave *Gustavus* to understand, that they would not sit tranquil spectators of the ruin of *Poland*, and the subversion of the balance of power in the North. The Sultan too seemed

State of Europe.

(C) *Radziwil* and his chief officers were taken prisoners in this action, which happened near *Lissa*; but they were delivered by general *Steinbeck*, who gained an advantage over the *Poles* in the neighbourhood of *Philippowa*.

to favour *Poland*; for he was so enraged at *Ragotski's* entering the republic's dominions against his express orders, that he enjoined the *Transylvanians* to elect another vaivode; sent forces against this unfortunate prince, who vainly implored the assistance of the emperor; and, after several bloody battles, established the rival of *Ragotski*, who perished of wounds received in the last engagement. But what afforded immediate relief to *Poland* was the open rupture between the courts of *Stockholm* and *Copenhagen*, and the consequent invasion of the island of *Zeland*, which not only drew the *Swedish* monarch, but the bulk of his army, from the territories of the republic. A body of *German* auxiliaries had likewise joined the *Polish* army, by which means *Casimir* was enabled to lay siege to *Cracow*. The *Swedish* garrison was commanded by *Wartz*, who behaved with great gallantry; but finding he could expect no relief, was forced to capitulate, after he had filled the trenches with carnage by repeated desperate sallies. General *Czarneski* too was dispatched with an army cross the *Oder*, to make an irruption into *Pomerania*, which, after ravaging in a terrible manner, he evacuated, from an apprehension that the enemy would cut off his retreat, and shut him up in a country which himself had desolated. An attempt was made on *Riga* and other places in *Livonia*; but they proved equally unfortunate: however, the great inferiority of the *Swedes*, and the sudden change of measures at the court of *Berlin* (D), rendered it apparent that *Charles Gustavus* must soon relinquish all his conquests in *Poland*. His troops were driven out of *Courland*, and *Graudentz* in *Prussia* was recovered by the *Poles*: in a word, every thing contributed to blast all the laurels which *Charles* had gathered in the pursuit of glory, equal to that of the celebrated *Gustavus Adolphus*; when, happily perhaps for his reputation, for his people, and *Europe* in general, death cut short the designs of this enterprising spirited monarch. This event produced the congress at *Oliva*, where a peace was concluded between *John Casimir* and *Charles XI.* or rather the regency of *Sweden*, upon condition that the king of *Poland* should renounce all claim to the *Swedish* crown; and that the *Swedes* should restore all their conquests in *Poland*, *Prussia*, and *Livonia*, *Riga* and a few other places excepted. Thus, by parting with a vain ideal right, *Casimir* acquired the actual possession of all his dominions, and those vast territories, on the reduction of which the late king of *Sweden* had lavished the blood and treasure of his subjects with the utmost prodigality (E).

The Swedes
driven out of
Poland.

A. D. 1660.
Peace of Oliva

Civil commo-
tions, and a
war with
Russia.

THE felicity consequent on this astonishing change in the affairs of *Casimir*, was soon disturbed, as some writers alledge, by the king's ambition: while others freely censure the conduct of *Lubomirski*, the crown-general, on whom they lay the blame of all the ensuing misfortunes. According to the former, the king had hired thirty thousand *Germans*, under pretence of releasing certain noblemen detained prisoners by the *Tartars*, in contempt of treaties; but in fact, with design to render himself despotic; a measure very opposite to the principles which he professed at his accession. *Lubomirski* penetrated into his most secret sentiments; and, with great resolution and public spirit, opposed himself as the protector of liberty, and guardian of the constitution. At first he used persuasion; but finding that *Casimir*, confident of his strength, refused to listen to his arguments, he levied forces, attacked the auxiliaries, defeated them, took their general prisoner, and obliged the king to dismiss the broken remains of the *Germans*; which so chagrined *Casimir*, that he soon after abdicated the crown.

THE relation of this transaction, given by some other historians of perhaps greater credit, is the following. During the war with *Sweden*, the *Russians* had made divers incursions into the *Polish* dominions, which *Casimir* now determined to revenge. With this view an army was sent to the frontiers under general *Czarneski* and prince *Sapieha*, who were so fortunate as to cut off an army of twenty-six thousand *Muscovites* in the neighbourhood of *Polanski*. Another battle was soon after fought in the plains of *Glembokia*, in which the *Russians* were again defeated, with the slaughter of ten thousand of their best soldiers; upon which *Casimir* laid siege to *Vilna*, the capital of *Lithuania*, taken by the enemy during the late war with *Sweden*. At the first onset the *Poles* carried the city; but the garrison defended

(D) The elector of *Brandenburg*, finding that *Charles Gustavus* was not in a condition to place him in the sovereignty of *Ducal Prussia*, as had been stipulated, and that he had even resolved to compound with the republic for eight hundred thousand dollars, resolved to close in with the *Poles*, advance that sum to *Casimir*, and unite his forces to those of the king, upon the same terms he had agreed with the *Swedish* monarch. The republic, glad of gaining such an ally at the expence of her enemies, consented to the proposal, on condition that *Ducal Prussia* should revert to *Poland*, in case the elector died without male issue: and thus the two princes joined to drive out the *Swedes* (1).

(E) We must not omit a circumstance mentioned by some of the *Polish* writers, on which all the *Swedish* historians are silent. They attribute the war with *Charles Gustavus*, and the invasion of the *Polish* dominions, to the resentment of the grand-chancellor *Radzewski*. The king had carried on an intrigue, it is said, with the wife of this senator; who, to gratify the dictates of revenge, formed a strong party against the court, and then invited the *Swedes* into *Livonia* and *Courland*, where they soon defeated the duke, and carried him off prisoner (2).

(1) *Puff. Rer. Brandenb. lib. viii. sect. lv. p. 508.*

(2) *Hartnoch, lib. i. Conner, tom. i. lib. iii.*

- a the citadel, a place of considerable strength, with great obstinacy and valour. In vain was every stratagem of war put in practice: the *Russians* withstood all the efforts made by the *Poles*, until at last the enterprize proved almost fatal to the king and republic. Divisions arose between the king and some of the nobility, who aspired at more power, under the pretext of opposing the extension of the royal prerogative. The want of unanimity in the camp destroyed the vigour of the besiegers, exposed them to the sallies of the garrison, and produced a total languor and inactivity, that protracted the siege, and spun the war out to great length. At last the animosity of the king and nobles rose so high, that the latter chose prince *Lubomirski* for their general, and determined to decide the difference by the sword. It was alledged, that the *German* levies were introduced to destroy the liberties of the republic, and not to recover her territories. Forces were raised on both sides, and the republic saw her own members ready to destroy her existence. A battle ensued, the royal party was defeated, and the conquerors threw themselves at the king's feet, to desire he would restore peace to his subjects, upon such conditions as should render their privileges secure. Their submission, however, was only a veil drawn over their ambition, in order to render their cause still more popular, and engage the king to dismiss the *German* levies. *Casimir* suspected as much; but he could not avoid sending home the levies, without incurring the hatred of all his subjects, and the odious name of tyrant. No sooner had he weakened himself by this compliance, than the discontented party threw off the mask, lost all respect for the sacred person of the king, and raised so many vexations in his way, that he resigned the crown in disgust, and retired the year following to *France*, where he died about five years after. Before his abdication he assembled a diet at *Leopold*, to deliberate on measures for paying off the long arrears due to the army; and to effect this, it was thought necessary to call in all the gold and silver of the kingdom to be recoined. This expedient being found insufficient, the states resolved upon an extraordinary coinage of copper, which was raised likewise to double its intrinsic value. It is affirmed, that *Casimir* had his secret designs at the time in this augmentation of the value of copper coin, with which he paid the army, remitting the gold and silver privately to *France*, in order to secure him a competency in his retirement. Yet it is probable, that the discontented were wholly the authors of these calumnies, in order to vindicate their own conduct. Certain it is, that they never forgave the king's aversion to the *Cossack* war, which might be deemed the remote cause of their rebellion, and of all the aspersions thrown upon the character of a prince, who had shewn himself mild, affable, humane, and generous in the beginning of his government, though almost always unfortunate. The complaints made against the augmentation of the coin, arose rather from spleen and prejudice than from reason. Whatever inconveniences such a measure might produce in a commercial kingdom, under the necessity of supporting public credit with respect to the neighbouring states, it could have none in *Poland*, where the whole industry of the nation was confined to itself, and all the trade only between one subject and another. Here raising the value was no more than establishing a bank, to render money more plentiful, without at all diminishing the credit of the people with other powers, with whom they had no intercourse or connection. So far were these prejudices carried, that the *Poles* accuse *Casimir* of having favoured the rebellion of the *Cossacks*, merely to impoverish the nobility, and humble a set of men whom he regarded as spies upon the royal conduct. They go so far as to affirm, that he even invited the *Cossack* general to invade *Poland*, as, they say, appears unquestionably from a letter of the king's to *Kzmielniski*, that was intercepted; but we have no authentic proofs that such a letter ever existed, notwithstanding *Dr. Connor* relates it as a point beyond all dispute. Nor did his enemies fail to upbraid his abdication as either cowardly or treacherous, without reflecting that some of the greatest princes had done the same upon trifling disgusts, while *Casimir* was almost driven to this extremity.
- f "WHY, says *Casimir Zawadowski*, in his *Secret History*, did *John Casimir* renounce the sceptre which he had so earnestly solicited? All *Poland* stood amazed at a measure which seemed to point out the extinction of her liberties. It looked as if the king had foreseen the fall of the *Polish* empire, and retired, lest he should be overwhelmed in its ruins. This dishonourable fear was thought to be the cause of his retreat, at a time when he was not only in a condition to support the cares of the government, but to enjoy his pleasures. It seemed as if he regarded his subjects as his enemies, and that he fled like a conquered prince driven out of his dominions."
- THE truth is, *Casimir* had great reason to look upon his subjects as enemies. They were in open arms against him, while his prerogative was too limited to admit of his making any considerable resistance. His abdication is a proof of his sentiment, instead of being a reflection on his courage: it evinced, that he put no value on the dignity of sovereign of a

A. D. 1668.

Casimir resigns the crown.

Defence of Casimir's conduct

people whom he despised. This much we thought necessary in defence of the character of a prince, who has been egregiously traduced and misrepresented by all the historians, who seem to have copied each other, without attending to facts, and the particulars of *Casimir's* conduct; the only true method of catching the features of the mind (F).

A. D. 1669. *CASIMIR's* resignation involved the nation in fresh scenes of discord and confusion. The nobility took up arms, and came in numerous squadrons into the field of election. This they intended as a precaution against intrigue and caballing: it produced the contrary effect, and had almost proved fatal to themselves and the republic. Borne away by the torrent of caprice and passion, they separated into factions, drew their swords against each other, against the senate, and chief lords, and pointed those arms at the vitals of the state which they had taken up in defence of her privileges, and the freedom of their own suffrages. The day for opening the general diet was fixed for the second of *May* by the primate archbishop of *Gnesna*; but the inter regnum was not disturbed, like the former, by religious parties, the late king having taken such measures as effectually suppressed Socinianism, and inspired the other sects with terror*. Four candidates appeared for the crown of *Poland*. The first was the eldest son of the czar of *Muscovy*, who had been educated in the *Polish* dominions, spoke the language, and imitated the manners of the country, which were strong arguments in his favour; though the czar had still more powerful in reserve. An army of eighty thousand men waited for the answer of the diet on the frontiers, ready to break in upon the territories of the republic, should the prince be rejected. The grand duke besides promised, that his son should embrace the *Roman Catholic* religion; that he should publicly renounce his claim to the diadem of *Muscovy*; that *Kiow*, and all the places conquered from *Poland*, should be restored; and that four millions should be paid to the treasury of the republic, to discharge the arrears of the army. These were exceedingly advantageous proposals; but they were accompanied with menaces that rendered them disagreeable, and excited the resentment of the whole *Polish* nation. Even the czar's offer of supporting the republic with an army of forty thousand men was construed into a reflection on her weakness, as if she was unable to defend her own frontiers, and repel the attacks of her enemies. However, as the *Poles* were not able to resist the weight of so prodigious an army as the czar had assembled on the frontiers, they chose to act with caution, and not give umbrage to the court of *Muscovy* unnecessarily. With this view they dissembled their intentions; and *Pack*, high chancellor of *Lithuania*, was ordered to assure the czar of the good-will and esteem of the *Poles* for his son, and their design of raising him to the throne, provided they could have security that he was sincere in his renunciation of the *Greek* faith. It was the business of the czar immediately to remove this difficulty; to effect which he procured a declaration of the patriarch and clergy of *Muscovy*, testifying, that as the intention of the young prince, in offering himself a candidate for the crown of *Poland*, was only to strengthen Christianity against the common enemy, the *Turk*, he might lawfully conform to the *Latin* church: so easily do the clergy suggest arguments to palliate ambition. The *Poles*, however, who wanted only to gain time, found excuses for not immediately declaring in favour of the *Muscovite*, and amused him with specious counterfeit appearances.

THE other candidates were the prince of *Condé*, the duke of *Newburgh*, and prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*; each of whom was supported by his particular faction. Not only the primate archbishop and general *Sobieski* were thought to favour the *Condé* interest, but *Oberski*, starosta of *Warsaw*, a nobleman of great power and influence, declared openly in his behalf, and set to work every engine of intrigue to carry his election. The party was extremely sanguine; and indeed the general opinion determined the dispute for the prince of *Condé*, whose friends were known to be powerful, and supposed to be the most numerous. However, the spirit of the opposite factions changed the face of affairs in a manner very unexpected. The standard-bearer of the palatinate of *Sandomir*, obtaining leave to speak in the assembly, rose up, and pronounced a bitter invective against *Oberski*, whom he charged with corruption, and betraying the liberty of his country. He even produced letters in confirmation of his allegation, whereby it appeared that the archbishop of *Gnesna*, and divers lords, who were now stiled the infamous tools of *French* policy, had held private meetings, and caballed in favour of the prince of *Condé*; and that the senate proposed, in direct violation of the constitution, to determine the election, without regard to the inferior departments of the diet. Such proofs of corruption were no sooner exhibited than the

* Vide Sect. I.

(F) It is usual to compliment the memories of bad princes with the most pompous and fulsome praises on their monuments: the fine *Latin* inscription wrote by *Casimir* in the abbey of *St. Germain's*, contains nothing more than a catalogue of the virtues which this prince actually possessed (1).

father *Disavalt*, for the stately monument erected to

(1) Vide *Conner*, tom. i. lib. iii.

whole

a whole assembly was fired with indignation. Every member drew his sword, and with loud menaces demanded the trial of *Oberski*, who, terrified at this sudden resolution, endeavoured to make his escape; but was forcibly detained, and obliged to swear that he would renounce the interest of the prince of *Condé*, and regard him as incapable of wearing the crown, because he had sought it by methods deemed unconstitutional. As the primate was likewise suspected of an attachment to the same party, he was required to pronounce, in a public manner, the exclusion of the prince of *Condé*. This, it was imagined, would be the most adequate punishment of a prelate, who, though the guardian of the republic during an inter-regnum, had, in the grossest manner, violated her fundamental laws. However, the ecclesiastic proved too cunning for his adversaries, and eluded the snare, by declaring, b that if the nobility expected a decision of the whole senate, they must be assembled for that purpose; but if they asked only for his particular sentiment, he was ready to proclaim that person sovereign, who should have the suffrages of the whole nation. This opinion he supported by the sentiments of some other spiritual lords, and the influence of the palatines of *Kiew*, *Culm*, and *Pomerania*, together with the interest of the grand-mareschal, who declared aloud, that he would quit his office, if the nobility assumed to themselves the right to proscribe so tumultuously a candidate of so high birth and merit as the prince of *Condé*. Upon this warm debates arose, and it was with difficulty the parties were restrained from coming to blows. The inferior order of gentry became extremely violent, and, notwithstanding the resolution of the great lords, compelled the archbishop, by their c clamours and menaces, to exclude the prince in these words: "I exclude the prince of *Condé* then, since they will have it so." Some writers alledge, that in passing this judgment he omitted the prince's name; but it is probable that the lower department was not to be deceived by so pitiful a subterfuge, and that the archbishop was too well acquainted with their vehemence, and the consequences of his tergiversation, to have recourse to so flimsy a shift. Certain it is, that he was actually compelled to desert the prince, whose faction could never again raise its head.

WILLIAM duke of *Newburg* was supported by the court of *Vienna*, and publicly recommended by the imperial ambassador, though it was imagined he had instructions privately to espouse the duke of *Lorraine*. The *French* too, perceiving they could carry their d point for the prince of *Condé*, closed in with the *Newburg* party, and gave that prince a very probable chance for success. The king of *England* recommended him by letter, and the *Brandenburg* ambassador spoke highly in his praise, and exerted all his interest in his favour. The duke himself promised every thing; but as the assembly knew that the performance exceeded his abilities, all his professions passed for mere compliments. The diet indeed acknowledged his merit; but he was a *German*, and that alone was sufficient to render him obnoxious to the nation; so that the emperor's recommendation, as it was not supported with money, was rather a prejudice to the candidate, especially as the intrigues of the court of *Vienna* were well known to be exerted in favour of the duke of *Lorraine*, who emptied his treasures with liberally promoting his son's claim. This weighed e strongly with the needy avaricious *Poles*; they filled the duke with hope, and repaid his bounty by the most generous promises. For a long time his party was considered as the most powerful; but as soon as the electors observed that he relaxed in his private donations, their ardour suddenly cooled, his party dwindled, and was soon supplanted by a faction of the *Piastes*, which spun out the session of the diet to an intolerable length, exhausted the patience of the nobility, and excited loud complaints of the conduct of the senate, as if their intrigues had been the occasion^a.

Nothing but tumult and confusion ensued. The rage of the multitude broke out against the chief lords, who narrowly escaped being torn in pieces, because they were supposed desirous of infringing the rights of the diet, and engrossing the whole power. The f guards at the doors discharged their muskets into the place of election; and the shot fell among the members of the higher order, the bishops and palatines. The soldiers were intirely under the influence of the mob, who are always ready to insult their superiors. Two lords were slain, some were wounded, and several hid themselves under the benches, or made their escape, and were pursued by the seditious, who loaded them with reproaches and the grossest abuse. In a word, the senate was driven out of the *szopa*, or assembly-house, and the constitution violated in a manner quite unprecedented. The streets were filled with disorder, and scarce a night passed without bloodshed and murder. All the endeavours of the grand-mareschal to appease the multitude were vain. All was a scene of anarchy, and every thing threatened the dissolution of the government; when *Opa-* B *linski*, palatine of *Calisz*, found means to assemble the gentry, whom he addressed with so much elocution and force of argument, as soon assuaged their passions, and removed their

Confusion in the diet.

^a VOLT. Sicc. tom. i. BARRE Hist. Emp. tom. ix. p. 106.
MOD. HIST. VOL. XII.

^a HARTNOCH, lib. i. cap. ii.
6 T prejudices.

prejudices. “ To what purpose, said he, do we cut each others throats for princes with
 “ whom we have no acquaintance or connection? Why shed the blood of our country-
 “ men to serve the ambition and promote the intrigues of foreigners? Will any of these
 “ princes, after their election, acknowledge their obligations to the suffragans, or at all
 “ distinguish those who have hazarded their lives and spent their fortunes in elevating
 “ them to the throne? No; gratitude is not the virtue of sovereigns; policy might
 “ dictate that the other faction should be preferred, merely for the sake of establishing
 “ unanimity. Let us therefore consider our true interest, and without polluting our hands
 “ in the blood of our countrymen, chuse from among them a person worthy to command
 “ over the whole nation, who, by the ties of nature and interest, will be careful of their
 “ rights and privileges. Are there none of the members of the republic worthy of be- b
 “ ing raised to the supreme dignity? Can we, without acknowledging our own de-
 “ merit, seek for kings among foreigners; which is, in other words, telling the whole
 “ world that *Poland* has not a subject who deserves being raised to a throne?”

THIS oration, and particularly mentioning a *Piaſto*, operated powerfully on the multi-
 tude; but there were some, who adhered to the foreign princes, found their interest in
 keeping up the ball of contention, and strenuously opposed the palatine, who, however,
 resolutely maintained his point, and, attended by the palatine of *Posnania*, set out for the
 residence of *Michael Coribut Wiefnowiski*, who had been nominated by about twenty pala-
 tines and great lords. To this choice the *Lithuanians* made the chief opposition; but
 one of their deputies being cut in pieces, they were terrified with the violence of the *Poles*, c
 and obliged to consent to the proclamation of the elected prince.

It was matter of surprize to see a person raised to the throne, who claimed no pretensions
 on account of merit, and was contemptible for his poverty. He was indeed collaterally
 descended from the house of *Jagello*, but had been reduced to great distress by the losses
 which his father sustained in the war with the *Cossacks*. The truth is, none of the pala-
 tines had any design of elevating him to the supreme dignity; they nominated him
 merely to try how the deputies were disposed towards a native. Several palatines aspired
 at the crown; but the diet unexpectedly shewed such an inclination for a *Piaſto*, that *Wief-*
nowiski being once nominated, his election followed of course. It was found impossible to
 turn the tide of popular humour to another channel; and the nobility were obliged to rest d
 satisfied with the thoughts they had a simple easy person for their king, who would be
 wholly guided by their advice.

M I C H A E L C O R I B U T W I E S N O W I S K I.

A. D. 1670:
 17 Sept.
 Michael Co-
 ribut Wiefno-
 wiski elected
 king of Poland

As to *Wiefnowiski*, he was in the utmost amazement at his good fortune, and his asto-
 nishment increased when he was seated by force on a throne erected in the midst of the
 assembly; at the offer made to him of the crown, tears burst from his eyes, he declared
 his incapacity, and intreated that he should not be made the sport of the nation. At last,
 however, he was forced to acquiesce in the determination of the people; and thus the e
 king and his subjects remained under equal astonishment at the election. The primate in-
 deed refused to crown the new king, as had been customary, and retired to his castle at
Lowitz; but the palatine of *Kalisz* prevailed on the senate to use their influence with the
 prelate, and the minor nobility threatened him in such high terms, that he found him-
 self reduced to the necessity of sanctifying measures which he could not approve, and of
 placing the crown on the head of a prince whom he despised.

War with the
 Turks and
 Cossacks.
 A. D. 1671.

Soon after his coronation, *Wiefnowiski* was married to *Eleonora* of *Austria*, daughter to
 the emperor *Ferdinand*, and sister to *Leopold*, notwithstanding he had served the latter in
 quality of gentleman of the bed-chamber. This alliance was attended with its inconve-
 niences. The *Poles* apprehended that the king was desirous of retrenching their privileges, f
 and extending his own prerogatives, with the assistance of the house of *Austria*. A design
 likewise, it was reported, had been formed by the queen of rendering the crown here-
 ditary; but these jealousies were soon dissipated by the king's conduct, and his ready
 compliance with all the demands of his subjects. Yet another storm threatened *Poland*,
 which all *Wiefnowiski's* good nature could not divert, nor his abilities resist. The czar of
Muscovy, incensed at his son's disappointment, and the treacherous conduct of the *Polish*
 deputies, who had long flattered his hope, and soothed him with promises, determined
 upon revenge; and, not satisfied with reviving the discontent of the *Cossacks*, entered
 into an alliance with the *Porte*, in which it was stipulated, that the *Ukraine* should be
 the price of the sultan's assistance. The czar indeed was to enjoy the sovereignty, but g
Turkish garrisons were to be introduced into all the fortresses. As to the *Cossacks*, they
 were extremely well disposed to renew those disturbances, which never failed of producing
 plunder. Besides, *Derozenski*, their new general, was ambitious of procuring an independ-
 dent

- a dent principality, of which himself should be head. With this view he joined the *Tartars* sent by the vizier *Capruli*, to ravage the *Polish* frontiers. The united barbarians accordingly advanced into *Podolia*; and laid siege to the fortrefs of *Kaminiec*, and though it was defended by strong walls, reduced it in the space of ten days, the garrison not being provided with the necessaries for sustaining a siege. Nothing could equal the consternation of the whole kingdom, when the news arrived that *Kaminiec* had surrendered, although no provision had been made for its security. The people begun to blame the senate, and they removed the odium from themselves by laying it upon the sovereign, though the government of the prince was too short to be sufficiently acquainted with the state of the garrisons, or indeed of any affairs civil or military. Recrimination took place of action, b and though the country was entirely open, and nothing remained to oppose the enemy, no steps were taken to raise an army; which obliged the king to purchase a shameful peace, at the expence of *Podolia*; a province ceded to the *Cossacks*; and a tribute of twenty-two thousand ducats yearly to the sultan (G).

- ALL *Poland* cried out against this peace as ignominious; yet it is probable that king *Michael* would have observed it religiously, had the enemy performed their obligations; but instead of retiring, they advanced and laid siege to *Leopold*, which some historians alledge happened in the preceding war, as the reader will observe in the margin. This city was so obstinately defended by *Lencki*, a colonel of dragoons, with no more than fifteen hundred men, that the *Turks* were obliged to raise the siege, upon intelligence of the c approach of the *Polish* army. *Sobieski* was advancing to *Kaminiec*, to lay siege to that fortrefs; but it was necessary first to dislodge the *Turkish* army at *Choczyn*, to prevent the bashaw's disturbing his operations in cutting off his retreat. But this was an enterprize scarcely to be attempted with his slender forces, which did not amount to thirty thousand fighting men. The *Turkish* army exceeded three hundred thousand men, including the troops of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*; the bashaw was so certain of victory, that he had already forged chains for the king and court, and sent word to the sultan, that before the end of the campaign he would fix the *Othoman* standards on the walls of *Cracow*. It is possible he might have fulfilled his boasting, had not the violence of his temper occasioned the desertion of the *Walachians* and *Moldavians*. The sultan, incensed to see that these auxiliaries were badly provided for taking the field, struck the vaivode of *Moldavia* in a passion; d and so enraged that chief, that he vowed revenge, and engaged his brother vaivode of *Walachia* in his quarrel. They intimated their design to *Sobieski*, invited him to attack the *Turkish* camp, and promised to assist him with all their forces. The *Pole* seized the opportunity, presented himself before the *Turkish* intrenchments, was admitted and joined by the vaivodes, who now began an obstinate engagement with the bashaw. For three days the *Turk* maintained his ground, and renewed the engagement by intervals: at last the skill and fortune of *Sobieski*, as well as the superior valour of the *Poles*, prevailed; a complete victory was obtained, terrible slaughter made, a multitude of prisoners were taken, and of the whole *Turkish* army, not more than fifteen thousand were suffered to e make their escape. In a word, the defeat was complete, and had the *Polish* general profited by his success, the sultan would have been forced to give up the shameful tribute, and the *Cossacks* to cede *Podolia*. The truth is, *Sobieski* would have pursued the blow, but the *pospolite* refused to continue in the field longer than they were required by the laws of their country. They accordingly disbanded themselves, returned home, and suffered the king to make peace with the enemy on the best terms he could procure. Some ascribe their conduct to the intrigues of the nobility; others to the policy of *Sobieski*; but circumstances prove that they were actuated by no other motive than an attachment to mistaken liberty, which admitted that they should not bear arms beyond a certain number of weeks, and that they should not march beyond a certain number of leagues into f an enemy's country (H). Happily for the memory of *Wiesnorowski*, he died before advice of the conduct of the army was received at court, but little esteemed or regretted by his subjects, who regarded him as a good-natured simple monarch.

The Turks
defeated by
John Sobieski

King dies.

* HARTNOCH, lib. i. cap. ii. FONT. p. 305. PUFFEND. tom. iv. lib. iv. CONNOR, tom. iii. lib. i.

(G) Dr. *Connor* alledges, that *Leopold* was besieged, and *Kaminiec* taken, through the treachery of *John Sobieski*, crown-general and grand-mareschal, and other lords, who wanted to bring the government into contempt. As soon as they had reduced the weak prince to the necessity of making peace upon any terms, they then exclaimed against it as inglorious, and, by the disturbance they made, got the conduct of affairs into their own hands, insisted upon a breach of the convention, and by this means renewed the war, which terminated so fortunately for the *Poles*, and gloriously for *Sobieski*.

(H) It must be observed, that the vaivode of *Transylvania* now likewise offered himself a candidate for the *Polish* crown, and flattered the people with magnificent promises which he had not the power to execute. He proposed to unite his principality to the republic, and to maintain an army of fifteen thousand *Transylvanians* for the service of the kingdom, whenever the state should happen to be at war with the *Turks*; but these were regarded as mere baits to catch the credulous, and promote his own designs.

Now

Diet of election.
A. D. 1674.

Now opened a new scene of corruption, intrigue, and faction, when every deputy endeavoured to turn his vote to the best advantage, and if possible to dispose of it to each of the candidates for the crown. Some of the princes who had stood at the last election renewed their claims, and were opposed by the elector of *Brandenburg*, prince *George of Denmark*, the prince of *Transylvania*, and at last by a prince of the house of *Bourbon*, whose name was kept secret. *Sobieski* espoused the interest of this latter candidate, whence it was afterwards supposed that he was really the person himself. On the twentieth day of *April* the diet opened, and the czar of *Muscovy*, not discouraged by his late disappointment, offered his second son, a youth not fourteen years of age, but with less haughtiness than he expressed on the former occasion. It was now a request accompanied by presents, and not a demand insolently enforced by menaces, and supported by an army; however, little regard was paid to it, though the czar's ambassador was treated with the civility and respect due to the representative of so powerful a monarch. As to the elector of *Brandenburg*, he promised every thing in the name of the electoral prince, who was immediately to embrace the *Romish* religion, in case his claim was admitted; but the religion in which he had been bred, and his country, were insuperable obstacles to his success. The *Poles* apprehended, that a conversion, founded on ambition, would have but little sincerity; they detested the thoughts of a *German* king, and soon gave the elector to understand that his endeavours would be fruitless; yet were there a few who flattered his hope, the better to drain his treasures, though they found they had to do with a cautious frugal prince. The king of *Denmark* made vast offers for his brother: he offered to pay three millions into the treasury, to maintain six thousand horse, and furnish a fleet when required for the use of the republic; but he was traversed by a powerful *Swedish* faction, and his party was soon absorbed in the superior interests of the duke of *Newburg* and *Charles* prince of *Lorraine*, who had been competitors at the preceding election (1). The duke now made the same offers for his son which he had lately done for himself, and at the same time proposed that the prince should marry the queen-dowager. The queen however attached herself to the interest of the house of *Lorraine*; she loved prince *Charles*, and supported his interest at the expence of her reputation and the crown jewels, which she pawned to purchase votes. She had engaged the *Lithuanians* in her party, and they had determined that no prince should be elected, who was not single and at liberty to marry the queen-dowager. *Pacz*, the general and grand-marechal of the duchy, was the author of this resolution, in order to exclude *Sobieski*, who was suspected of harbouring ambitious designs; but it had nearly ruined the cause of the prince of *Lorraine* likewise. A report was spread that he was privately married to the empress-dowager; jealousy had almost robbed him of the queen's countenance; but he found means to refute the allegation, and convince the queen of his respect and affections. The *Lithuanians* too were confirmed in the interest which they had almost deserted, as soon as the unfavourable rumours were dissipated. Besides the queen's influence, and the attachment of the whole duchy of *Lithuania*, the prince of *Lorraine* had a party in *Poland*, a great share of personal merit, and an army on the frontiers of *Silesia*, to animate his faction, whence he might be considered as the most formidable of the candidates; and indeed the duke of *Newburg's* party began to sink in the *Piasto* interest, which every day grew more and more considerable, though it was at first confounded intirely with the *French* interest, as *Sobieski* had proposed a prince of that country, without giving any direct intimations of his own intentions. Covered with the laurels gathered in the expedition against the *Turks*, he joined popularity to power, and thought his credit was sufficient to make a king without consulting whether or not he might prove agreeable to the nation. The crown army, of which he was general, was at his devotion; he drew the character of a prince, concealed his name, and thereby only left room to conjecture that himself was the person he had delineated (K). The expectation of placing such a hero upon the throne encreased the *Piasto* faction, who, joining with the army, became powerful enough to bear down all opposition, though *Pacz*, the rival in glory of *Sobieski*, might be considered as a very formidable opponent. No election could be legitimate without the consent of the *Lithuanians*, and their resistance might produce a civil war. *Pacz* and his party swore to remain true to the queen-dowager and *Charles*, while the senate declared in favour of the duke of *Newburg*, and resolved to compel the queen to marry the prince his son, as soon as he had been elevated to the supreme power, without consulting her affections. They were incensed at the obstinacy of this prince's and

(1) It is possible that *Sobieski* might have received intelligence of the king's illness; and his sudden arrival at court gave birth to some suspicions that king *Michael* was poisoned, not without the general's privacy. This however is no more than suspicion, which, though vague and flight, time has not been able to efface (1).

(1) *La Vie de Sobieski*, p. 5.

(K) The features of the picture drawn by *Sobieski* strongly resembled those of the famous prince of *Condé*, who is said to have aspired at the crown, though his pride would not suffer that his name should be mentioned before there was a certainty of success (2).

(2) *Vide sa Vie*, p. 359.

a the *Lithuanians*; and, by carrying their animosities so high, proved of the utmost service to the cause of *Sobieski*, who strengthened himself by the divisions, heats, and jealousies of other parties^s.

HITHERTO *Sobieski* had concealed his designs, and claimed the crown in the name of a foreign prince. Now he appeared at the diet with a splendid and numerous retinue, which was rivalled by that of the grand-mareschal and general of *Lithuania*. The parties of both indeed were much too numerous to assist at a free election; but *Sobieski* was popular, and his extraordinary services pleaded an indulgence; on the other hand, common justice required that the same liberty should be allowed the *Lithuanian*. The two chiefs had long been rivals in fame, now they strove for power; not that *Pacz* aspired at the crown, b but he wanted only to shew his equality by disappointing the views of *Sobieski*. It was thought they must have come to blows, and that the contest would be decided by the sword, but circumstances fell out otherwise. *Sapieha*, grand-treasurer of *Lithuania*, a nobleman celebrated for his wisdom and moderation, tempered the ardor of *Pacz*; and the friends of *Sobieski* exerted themselves in the same friendly office, by which means the effusion of blood was prevented, which must necessarily have followed the violent calumny of the *Lithuanians* against the *Piastes*, and their personal abuse of *John Sobieski*. At last the day arrived when the foreign ambassadors were to appear in the assembly, to set forth their claims, and nominate the persons they espoused. The pope's nuncio was first called in, and he in the name of the holy see strongly recommended it to them to chuse a prince bred in the Catholic religion, c and attached to the true faith and the head of the church. He avoided giving the preference to any of the Catholic candidates. The imperial ambassador recommended the prince of *Lorraine*; and the *French* minister, perceiving that a prince of his own nation stood no chance of succeeding, closed in with the views of the duke of *Newburg*, and nominated the young prince of that family. There was room to apprehend at least a double, if not a triple election, had not some of the more prudent members of the republic interposed their influence, and by instancing the fatal consequences of the double election of *Batori* and *Sigismund*, enforced by example the necessity of unanimity; at least, a suspension of their resolutions, until the heat of faction was somewhat abated. This occasioned a prolongation of the session to the nineteenth day of *May*; and in the mean time d Don *Renquello*s arrived from *Spain*, without assuming the character of ambassador, to support the prince of *Lorraine*. The duke of *Newburg*'s party, finding their own interest on the decline, had some thoughts of joining the prince of *Lorraine*, the queen and the *Lithuanians*, in order to oppose the elevation of *Sobieski*; had they pursued this resolution the consequence might have been dreadful. A double return would have ensued, and of course a war must have ensued between the *Poles* and the *Lithuanians*, assisted by the army kept hovering on the *Silesian* frontiers by the duke of *Lorraine*. However, the good fortune of the republic and *Sobieski* prevailed after a violent struggle, and the whole is attributed to the eloquence, influence, and good sense of the palatine of *Russia*, who rose up in the assembly and addressed the deputies in the following manner. "Friends and e "countrymen, you are all sensible of the dangers with which the republic is threatened, "in consequence of your disputes. You are upon the eve of a civil war, the most dreadful of all calamities, and yet what are the objects of your dissensions? Are you to "butcher and massacre each other on account of two foreign princes, and to gratify the "caprice and irregular passions of a dowager queen, who has disgraced her dignity and "the republic, by selling the crown-jewels to corrupt the people, and gain the votes in "favour of the duke of *Lorraine*? a prince of whom she is passionately enamoured, without reflecting on what is due to her late royal husband, to decency, and the common wealth. On the other hand, we see a *German* prince, supported by a considerable party "among you, though his country alone ought to be a sufficient reason for setting aside f "his pretensions. Thus we sacrifice our happiness, and endanger our lives and liberties "for the sake of princes of whom we know nothing but from their dependents and flatterers. Be it our care therefore to drop all factions, to heal the wounds of party, and "to avoid divisions for so frivolous causes, which may be attended with the most fatal "consequences to the republic. Let both competitors be rejected, as they are of importance only to us by the factions which they have had the address to form, and henceforward let us be directed by the true interest of *Poland*, that has been so shamefully "neglected in all our late elections. Let this be the guide to our suffrages, and you may "depend that Providence will reward the piety of the intention, by directing us to a "monarch, who may retrieve the antient glory of the republic, and efface the ignominious stains contracted in the late reign, all in consequence of our late discord. What g "sort of character does reason dictate we should elevate to the throne at this juncture? It

^s CONNOR, tom. i. lib. iv. FONTAIN. cap. v.

“ is that of a hero, who has courage to retrieve the power, and conduct to restore the
 “ happiness of *Poland*, who can render us formidable in war and blessed in peace, whose
 “ magnanimity, equity, and valour, shall reflect honour to our choice, and render him-
 “ self equally esteemed and respected. Must we look for such a monarch beyond the
 “ tracts of our republic? We have among ourselves a great man, who deserves to be a
 “ ruler of the people. He is known to you all; you have repeatedly admired his cou-
 “ rage and prudence, and you have lately beheld him returning from the field of *Mars*
 “ covered with laurels, after having retrieved the honour of his country, and established
 “ her interest. The conquered *Turks*, *Cossacks*, and *Tartars*, confess his merit, and strongly
 “ solicit your favour. The security of your frontiers against your enemies, the tran-
 “ quility enjoyed in the heart of the kingdom, and the reduction of the strong fortrefs
 “ of *Choczin*, these are the claims which should determine your voices, and not the recom-
 “ mendation of distant states, who pay no regard to your felicity. From these circumstances
 “ you perceive that I allude to *John Sobieski*, to whom you are equally bound by the ties
 “ of gratitude and interest: can you refuse him the government of a kingdom which he
 “ has rescued out of the jaws of destruction?”

SOBIESKI was no sooner nominated than all his party immediately gave him their suf-
 frages. All the palatinates on the *Russian* frontier, as well as that of *Cracow*, declared in
 his favour, and their example was followed by the rest of *Poland*, and great part of *Lithu-*
ania, influenced by the prince *Radzivil*, vice-chancellor of that duchy. In a word, the
 whole diet, except the staunch adherents of *Pacz*, yielded to the stream of popularity, thro’
 fear, inclination, or a desire of promoting themselves in the favour of a personage who
 it was obvious must soon wear the diadem. Still however the bulk of the *Lithuanians*,
 the queen-dowager, and *Pacz*, opposed the election, and entered protests; but find-
 ing resistance equally vain and dangerous, they submitted and joined in proclaiming *John*
Sobieski.

J O H N S O B I E S K I.

John Sobieski
 elected king of
 Poland.

THE good fortune of this prince was in a great measure ascribed to the *French* ambas-
 sador, but without reason; he owed it to his valour, popularity, address, and real merit.
M. Fourbin de Janson bishop of *Marseilles*, assisted indeed in his promotion. His orders were
 at any rate to exclude the prince of *Lorraine*, at that time no favourite with the court of
France; and, in obedience to his instructions, he attached himself to the duke of *Newburg*’s
 faction, until he found it upon the decline, when he very wisely deserted a prince whom for-
 tune had forsaken, and privately paid his court to *John Sobieski*, for which he was afterwards
 rewarded with the purple: but it is certain that *Sobieski* must have succeeded whatever
 measures the prelate had taken, though *French* writers have wrested this affair into a com-
 pliment to their Grand Monarque, with that little regard to truth which is obvious in almost
 all their writers of memoirs and secret history (L).

JOHN no sooner ascended the throne than he exhibited an instance of his generosity,
 by voluntarily providing a maintenance, adequate to her dignity, to the queen-dowager,
 who had so violently opposed his elevation. His soul was superior to the meanness of
 retaining the memory of injuries from a woman, who was swayed by her passion for his
 rival. He assigned her a revenue greater than any former dowager had enjoyed, or the
 laws required; with liberty to reside in any part she thought proper of the *Polish* dominions,
Cracow and a few fortified places on the frontiers of *Silesia* excepted. Having obtained
 the consent of the diet to these grants, he then ordered the arrears due to the army to be
 paid out of his own revenue, the treasures of the republic being quite exhausted: acts of
 public spirit, which greatly augmented his reputation, raised his popularity, and infused
 confidence and hope in the minds of the people. After a variety of promotions, civil and
 military, all of which gave universal satisfaction, he intimated his inclination to prosecute

* Vie de Sobieski, p. 23. FONTAINES, cap. v. CONNOR, tom. iv. lib. i.

(L) *John Sobieski* was a native of the province of *Polish Prussia*, and son of *James Sobieski*, castellan of *Cracow*, by a daughter of *Stanislaus Zolkiewski*, grand-general and chancellor of the crown of *Poland*. His father had gained the highest reputation both in the senate and the field. In 1621 he was employed in an embassy to *Constantinople*, where, by his address, he concluded a peace extremely advantageous to the republic. To *John* his son he gave the most liberal education, having sent him to receive further improvement than *Poland* could afford, at the politest courts of *Europe*. After travelling through *England*, *France*,

Italy, and *Germany*, and studying the manners, inter-
 ests, military discipline, laws, policy, views, and de-
 signs of the several states through which he passed,
John was distinguished by king *Casimir*, who honoured
 him first with a colonel’s commission, and soon pro-
 moted him to the rank of captain of his guards. From
 this station he advanced him through the several civil
 and military degrees, until he was made grand-mareschal
 in the room of *Lubomirski*, and grand-general in the
 stead of *Poloski*, which offices he enjoyed at the time he
 obtained the late celebrated victory over the *Turks* (1).

(1) Vie de Jean Sobieski, p. 29, & seq.

the

a the war with the *Turks*, and took upon himself the expence of maintaining one thousand infantry as long as the war continued; thereby encouraging the senators, nobility, and great officers, to emulate his example, and provide for the security of the republic. His ardor for resuming hostilities obliged him to defer his coronation; and for the present he contented himself with the name of sovereign; and his former office of great general, which he desired the diet would confirm.

b HAVING determined upon hostilities, he formed a kind of treaty with the czar of *Muscovy*, which some writers call an alliance, though it was properly no more than a convention; whereby they mutually agreed to desist from all hostilities against each other, while both parties were at war with the *Othoman* empire. Whatever haste he made to levy forces the *Turks* took the field before his army could be assembled. The senate and nobility had promised the king to furnish him with sixty thousand men; however, when the troops came to be mustered, they did not exceed sixteen thousand effective soldiers; with which *Sobieski* saw himself under the necessity of opposing a *Turkish* army ten times his number, and flushed with the reduction of divers towns, and the intire possession of the *Ukraine*. The *pospolite* was summoned in the month of *June*: however, as this body of militia is composed wholly of the gentry of *Poland*, they frequently pay little regard to the orders of the sovereign, and seldom meet at the time appointed by the decree. This was the case at present: though the king was exceedingly earnest to give a check to the progress of the *Turks*, it was the month of *November* before he could assemble an army of thirty thousand men.

War with the
Turks and
Cossacks.

c By this time the grand vizier *Cupruli* had reduced *Choczyn*, after a siege of eight days, and obliged the garrison of *Deskau* to surrender at discretion. He had likewise obliged the governor of *Human*, after vigorously besieging the place for fifteen days, to enter upon a treaty of capitulation. The place had been reduced to the last extremity by famine and pestilence; and not finding there was any prospect of succour, the governor had resolved to surrender upon honourable conditions; but before they were signed the *Turks* sprung a mine, which, blowing up a bastion, opened so wide a breach, that an assault was ordered, the place stormed, and the whole garrison put to the sword. After these exploits, the vizier withdrew his army, entered into winter-quarters, and charged the cham of *Tartary* with the difficult task of opposing *Sobieski*, who was in full march towards the *Ukraine*, in order to dispossess the Infidels, and punish the revolt of the *Cossacks*. John no sooner entered the province than a great number of places yielded to his impetuosity. The capital of the province surrendered in a few days, after having for upwards of twenty years enjoyed a state of independence. *Rescow*, and most of the places inhabited by the *Cossacks*, shared the same fate; and of all the *Ukraine*, only two towns of any considerable strength remained to afford shelter to *Dorozenski*, the *Cossack* general, who had a little before been planning schemes of sovereignty. These rapid successes produced some overtures of peace from the *Turkish* court; but as *John* imagined they were only intended to stop his operations, he refused to listen to the commissaries, and pursued the course of victory; to which the defection of the *Lithuanians*, amounting to twelve thousand men, put a sudden stop. They complained of the rigour of the season, which became altogether intolerable. *John* endeavoured to animate them by his own example; but his endeavours were vain: they withdrew from the army and marched home, drawing after them above ten thousand *Poles*, who pleaded an equal right with the *Lithuanians* to a relaxation from their fatigues. Just as this event fell out, he was preparing to lay siege to *Czebryn*; the conquest of which would have ensured the possession of all the *Ukraine*: but now he was forced to rest satisfied with putting garrisons in the towns that had submitted, and exerting the most vigorous means of assembling a sufficient army by the ensuing spring.

He is deserted
by the Lithu-
anians.

f THE *Turks* had perfect intelligence of all that had been transacted in the *Polish* camp, and determined to profit by the opportunity afforded by the defection of the *Lithuanians*, and the discontents in *Poland*. With a prodigious army they took the field in the month of *April*, and laid siege to *Zbarras*, long before the *pospolite* could be reassembled. The reduction of this place would open a way to the very heart of the kingdom, there being scarce any thing to oppose their march to the gates of the capital of *Poland*. *Sobieski* had with him indeed about six thousand men, which served him rather for a retinue than an army to repulse the numerous forces of the enemy; and with this handful he performed every thing that could be expected from the union of valour and conduct, by harrassing the *Turks*, cutting off their convoys, and obstructing their advances by a thousand impediments. *Zbarras*, besides a small regular garrison, was likewise defended by five thousand peasants; who might have foiled all the attempts of the Infidels, had their patience under the inconveniences of a siege been equal to their courage; but they grew tired of being cooped up within so narrow a compass as the walls of a town, and revolted against their governor, M. *Désauteuls*, a *French* gentleman in the *Polish* service. He used all his endeavours to pacify them; promised they should be rewarded in the most distinguished manner by the king; and finding that lenitives produced

A. D. 1675.

The Turks
take Zbarras.

produced no effect, he had recourse to violent means, and delivered over some of the mutineers to exemplary punishment. This served only to render them quite outrageous: they assembled in a tumultuous manner round the governor's house, forced open his gates, seized upon his person, and threw him over the walls: an action which the *Turkish* bashaw generously resented, though it proved serviceable to him, having cut off the heads of the ringleaders of the mutiny, and condemned the rest to the galleys, as soon as the place surrendered. "Your treachery, said *Ibrahim*, has deprived me of the honour of conquering a hero; " but it has afforded me the satisfaction of punishing poltroons."

They are defeated by Sobieski.

He next made an attempt on *Zlotkow*; but meeting with unexpected resistance, he bent his course towards *Leopold*, whither he detached strong parties to insult *Sobieski*, who was entrenched before the walls. These parties were defeated as often as they appeared; which so incensed the bashaw, that he resolved to dislodge the king, and for this purpose advanced with his whole army, amounting to three score thousand combatants, besides the *Tartars*, who exceeded forty thousand. To approach *Sobieski's* camp, the *Turks* were obliged to ascend an eminence, and then pass through a defile lined with wood, which opened to a plain. Here the king had posted *Radziwil* with a small corps, while an eminence on the left was secured by a battery of cannon, that took the enemy in flank as they advanced. The wood on each side the defile was lined with musketeers, who kept up a perpetual fire, and made terrible havock. However, the *Turks* broke through, and by four in the afternoon appeared in such numbers, that the plain was covered, and *Radziwil* under the necessity of abandoning the post he had occupied. Upon this the king planted his troops and cannon in the woods and eminences, which skirted the plain, in so advantageous a manner, that, with no more than six thousand men, he in a manner surrounded and besieged the whole *Turkish* army, assembled in a confused manner, where there was no room to extend the wings, or form lines. In this situation the *Polish* artillery poured in grape-shot, and seconded by the small arms, dealt dreadful slaughter; at the same time that *Sobieski*, with a small party, descended to the plain, and made so furious an attack as put the enemy in still greater disorder, and obliged them to retreat precipitately through the same defile by which they advanced, being galled all the way by the batteries and musketeers that lined the woods on both sides. Nothing could be more compleat or glorious than this victory; but the interposition of night prevented the king from pursuing the fugitives; and, indeed, his troops were too much fatigued with the labour of the day to perform farther services. Above twelve thousand *Turks* were left dead on the field, and three thousand taken prisoners; but the enemy, reinforced by the *Tartars*, were still too powerful for the slender forces of *Poland*, and in a condition to act offensively in any quarter they thought proper. However, as their ardor was somewhat cooled by this repulse, they made overtures of peace; but with such an air of insolent superiority, as obliged *Sobieski* to reject them with disdain. They demanded, that all *Podolia* should be ceded to the Grand Seignior; that the Porte should be reimbursed in the expences of the war; and that the *Ukraine* should intirely be given up to *Dorozenski*, who should hold it as a fief of the *Turkish* diadem. On the contrary, *Sobieski* demanded the terms which a conqueror had a right to expect, though he was sensible of his own weakness. He insisted, that the *Turks* should evacuate all the places they had taken in this and the preceding war, and relinquish the shameful tribute to which the late pusillanimous *Wiesnowski* had consented. Claims so extremely contradictory could only be determined by the sword, to which both parties had immediate recourse^w.

Negotiations.

War renewed.
A. D. 1676.

SOBIESKI laboured with the utmost diligence to unite the *Poles*, and assemble the *pospolite*; but he was encountered by a thousand difficulties and mortifications. A strong party opposed the *Turkish* war, and not only refused their own assistance, but dissuaded others from giving countenance to pernicious measures, entered upon merely to gratify the king's passion for martial glory. The treasury too was quite drained, and no method appeared for subsisting an army, had it been raised. Yet, in despite of all difficulties, *Sobieski* drew together a body of forces sufficient to keep the field. He was supported by the faction that had raised him to the throne; and, though opposed by the chief nobility, he was extremely beloved by the people in general. His army now amounted to fifteen thousand men, with which force he thought himself in a condition to withstand all the efforts of the *Turks* and *Tartars*; and he soon evinced what valour and conduct can effect against undisciplined numbers. Already the *Turks* had been repulsed and defeated in a variety of attempts. Two thousand janissaries had been detached to storm the castle of *Breziani*, defended only by seventy *Poles*; but they were driven from the walls, and defeated with great slaughter. The same fate awaited ten thousand *Tartars*, detached by

^w Anecdotes de Pologne, tom. ii. p. 213.
p. 13.

^g Theat. Europ. tom. xii. HOPPEL. Hist. apud init.

a the *Turkish* general to harass the king's camp, in the neighbourhood of *Leopold*: after a sharp encounter they were repulsed with loss, by a small detachment of *Poles* and *Lithuanians*, sent out under the command of *Harkowniski*. Next the *Turks* laid siege to *Podbais*, and forced the place to capitulate upon honourable terms. *Sobieski* was on his march to the relief of the garrison, when he received advice that the town was surrendered, plundered, and burnt, and the whole garrison and inhabitants carried into captivity, in direct violation of the treaty, which the bashaw had signed with the governor. Incensed at this perfidy, he resolved to come to an engagement, without regard to the great disproportion of numbers. The bashaw had invested *Buczacz*, and thither the king directed his march; but the first intimation of his approach terrified the enemy, obliged them to relinquish the enterprize, and retire to *Trembowla*; to which place they laid siege. *Sobieski* was preparing to pursue them; and in the mean time the garrison made so good a defence, that the *Turks*, finding they could not execute their designs before the arrival of the *Polish* army, broke up camp, and retreated to *Kaminiec*, of which they still retained possession. Having here received a considerable reinforcement, they ventured once more into the field, and invested *Wagnaff*, carrying on their approaches in a very irregular unskilful manner, but with great spirit and diligence. *Sobieski* marched towards that place, and encamped on the banks of the *Niester*, in a situation from whence he greatly incommoded the besiegers, and so irritated the bashaw, that he proposed storming the *Polish* entrenchments. With this view he drew out his whole army, and was astonished to find that the king of *Poland*, with an army so unequal, had quitted his defences, with a full resolution of giving battle in the open plain. Such an instance of intrepidity disconcerted the *Turkish* general; but it was impossible to retreat, without betraying his fears to the whole army, which might be attended with fatal consequences. Accordingly he maintained his ground, and was soon attacked with the utmost fury by the *Poles*. The conflict was obstinate: the *Tartars* had been slain in heaps; but shame and resentment instigated them to continue the action, until night interposed to prevent their total defeat. The advantage, however, was on the side of the *Poles*, which encouraged them to renew the battle next day, and even to attack the bashaw's trenches. For four successive days the *Poles* and *Turks* continued to storm each other's entrenchments, practising every stratagem of war, and effort of valour; when at last the bashaw and cham of *Tartary*, astonished at the great diminution of their army, and sensible that *Sobieski* was immovable, made overtures of peace so equitable and moderate, that the king could not well avoid consenting to a negotiation. For this purpose an armistice was signed, and *Turkish* commissaries arrived in the king's camp. Without almost any difficulty, the *Turks* agreed to abolish the tribute, and disannul the dishonourable treaty made by the late king: they likewise consented that the republic should remain in possession of all the *Ukraine* on the hither side the *Niester*; that restitution should be made of all their conquests, except *Kaminiec*; and that they should defend *Poland* against all her enemies. On his side, the king ceded all the territories claimed by the general of the *Cossacks* on the opposite side of the *Niester*; on condition, however, that the *Roman Catholic* religion should be maintained, and liberty of conscience, with respect to the *Turkish* faith, allowed to the inhabitants*. Such was the substance of a treaty of peace, which *Sobieski* signed, after he had supported a war against the whole strength of the *Othoman* empire, almost without the assistance of the republic. Some of his enemies, however, exclaimed against it; insisting that more advantageous terms might have been obtained, after so extraordinary a flow of victory; whereas the Grand Seignior could hardly be prevailed on to ratify conditions which he thought very extraordinary, considering the great superiority of his army.

The *Turks* are foiled in every enterprize.

Peace concluded.

SOBIESKI having by his valour wiped off the disgraces of *Poland*, and restored peace to the republic, returned to his own dominions, to have the solemnities of his coronation performed in the usual manner, which had hitherto been deferred on account of the war, that had continually kept him in the field. Dr. *Connor*, however, with great probability, places this event in the month of *February* preceding the last campaign, when the last obsequies of the late monarch, and of his immediate predecessor *Casimir*, whose remains were now brought from *France*, were performed with the utmost magnificence. This relation is confirmed by the vacancies filled up on this occasion. It is usual to oblige the king to redress all grievances, and fill up vacant offices at his coronation; and accordingly we see prince *Lubomirski* acting in the capacity of grand-mareschal this year; a post to which he was probably appointed at *Sobieski's* coronation, as he is nowhere mentioned in this light before.

Sobieski crowned.

g ABOUT the same time it was that the earl of *Rocheſter* arrived at court to compliment the king on his accession, in the name of his *Britannic* majesty, and to represent that

* FONT, cap. v. CONNOR, tom. i. lib. iv.

prince as godfather to a young princess, afterwards duchess of *Bavaria*. His lordship arrived at *Dantzick* while the king was in the field, but having met the queen, he presented the princess with a diamond cross of very great value, and then proceeded to the camp. It was at the conclusion of the war that he had his first audience in form, a circumstance which we mention as a proof that *Sobieski* raised the crown of *Poland* to such dignity as engaged the respect of the western states of *Europe*, and made the republic be considered as of more weight than usual in the political scale of Christendom.

The emperor
endeavours to
draw him into
a league
against the
Turks.

For some years *Poland* enjoyed profound tranquility, and cultivated the pacific arts with all the diligence that could be expected from a nation, where pride and indolence almost entirely exclude commerce. *Sobieski* applied his attention to the re-establishment of her finances, and repletion of the treasury, which had for years been in a state of absolute poverty. As if he had been sensible that his genius was adapted only to war, he was making continual preparations, by which he excited suspicion that he intended to extend his prerogatives, and render the government in some measure military. However, a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, contracted with the emperor, by which the parties stipulated to assist each other against the *Turks*, together with the disturbances in *Hungary*, dissipated the collecting storm, and evinced the *Poles* of the necessity of keeping the revenues and army in a respectable posture. The pride and arrogance of the court of *Vienna*, together with the ambition of some of the natives, had given birth to a revolt in *Hungary*, which it was generally imagined would be followed by a war with the *Ottoman* empire. The malecontents had made their first application to the *Porte*; but they had met with little encouragement, because the Grand Seignior was then full of the *Venetian* war and the conquest of *Candia*. Soon after the conspiracy was discovered, several of the conspirators were seized, beheaded, their estates confiscated, and *Hungary* treated as an hereditary, or rather a conquered kingdom. This conduct increased the number of malecontents, who drew over the *Transylvanians* and the famous *Tekeli* to their party. An open rupture commenced; the malecontents claimed the protection of the *Porte*; and the Grand Seignior gave them countenance, because he imagined that now the opportunity offered of humbling the house of *Austria*, and paving the way to universal empire. He was excited likewise by the intrigues of the court of *Versailles*, and of *Lewis XIV.* who found his interest in procuring full employment for the emperor and princes of the *Germanic* body. *Tekeli* became head of the malecontents, who now called themselves the Protestant interest, and insisted upon toleration of conscience; and the emperor seeing the storm grow more considerable, endeavoured to break it, by promising all that was required. But the *Hungarians* seeing the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Transylvanians* arming in their cause, raised their demands, and obliged the court of *Vienna* to implore the aid of all the Christian princes to resist such a multitude of enemies. The king of *Poland* was addressed in particular, as the most natural and powerful ally against the Infidels, to whom his name was already terrible. *Sobieski* however kept for some time aloof, out of resentment to the court of *Vienna*, which had so lately refused him any countenance when he was pressed by the same enemies; and it is probable he would have continued longer in this resolution, notwithstanding his inclination to martial exploits, had not the court of *Rome*, and the ambition of his queen, powerfully seconded the applications from the emperor. *Leopold* had flattered her majesty with hopes, that if she could engage her husband in a war with the *Turks*, and to sign a treaty with the court of *Vienna*, he would consent to a marriage between the archduchess and her son the prince, whereby she might secure the crown of *Poland* in her own family, by the assistance of the empire. The same promises were made by the pontiff, who offered to assist the imperial ministry in procuring the nomination of prince *James* of *Poland*, at a general diet, to succeed to his father. Upon these expectations she solicited *Sobieski*, and found him more ready to oblige her than could well be imagined, considering how obstinately he had refused all the invitations of the court of *Vienna*; but it is possible he might have been deluded by the same bait which had caught the queen, or influenced by the pontiff, for whom he always expressed the highest veneration. Be this as it may, certain it is, that he now expressed his readiness to join in alliance with the emperor, to complete which he only wanted the concurrence of the senate and nobility. To obtain this was a matter of some difficulty. The greatest lords in the diet opposed a rupture with the *Porte*, though they had lately exclaimed against the conditions of peace which *Sobieski* had granted; however, the court managed with such address and dexterity, and represented so pathetically the danger to which all *Europe* was exposed, should the emperor sink under the weight of his enemies, that the majority declared for a war with the *Turks*, and an alliance with the court of *Vienna*. Religion too considerably swayed the minds of the *Poles*, who considered the *Hungarian* war purely in that

A. D. 1683.

Treaty between the emperor and the republic of Poland.

a point of view, and the malecontents as heretics who had revolted not only from the holy see, but against their natural sovereign. The baron *Jounski*, resident from the emperor at the court of *Poland*, drew out preliminaries of a treaty; and *Sobieski* sent his brother-in-law, the grand-chancellor of *Poland*, to *Silesia*, under pretence of attending the baths of *Hierberg* for his health, from whence he went to *Breslaw*, to meet the imperial ministers. Here was laid the foundation of an alliance offensive and defensive against the Infidels, which was afterwards finished by the count *Walestein*, who was sent for that purpose to the diet at *Warsaw*, with the necessary powers. The conditions of this treaty were, that the emperor should maintain forty thousand men in the field, and twenty thousand in garrison; that the king of *Poland* should assist with the *pospolite* and crown-army; b that he should take the field in person against the Infidels, and in case of the junction of the Imperialists and *Poles*, command in person the combined army; that a part of the united forces should fall upon *Tekeli*, while the rest endeavoured to regain possession of all the *Ukraine*, *Kaniniee*, and whatever other places the *Turks* held on the frontiers of *Poland*, or of the imperial dominions. By a second treaty, *Sobieski* engaged to march to the relief of *Vienna*, should that capital happen to be besieged, as the great preparations of the enemy gave cause to apprehend.

IMMEDIATELY upon signing these treaties, *Sobieski* opened his treasures, and exerted himself vigorously to maintain his engagements. His great oeconomy during the late repose, and the frugality so apparent in his household, had afforded room for suspicion, that c he was hoarding up money merely from a principle of avarice. Others gave his conduct a more invidious turn, and alledged that he was industrious to fill his coffers only to corrupt the diet, and secure the succession to his son. His measures now, however, evinced that he had saved only for the glory of *Poland*, and retrenched his own expences, that he might be profuse when the occasions of the state demanded liberality. He spared no expence in levying troops, and drawing officers of merit from foreign service. Several thousand horse and foot were raised and maintained at his own cost; in particular, he raised a regiment of *Cossacks*, who began to tire of the *Turkish* government, and kept spies in *Transylvania*, and *Hungary*, whom he maintained out of his private purse. In a word, by dint of intrigue and corruption, he gradually drew *Tekeli* from the *Turkish* interest; and tho' he could not prevail upon him d openly to desert the Infidels, that prince nevertheless kept a constant correspondence with *Sobieski*, and betrayed all the secrets of the divan*. It was by this means the king received intelligence of the strength and destination of the *Turkish* army, almost as soon as the visier's standard was erected. This is usually asserted by the *Polish* writers, but not confirmed by the best historians of the empire, or indeed by circumstances; for at this very time *Tekeli* published a very bitter declaration, and seized upon the fortresses of *Pap*, *Tot*, and *Vesprin*, committing several other actions which discovered that he was equally sincere in his enmity to the court of *Vienna*, and friendship to the Grand Seignior; and indeed the cruel manner in which he desolated *Moravia*, is a sufficient refutation of this assertion, which elevates the character of *Sobieski*, at the expence of the integrity of a prince who certainly possessed e great qualities, however he may have been stigmatized by the advocates of religious and civil tyranny.

Sobieski's preparations for war.

WE have already recited the operations of this war, and the steps by which the Infidels approached *Vienna*; it is sufficient we now observe, that the capital was closely invested, and on the brink of falling into the hands of the Infidels, when *Sobieski*, in consequence of the most pressing letters from the emperor, took the field with twenty thousand men, and began his march to join the Imperialists, commanded by prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, his competitor for the crown of *Poland*, encamped at *Allebrun*. Here the two princes concerted the necessary measures for relieving the city, and attacking the visier's intrenchments, notwithstanding the combined forces did not exceed fifty thousand men. In consequence of their deliberations f the united army crossed the *Danube* on the 10th day of *September*, and by narrow defiles, which the *Turks* might have easily rendered impassable, gained the eminence of *Schallenberg* without opposition, although the visier had in his camp a great number of light troops who might have been usefully employed in that service. There they encamped with intention to refresh the troops before the attack on the *Turkish* intrenchments, which was appointed on the following day. Early in the morning the army was drawn out, and the right wing assigned to the *Poles*, who were ordered to form themselves in a crescent round the eminence, to prevent the *Tartars* from breaking in upon the flank, while the king took post in the center of the whole army. On the left was the duke of *Lorraine*, and on his right were the electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*.

Sobieski joins the Imperialists, defeats the Turks, and raises the siege of Vienna.

g ALL this while the vizier pushed the siege with the utmost diligence, in expectation that the city must surrender before the Christian army could take possession of all the necessary

posts; contenting himself with detaching ten thousand *Tartars* round the heights of *Schallemberg*, to observe the motions of the enemy. As soon as he perceived they were ready to descend to the plain, he advanced a part of his army to the foot of the eminence, and, when too late, seized upon all the marshes, defiles, and passes, which could possibly obstruct the Christians in their march; but he was instantly driven back to the main body of his army, and at last convinced that the Christians, though inferior in number, were no contemptible enemy. *Sobieski* in person, at the head of a body of horse and hussars, attacked his camp, drove all before him, and put the whole *Turkish* army in the utmost consternation on the left wing, while prince *Charles*, with the Imperialists, broke the *Turkish* right, and entered the camp nearly at the same time. Notice was immediately given to count *Staremburg*, the brave governor of *Vienna*, of the situation of affairs, and he was ordered to fall out upon the rear of the enemy, which he performed with great alacrity and terrible execution. The victory was complete, and it was entirely ascribed to the gallantry of *Sobieski*, and the impetuous valour of the *Poles*, whom nothing could resist^b. The great *Ottoman* standard was taken, all the vizier's immense treasure and baggage, the ammunition, provision, and train of artillery, amounting to one hundred and eighty pieces of cannon, were the rewards of the conquerors, together with the glory of having defeated an army of two hundred thousand men, with the loss of no more than six hundred private men and three officers, among whom was the young *Potoski*, who was deeply regretted by the king.

He is treated
haughtily by
the emperor.

NOR was *Sobieski*'s piety less conspicuous than his valour. His first regard was to present himself before the altar, and return thanks to the supreme Being, who had chosen him as the instrument of so signal a victory over the enemies of Christianity, and the people admired the devotion of a hero, whom they could not but regard as their tutelary angel, while the king attributed his whole success to heaven. On the emperor's return from *Lintz* to his capital, a difficulty arose about the ceremonials to be observed at the interview of the monarchs, as the king insisted upon an equality, and the emperor was too proud to grant this even to his deliverer. Unmindful of his obligations, he gave the king of *Poland* to understand, that he was not to expect the same honours that are usually paid to crowned heads at other courts, and *Sobieski* refused to admit of the least diminution of the respect which he thought due to the sovereign of *Poland* and the dignity of the republic. *Leopold*, it is true, had precedent on his side; but he was now unseasonable in punctilio, as *Sobieski*'s very extraordinary services demanded a particular consideration. At length, to remove all difficulties, it was proposed that the emperor should go to the *Polish* camp, thro' the troops drawn up on each side, and that the two princes should advance within two paces of each other; a most ridiculous expedient to gratify the pride of a monarch who had the day before been a fugitive from his capital, and owed his return to the person he was now treating with so haughty a carriage, and insulting by the rigorous observance of an idle ceremonial. When they approached within a certain distance, the king of *Poland* gave spur to his horse, advanced upon a gallop, and both princes applied their hands at the same time to their hats, saluted each other, were again covered, and then entered upon conversation. According to the *German* historians, the emperor began the discourse by thanking the king of *Poland* for his extraordinary services and generosity, in quitting his own dominions to secure the empire; adding a compliment on the signal victory he had obtained by his own valour and conduct: to which *Sobieski* answered, that he had done nothing more than one Christian prince owed to another; and that for the victory, glory was due to the Almighty, who was pleased to fix upon him for the instrument of his vengeance. The author of the *Polish* Anecdotes, who is followed by the abbé *Fontaines*, alledges that *Sobieski* rode up to the emperor, and told him in *Latin*, how rejoiced he was that heaven had prospered his endeavours and his friendship for his imperial majesty: a compliment which *Leopold* received with fullen silence; and this the writer strains into a proof of his arrogance, tho' in our opinion it only bears testimony to his ignorance of the *Latin* tongue, in which language it is very possible he could not readily express himself. He adds, however, that *Leopold* recollecting himself, sent a present two days after to prince *James* of a sword richly adorned with jewels, and three thousand ducats to each of the *Polish* generals, writing at the same time a letter of apology to the young prince for not having taken notice of him before, which he ascribed to the impression the sight of the king his father, to whom he owed the preservation of his diadem, made on his spirits; a pitiful shift to palliate ingratitude, showing an arrogance of mind incapable of acknowledging favours (M). The *Polish* officers highly resented the emperor's conduct, and endeavoured to persuade the king to break off all connections with a prince insensible

^b BARRE Hist. tom. x. sub An.

(M) The same author also relates, that *Sobieski* was so offended at the emperor's insensibility, when he presented his son and principal officers to him, that he broke off the interview abruptly, saying,—“Brother, you will probably want to see my army; these are my generals, to whom I have given orders to gratify your curiosity.”—Upon which he retired without ceremony to his tent. P. 176.

a to the strongest obligations; but a sense of honour, a desire of reducing the *Ottoman* court still lower, and of putting it out of the power of the *Turks*, for some time at least, to disturb the repose of *Europe*, determined *Sobieski* to finish the campaign^c.

With this view he formed a project of dislodging a strong body of janissaries that had escaped over the bridge at *Barcan*, and taken post round a fort of that name; and that the *Poles* might have the whole honour of this action, he concealed his design from the duke of *Lorraine*. Marching up with a few troops of horse and hussars, he was surrounded by the enemy, planted in the orchards and gardens on both sides. An obstinate engagement ensued, *Sobieski* was overpowered with numbers, and in the utmost danger of being taken prisoner. The hussars deserted him, and he was under the necessity of fighting his way back through fourteen thousand janissaries, supported only by about two hundred soldiers and officers, who had determined to share the fortune of their sovereign. After all, though the king distinguished his strength and valour, the exploit was upon the whole unworthy of the great *Sobieski*, as it favoured of rashness and that spirit of chivalry, which hath often led princes unnecessarily into the midst of danger, only to flatter their vanity^d. This great monarch was sensible of his error, and strove to repair it; his courage was not damped, but prudence was now joined to valour. The facility with which he had always defeated the *Turks* had given him a contemptible opinion of the courage and military genius of that people; but he was now convinced that they only wanted discipline, to become a very warlike and formidable nation. Their own eagerness to pursue the advantage they had lately gained over a monarch whom they believed invincible, afforded him the opportunity of signal revenge. The grand vizier had sent orders to *Tekeli* to join the corps at *Barcan*; but the janissaries were so elated with their late victory, that they brought on frequent skirmishes with the *Polish* advanced guards, and suffered themselves to be drawn into a general engagement. Two days after his defeat the king drew out his army, commanding the right in person, assigning the center to the duke of *Lorraine*, and placing the crown-general on the left wing, in which order he began his march by dawn to attack the Infidels, who still maintained their post at *Barcan*. The *Turks* having intimation of the king's intention, ranged themselves in order of battle, extending their right wing towards the mountains, and their left to certain marshes, which secured them from an attack in flank. Only one line of front was opposed to the Christians, but in the rear they had placed two columns of horse, as a corps de reserve, which should act as circumstances required. The right wing was led by *Kara Mahomet*, bashaw of *Buda*, and the left by *Ali*, bashaw of *Caramania*. The Christians amounted to forty-nine thousand men, and never did troops exhibit a finer appearance, or express more ardour. The *Poles* in particular thirsted to revenge the late disgrace of their monarch, and *Sobieski* found it necessary to check their impetuosity, to prevent their falling in disorder. The engagement began, and each side fought with vigour proportioned to the resistance. *Sobieski* had disposed the artillery in the intervals of the left, because it was imagined the *Turks* would make their chief efforts on that side, and he gradually stretched the right wing towards the *Danube*, in order cut off the retreat of an enemy he was sure of conquering, from the superiority of his disposition and numbers. The *Turkish* generals opposed themselves with the utmost fury to the designs of the king of *Poland*, and, animated with despair, made astonishing attempts to keep open the communication with the bridge; but all their endeavours were baffled by the *Poles*, who stood impenetrable, and were not to be removed from the ground they had once gained. Perceiving that the Christians were not to be forced on that side, the bashaw of *Buda* made an effort to break the ranks of the Imperialists in the center; but was repulsed, after receiving three dangerous wounds. The bashaw of *Silistria* fought with incredible boldness, after he had been surrounded by the Christian cavalry; but was at length forced to surrender to one of the *Polish* generals; and the same fate awaited the bashaw of *Caramania*, after his whole body was covered with wounds and blood.

STILL however the *Turks* were not discouraged by the loss of these two officers; they repeated their charges, but with the same ill fortune, and were at last totally defeated, after they had performed prodigies of valour; all were put to the rout: they endeavoured to make the river thro' a narrow defile, where they were slaughtered in a confused multitude. Great numbers threw themselves into the *Danube*, and were drowned, others perished under the sword of the conquerors; then the fort of *Barcan* was forced by the *Polish* foot, and the whole garrison slaughtered without distinction. It was in vain the Infidels begged quarter, and threw down their arms; the fury of the soldiers was equally deaf to the entreaties of the suppliant and the menaces of their own officers; they could not be prevailed upon to sheath the sword as long as the face of a *Turk* appeared in the field. The defeat was complete, twelve thousand of the enemy were left dead on the field, and of the

Sobieski defeated.

He has his revenge.

The Turks are overthrown.

^c FONT. cap. v. CONNOR, lib. iv. tom. i.

^d BARRE, *ibid*,

whole detachment scarce a thousand escaped to *Tekeli's* army, which now began to appear on the surrounding mountains. It was imagined that he would have immediately attacked the combined Christians, before they had recovered from the fatigue of the preceding action; but *Tekeli* was too prudent to attempt wresting victory from a superior well-disciplined army, with troops newly raised, and that scarce ever beheld the face of a regular enemy^a. He accordingly retreated, and this has been strained into a presumption that he held a clandestine correspondence with *Sobieski*.

Gran taken.
Dec. 21.

THE next step was to assemble a council of war, where it was debated, whether *Buda*, *Pesth*, or *Gran* should be besieged. The duke of *Lorraine* was for investing the former, and his opinion was espoused by *Sobieski*, and violently opposed by all the *Polish* officers, who desired that the army might be quartered in the dominions of the republick; but the king cut them short by acquainting them, "that he should not visit *Warsaw* before he had driven " the *Turks* out of *Hungary*." He informed his officers, that *Gran* could not make any considerable defence, and that there was no probability of its being succoured, as he had certain advice, that the grand vizier was retired with the broken remains of his army to *Belgrade*. Accordingly this place was invested, and the *Turkish* garrison forced to capitulate, after a siege of five days only; upon which the *Polish* army was led back to their own country, and the king arrived at *Cracow* in the beginning of the winter, after having driven the *Turks* out of the bowels of the imperial dominions. In his way he reduced *Zutkin*, in which the enemy had placed a strong garrison, to harass the *Poles* in their retreat. A detachment under prince *James* and the palatine of *Lublin*, invested this town, and soon forced the garrison to retire to the citadel, which was stormed and taken, and the *Turks* permitted to march without the honours of war to *Buda*.

Renewal of
the treaty with
the emperor.

SCARCE was *Sobieski* arrived in his own dominions, when he was saluted with the joyful news of a compleat victory obtained over forty thousand *Turks* and *Tartars*, by the *Cossack* general of the hither side the *Neister*, who then crossed the river, and laid desolate the territories of his countrymen in the *Turkish* interest (N). Not long after the republic of *Venice* was invited to accede to the treaty of alliance between the emperor and *Sobieski* against the *Turks*; and the king took this occasion to stipulate some advantages to himself in the renewal of the treaty. By a secret article he obtained a cession from the emperor of *Walachia* and *Moldavia*, to himself and issue male, provided the *Turks* could be driven out of those provinces; and it was further agreed, that the *Polish* forces were to be employed on this side, while the Imperialists acted upon the *Danube*, and the *Venetians* in the *Morea*. *Sobieski* had besides the address to draw the czar of *Muscovy* into this alliance, by which means he not only powerfully augmented the league, but secured the republic during his absence, from the dread of a formidable restless neighbour. The hospodar of *Moldavia* too had engaged to declare against the Infidels the moment he found himself protected by the *Poles*, little knowing that his country was become the property of the *Polish* monarch. The space of two years was consumed in these negotiations, all which time *Sobieski* employed in levying forces, recruiting his treasures, and in other military preparations; but a variety of circumstances occurred to cool the friendship between him and the court of *Vienna*. Besides the stiff punctilios and insolent behaviour of the emperor at the interview between the princes, the king of *Poland* had other causes of complaint. *Leopold* no sooner beheld his affairs re-established by the progress of his arms in *Hungary*, than he thought he could spare *Sobieski*, fight his own battles without multiplying obligations, which he had neither inclination nor power to repay. The wretched quarters provided for the *Lithuanians*, whom the king left in the imperial dominions, fully evinced the emperor's little regard for an ally, who had left his own dominions to restore its usual splendor to the house of *Austria*; a family distinguished from its earliest rise for pride and ingratitude. Nor was *Leopold* satisfied with mere coldness of behaviour; he endeavoured to traverse *Sobieski* in points highly important to the interest of his family, and now not only refused the execution of his promise of marrying the archduchess to prince *James*^f, but took measures to prevent the king's son from espousing the princess of *Radzivil*, and actually married that lady, whose fortune was immense, to *Charles* prince of *Newburg*, brother to the empress, notwithstanding she had been engaged to the prince of *Poland*, and had by a formal deed forfeited her estate to that young prince, in case she failed in the performance of her engagements. *Sobieski* however suppressed his sense of these injuries, and stifled his resentment in order to pursue his interest. A league had been formed, by which he stood a chance for securing the

^a BARRE, tom. x. sub. An.

^f Anecdotes de Pologne, p. 207.

(N) It has been observed, that at the last peace the *Ukraine*, and country of the *Cossacks*, was divided, the *Neister* forming the barrier. *Sobieski's* address had drawn back the *Cossacks* of the hither side to his interest,

while their countrymen on the opposite side took part with the *Tartars*, by whom and the czar of *Muscovy* they were protected (1).

(1) Vide *supra*.

- a property of two valuable provinces to his family. To gain this important object, he took the field with the finest army Poland had raised for several reigns, though the nobility resented his commanding in person, by which they were deprived of their share of the glory, and an honourable employment that had long been regarded as their undoubted right. This jealousy had already fomented some divisions; but the murmurs of the nobility were sunk in the ardor which the nation in general expressed to follow a monarch, who had always returned home laden with spoils and covered with laurels. The army passed the *Pruth*, entered *Moldavia*, and conquered the whole country by the terror they spread, without having once beheld the face of an enemy; though the perfidious hospodar had broke his engagements and deserted to the Infidels; yet it was not possible to keep possession of a country, where all the inhabitants might be deemed enemies. Sobieski tried the effects of bribes and promises on the hospodar and principal inhabitants; but he soon found they received his money only to employ it against himself. This determined him not wholly to lose the fruits of his expedition, for which purpose he bent his march towards the coast of the *Black Sea*, with intention of laying siege to *Bailogrod*, a strong town of *Bessarabia*, on the south bank of the *Neister*. To execute this enterprize he traversed vast countries reduced to a desert by the enemy, and at last found the project attended with such difficulties, that he relinquished it, for another no less fatiguing. His design was to gain the borders of the *Danube*, but so many rocks, mountains, woods, and defiles intervened, as rendered the march altogether impracticable. Baffled in all his schemes, and reduced to great extremity, he at last resolved to return towards the *Pruth*. He began his march, and saw himself surrounded by armies of *Tartars* and *Moldavians*, who, without venturing to attack him, desolated the country through which he was to pass, broke down the roads, placed lurking parties in the woods, blocked up all the passes, set fire to the corn-fields ready to be cut down, almost suffocated the *Polish* army in clouds of smoke and ashes, and raised every other obstruction which the imagination of barbarians could invent. All these difficulties the king surmounted, and by the end of the campaign returned to his own dominions, having thus finished the last enterprize of his life; which, though fruitless with respect to advantage, served to augment his glory; and was celebrated over all *Europe* as one of the most memorable retreats recorded in history.
- b This was not sufficient to quiet the mind of *Sobieski*. His days of youthful gallantry were passed, when danger was sought merely for the exploit. He proposed to lay the foundation of grandeur in his own family, and was greatly chagrined at his disappointment, while the world rung in his praises. Nor was this the only source of discontent and uneasiness. Factions and cabals were formed to disturb his peace; and in his own family sprung up two enemies, extremely formidable from their ability and employments, which gave them great authority: these were *Wielopolski*, grand-chancellor of the crown; and *Radziewiski*, archbishop of *Gnesna*, and primate of all *Poland*. The first was brother-in-law to the queen, and the second the king's own relation, whom he had raised to his present dignity. What the particular designs of the chancellor were, could never be discovered, as he was seized with a distemper that carried him off in the midst of his projects to unhinge the constitution: it is certain only that he burnt all his papers, and that the names of some of the conspirators transpired, though they are not recorded in history. With respect to the archbishop, *Sobieski's* kindness in raising him to a dignity, second only to sovereignty itself, and his ties of relation to the monarch, made a fainter impression on his mind than the king's refusal to gratify his ambition with the first cardinal's hat in his disposal, though he had been under the strongest engagements to the bishop of *Marseilles*, who had diligently exerted himself in promoting his elevation to the throne. The primate indeed had afterwards the purple bestowed on him by the pontiff; but as he knew the king was not the source of this additional honour, he constantly employed the influence it gave him in opposition to the measures of his royal benefactor. Every scheme formed by *Sobieski* for the aggrandizement of his own family, was traversed by the ungrateful *Radziewiski*, in which he was powerfully assisted by the *Sapieha* family, as if fatality directed that all the king's favours and obligations conferred on individuals, should be repaid by injuries and the utmost bitterness of malignity.
- c The advantages deduced by the house of *Sapieha* from the king's bounty were more than sufficient to bind them to perpetual gratitude, had not ambition and pride stifled every other emotion of the heart. This family was removed from *Lithuania*, where they lived in a kind of splendid barbarity, to bask in *Poland* in all the radiance of a court, and the warmest smiles of a friendly monarch. *Sobieski* indeed shewed them particular favour from views of policy, in order to counterbalance the influence of *Pacz*, his constant rival and perpetual opponent; but still the *Sapiehas* reaped the benefit,

Sobieski's expedition into Moldavia.

Troubles of Sobieski.

Abbé de FONT. cap. v.

PUFFEND. Hist. Germ. tom. iv. lib. iv.

PARTHEN. Hist. lib. i. though

though they thought the obligation discharged by the king's bestowing it for his own purposes. It was the great object of *Sobieski's* policy to place his son in the succession; with this view chiefly a diet was assembled at *Grodno*. Prince *James* was present, and expected to attend his father under the same canopy, and to be placed on his right hand; an honour that was violently opposed by the *Sapiehas*, under the mask of patriotism. They opposed the prince's desires as unconstitutional, and thereby blasted all his hopes of being nominated to the succession by the diet, as the *Sapiehas* entirely directed the assembly. The king's adherents gave out, that this ambitious family had formed designs of seizing upon the crown for themselves, or at least of dismembering the duchy of *Lithuania* from *Poland*. For some years indeed they might be regarded as the sovereigns of the duchy; but no direct proofs ever appeared of their intention to carry matters farther^k.

Divisions in
the state.

To these causes of disquiet the king had others superadded, owing to the contentions of ambition, avarice, and pride among his subjects. Upon some difference between *Sapieha* and the bishop of *Wilna*, the former, as general of the troops of *Lithuania*, had quartered a body of forces within the jurisdiction of the prelate. Of this the bishop complained as a gross violation of the immunities of the church, which immediately drew to his party the whole body of ecclesiastics, except the primate, who absolved *Sapieha* after he had been excommunicated by the bishop. The whole kingdom was divided by this dispute, and all the functions of government suspended; diets were called, and dissolved before they had entered upon the business of their meeting. So much was the kingdom addicted to faction and dispute, that even the choice of a mareschal raised such violent contentions, as obliged the deputies to return without receiving a hint of the business for which they were assembled. Personal clamours too and reflections disturbed the reign of *Sobieski*, who had once been the darling of his people, and the admiration of neighbouring powers. It was asserted, that all his views concentrated in amassing wealth; and certainly his character in this particular was strangely altered. When a private subject, he was liberal to prodigality; now when a prince, and loaded with years, he fell into the contrary extreme, and grew as penurious as he had ever been prodigal; offended perhaps at the coldness and ingratitude of a nation, whose glory had long been his only aim, and conscious that wealth and power would always acquire influence and dependence. With no other intention than to save the expence of maintaining a regular court, he removed his residence from one province to another, under pretence of visiting the crown-lands. This was the invidious turn given by his enemies to a conduct which his health seemed absolutely to require. Age, together with the addition of bodily infirmities, contracted by the fatigues of war and the chagrin of domestic opposition, demanded recreation, air, and such exercise as his constitution could bear; and this indeed would seem to be the regimen prescribed to him by Dr. *Connor*, an *English* physician of considerable ability, in whom the king reposed great confidence. There, however, was no possibility of drowning the voice of faction, which universally declared, that a narrow spirit and dangerous views alone animated all *Sobieski's* measures, which some ascribed wholly to himself, and others to the intriguing genius of his queen. This princess had indeed taken considerable share in public business during the last years of the king her husband's reign, and had gained the entire ascendant over his inclinations. She had been at great expences in promoting alliances, and connecting her children with powerful and wealthy families, who might be a support to them when *Sobieski's* power should be extinct with his life. Immense sums had been sacrificed to the alliances with the house of *Newburg* and the electoral house of *Bavaria*, by the marriage of her son and daughter with a prince and princess of those families. She had, besides, experienced the force of money in determining the fate of elections; and it was but highly probable and equitable, that she endeavoured to secure a throne to her children, by a retrenchment in articles of luxury and superfluity. At all events she might think that a handsome patrimony would be some consolation for the loss of a crown, should her son be disappointed in her views of procuring him the crown of his father^l. All these, and a variety of other circumstances, might be the motives for a parsimony, which was treated by the members in the opposition as not only unbecoming, but criminal in a monarch who held his crown of the people; yet this malignity, which favoured little of the moderate spirit of true patriotism, infected almost all degrees of men; and *Sobieski* was taken off by a fit of the apoplexy on the seventeenth day of *June*, little lamented by those subjects who had beheld him with adoration.

Death and
character of
Sobieski.
A. D. 1696.

Thus ended, with dispute and faction, a glorious reign of one of the greatest heroes the republic had ever seen placed on her throne; of a prince who had, by dint of merit, raised himself through all the inferior offices to the dignity of a crown, to which he gave lustre by his virtues; who had signalized himself before his accession, in a glorious victory

^k FONT. cap. v. CONNOR, tom. i. let. iv.

^l PARTHEN. *ibid.*

a over the enemies of Christianity, and particularly of *Poland*; who had abolished a tribute shameful to the republic; who had recovered the greater part of the *Ukraine* out of the hands of the *Tartars*, and brought back to their duty the turbulent warlike *Cossacks*; who delivered the house of *Austria* out of the jaws of destruction, and Christendom from that torrent which threatened to overwhelm it, by the memorable battle which raised the siege of *Vienna*; who deferred his own coronation, that he might promote the interest of his country, and merit by his services the honour designed; and who was parsimonious in his private œconomy, only that he might be profuse when public occasions required liberality. Such was the constant tenour of *Sobieski*'s government during a reign of twenty-two years, in which he encountered such manifold difficulties from the opposition of faction, as were
b sufficient to have given him a distaste of royalty and of his country. In fact, he was to *Poland* what *Vespasian* was to *Italy*; both rose by the same gradations and the same virtues, from the command of armies to the sovereignty of their several countries; and both were reproached with the same failings, probably with the same injustice. To conclude the character, *Sobieski* was deeply tinctured with science, considering the low state of learning in *Poland*; and his eloquence was no less admired in the senate than his valour in the field. The art of war was his principal study; but he was not unacquainted with those accomplishments which form the gentleman and adorn the sovereign. Besides his vernacular tongue, he understood the *Latin*, *French*, *Italian*, *German*, and *Turkish* languages, and could even hold discourse in most of these. He delighted in natural knowledge,
c and strongly patronised this useful branch of philosophy, frequently reprimanding the clergy for not introducing modern systems founded upon experiment, into the schools and universities^m. In one word, he was the most learned, politic, valiant, and universally accomplished monarch that ever wielded the *Polish* sceptreⁿ.

S. E C T. VII.

Containing the Transactions of the Inter-regnum, and the violent Contentions which divided Poland, until the Accession of Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony.

d **W**E have repeatedly seen, that, by the constitution of the *Polish* government, the regency of the kingdom, during an inter-regnum, is vested in the primate archbishop of *Gnesna*, who was now in the country when advice was sent to him of the death of *Sobieski*; upon which he immediately prepared to make his public entry into *Warsaw*, effected it with great magnificence, and was met by the senate and great officers of the crown. His first care was to view the royal corpse, laying it out in state, and then issuing writs for assembling the provincial diets. The diet of election was fixed for the twenty-ninth of *August*; couriers were dispatched to all the courts of *Europe*, to notify the king's decease; orders were issued for reinforcing the frontier garrisons; assigning their pay out
e of the revenues of the crown; providing for the security of the small remains of the late conquests in *Moldavia*; and taking every other measure that prudence dictated, for the preservation of domestic tranquillity, and external security.

No sooner were the dietines assembled than discord and confusion interrupted all business, and involved the whole country in scenes of riot and tumult. The only article of consequence agreed upon was, that the election should be made by the *pospolite*, or assembly of the nobility of the kingdom. At *Marienburg* the electors came to blows, and blood was shed without appeasing the heat of contention: in the issue, however, it was determined that compliments of condolance should be made to the queen and the princes *James*, *Constantine*, and *Alexander*; that proper regard should be had to the conventions made with
f *Sobieski*, and the pretensions of his family; that thanks should be returned to the primate-archbishop, and great-generals, for their sedulous attention to the affairs of the republic, and the prudent measures taken to preserve the public tranquillity; that the demands of the state in general, as well as of individuals, should be considered, drawn out into the form of a remonstrance, and presented to the prince elect before his coronation; and that foreign ministers should, according to antient usage, be obliged to withdraw from the diet of election. Strict injunctions were likewise laid upon the deputies to exert their utmost endeavours, that the business of the general diet might be concluded in fifteen days, to save expence to the state, and cut off all cause of dispute and discord, as well as of bribery and corruption. These instructions were given to very little purpose, as it was the business of the representatives to convert the opportunity to the best advantage, and increase their fortunes by the
g liberality of the candidates. At the same time the nobility entered into engagements of union

The lesser diets assembled.

^m CONNOR, *ibid.*

ⁿ Auct. citat. *ibid.*

for the security of the Catholic religion, the repose of the kingdom, and the freedom of election; engagements that were found vain and fruitless, after the passions had been warmed with debate, and avarice and ambition were excited by opportunity^a.

Meeting of the
general diet.

ON the twenty-ninth of *August* the preliminary diet was opened with the accustomed ceremonies, after which the assembly proceeded to the nomination of a mareschal, or speaker, which gave rise to warm debates. The contention lay between *Great* and *Little Poland*, each of these provinces insisting it was her turn to give a speaker to the diet. At length, the deputies of *Great Poland* acquiesced, by way of reserving their right to the future diet, that their strength might not be exhausted upon an object merely titular. It was foreseen that the altercation with which this diet commenced would prevent its being decisive, and that another must necessarily be summoned to complete the election. The *Lithuanians* too^b were of the same opinion, and seemed to join issue with the deputies of *Great Poland*. This inflamed both parties to such a degree of animosity, that the commonwealth was in danger of being torn in pieces by a civil war, when the bishop of *Poznań* fell upon the extraordinary method of calming the spirit of faction, by coming in his episcopal robes to the *szepa*, and haranguing the assembly. Some were awed by his venerable appearance, and others by his eloquence; but the majority thought it favoured of extravagance, continued to foment the tumult, and at length occasioned the dissolution of the diet. On the thirtieth and thirty-first, two other diets were held with similar consequences: rage took place of candour and patriotism, and the deputies parted just as they had met. Upon which it was proposed, that the diet should proceed to business without a mareschal; but this project was^c fraught with such a variety of glaring inconveniences, that it was immediately rejected. Several other proposals shared the same fate; when at length the *Lithuanian* deputies removed all difficulties, by consenting that *Little Poland* should have the nomination of a mareschal, in consequence of which *Komieniski*, nephew to the palatine of *Kiow*, lieutenant-colonel of artillery, and starosta of *Podolia*, received the staff of office, and was formally installed: an honour for which he thanked the diet in an eloquent oration, promising to conduct himself in such a manner, that they should have no cause to be dissatisfied at his election. Indeed, the new mareschal strongly recommended himself to the nobility, by the ardor of his zeal in supporting the honour and interest of that principal body of the nation.

Disputes about
a mareschal.

EVERY new proposition give birth to fresh altercation: the question was put, whether^d the body of deputies should deliberate jointly with the senate, or separately? This, after violent contention, was determined in the affirmative. It was next proposed, that a scrutiny should be made into the legality of elections of the deputies; but as it was apprehended that such an inquiry would protract the diet to great length, the motion was over-ruled; and it was resolved, that the deputies should join the senate, and proceed to business; but that all doubtful elections should be deprived of active voices, until they had satisfactorily answered all the objections which might arise touching that point. A speech, pathetically describing the situation of the republic, and warmly applauding the conduct of the nobility, was pronounced by the mareschal, and answered by the primate, who proposed, that a general confederacy of all the members of the diet should be formed, for securing its repose,^e liberty, and security; for providing the means of extinguishing the animosities which distracted the republic, during the reign of *Sobieski*; for drawing up the laws and conditions to which the prince should be required to subscribe; for consulting a method of putting the army on a better footing, clearing off arrears, and suppressing the seditious humour which began to infect the whole military body; for regulating the current coin, and thereby preventing the manifold disorders consequent on the diversity of specie; and lastly, he moved, that the diet of election should be postponed to the spring of the succeeding year: thus artfully securing to himself the continuance of supreme authority, under pretence of affording leisure to the people for a judicious selection among the candidates. It soon appeared, that the prelate intended bringing the diadem to market, and selling it at the^f highest price to the most liberal bidder among the competitors; but he had the address for some time to disguise his sentiments, and pass them for truly patriotic and public spirited. "Remember, says he, that the crown is given, and not sold: the late elections have been disgraced by corruption; the profusion of the candidates excited the avarice of the electors, and brought reproach on the nation. It is our business to avoid the consequent inconveniences; and since we are now to give a sovereign to the republic, who may restore its pristine splendour, let merit, and not money, determine our choice^g."

The queen-
mother's con-
duct.

PREVIOUS to the meeting of the diet, prince *James*, out of regard to the constitution, retired to a castle in the vicinity of *Dantzick*, there to wait the success of a party which was forming to raise him to the throne of his father. He knew that he was excluded by^g the inferior diets; but both he and the queen-mother believed, that the general diets would

^a Abbé FONT. cap. v. PUFFEND. Hist. Gen. tom. iv. lib. iv.

^b PARTHEN. Hist. tom. i. lib. i.

a pay more respect to the children of their late glorious monarch. Imagining likewise that her presence would greatly assist the designs of the royal party, her majesty repaired to *Jawerow*, with intention of proceeding to the capital. She was given to understand, that this measure would give offence to the nobility; and that such a contempt for the established laws of the constitution would prove highly detrimental to the interest she was desirous of promoting. The primate, who was supposed to be attached to the royal interest, joined in the remonstrance; and the palatine of *Calish* was dispatched to wait on her majesty, with the sentiments of the principal personages in the republic; but nothing could alter her resolution: she heard his representations, and pursued her journey, arriving at *Cracow* about the time appointed for the meeting of the diet, and taking up her residence in her usual apartments. The nobility took fire, and were preparing to resent this breach of the laws, when the motions of the *Tartars*, and the seditions in the army, diverted their intention.

ADVICE had just arrived that the *Tartars* had made an irruption into *Podolia*, whence they had carried off a great number of prisoners of every sex, age, and condition; drove away the cattle, and intirely destroyed the corn-fields, just as they were ripe for the sickle, and ready to reward the toil of the husbandman. The army was ordered to advance to stop these ravages, and punish the enemy; but intestine division had destroyed all discipline, and, instead of obeying the government, the soldiers united in a confederacy to claim independency, and live at free quarters, until the arrears of the army were advanced. *Bogislaus Baronowski* was chosen the leader of this union, not for the qualities of his mind, or the elevation of his birth, but from the popularity he acquired among the soldiers, on account of a seditious, inflammatory, bold eloquence. His family had been ennobled, by giving birth to a primate-archbishop of *Gnesna*; but he was as destitute of fortune as of principle. By his father he possessed a small estate, which for a short time only administered to his dissipation. He had married a woman, whom he could not love, for the sake of handling her fortune, which was immediately squandered, and she turned adrift, to lament her folly. At this juncture *Bogislaus* was no more than a hussar in the regiment of *Lubomirski*; but a speech which he made to his fellow-soldiers occasioned his elevation. "Is this, said he, the reward of our fatigues and bloodshed in defence of our unnatural country? Must we be left to perish for want in the midst of that plenty and felicity which we have secured for the haughty nobility? Shall *Turks* and *Tartars* ravage those treasures, which would render us completely happy? Rather let us anticipate their designs, and deprive them of the inducement to plunder the frontiers, by laying hands upon whatever is valuable, and reaping for ourselves the fruits of our toils. This cannot be construed into a violence on the constitution; justice and policy demand it, since thereby the republic will not only be discharged of her debts, but the enemy disappointed of their prey, and deterred from making fresh inroads." The boldness of his manner, and the speciousness of his arguments, met with universal applause: the resolution was taken, *Bogislaus* appointed general, and the invidiousness of a revolt was cloaked under the milder appellation of a confederacy. Immediately he entered upon the execution of the design formed, and accordingly laid all the country round under heavy contribution: after which he sent deputies to the senate, formally to demand the arrears due to an army, consisting of thirty thousand men, for the space of ten years; a demand which the state of the treasury would not admit of being answered. Nothing indeed could be more just than the complaints of the soldiers, had they been presented in a manner more agreeable to the laws of society. The opposition of several of the nobility had deprived the late king of the means of advancing their pay to the soldiers, many of whom had consumed their little fortunes, and were now forced to live upon the public. He had formed schemes for redressing this grievance, when death put an end to those projects so salutary to the republic. Ever since, the enormity was increasing, without a possibility of applying remedies, which rendered the army quite desperate, and the present rebellion almost unavoidable. However, all men pretended astonishment to see the government thus braved by its subjects, and laws prescribed by those persons who were hired for presiding over the execution of the laws, and the defence of the frontiers. The senate was terrified with the menaces of the military deputies, and it was proposed to apply the treasures hoarded up by *Sobieski*, towards the discharge of the army arrears. This was a measure dictated by the enemies of that monarch's family, which they defended by alledging, that as those sums had been collected from the state, it was highly reasonable they should be applied to the occasions of the republic. In vain did the royal party oppose this motion, as highly injurious and unjust to the queen and the princes. It was on the point of passing the assembly, when *Horodcinski*, deputy from the palatinate of *Czernikow*, entered a protest against these proceedings, and immediately quitted the house, which alone was sufficient to break up the diet.

Irruption of the Tartars, and revolt of the army.

An act of the diet.

WHEN the means of paying the army were vanished, it was necessary to have recourse to other measures: accordingly the senate came to a resolution, to which the deputies acceded, that an act should immediately be prepared to confederate the whole body of nobility, for the conservation of religion, liberty, and property, and especially of the freedom of election: and at the same time it was determined, that the diet of election should be held in the open field on the twenty-sixth of May ensuing, the *pospolite* to assemble in the same manner as at the election of king *Michael*; a point which had been agreed upon before, tho' with less formality. To this act the primate and the bishop of *Posnania* set their names on the first day of October; and their example was followed next day by a majority of the deputies. What appears extraordinary is, that one of the articles of this confederacy excluded all natives; and yet the primate, who first signed it, was supposed a stickler for prince *Alexander*, the third son of the late monarch, whom many persons preferred to prince *James*, who was born before *Schieski's* accession. Certain it is, that he did subscribe to the act, and that the diet broke up immediately after.

Confederacy of the Lithuanians.

WITH respect to *Horodenski*, whose protest had warded off the blow levelled at the royal family, he retreated to the confederated army, where he hoped for protection against the resentment of the diet; and offered, with the assistance of six thousand men only, to join all the *Lithuanian* nobility and soldiers in the same interest: a scheme which had been fruitlessly attempted a little before by *Baronowski*. This chief was, however, too fond of his newly-acquired authority to accept of an associate. He therefore rejected the palatine's proposal, received him coldly, and afforded him protection only because he thought he might be serviceable in promoting his designs, and that a nobleman of his rank and dignity gave countenance to the confederacy, consisting almost intirely of obscure persons. *Baronowski* was sensible, that if the palatine was employed in bringing over the *Lithuanians*, he would soon acquire the chief command; for the refusal of the nobility to join their troops to his, proceeded from the contempt in which they held his birth and fortune: they desired a leader more illustrious, more able, and experienced: not an upstart, who had only distinguished himself by his crimes, and a certain air of confidence that gained the affections of the soldiers. In effect, the bulk of the nobility of that duchy had entered into a confederacy in defence of their privileges, and the ecclesiastical immunities. This was the pretext; though, in fact, they were prevailed on by the queen's money, and the persuasion of the celebrated abbé *Polignac*, the *French* minister, to throw off all allegiance to *Sapieha*, the grand-general. The disputes between that nobleman and the bishop of *Wilna*, in whose jurisdiction he had quartered his troops, furnished the ambitious and designing with a fair opportunity, which was first embraced by *Oginski*, grand-standard-bearer of the duchy, who, by means of corruption and address, obtained the supreme command of the confederated soldiers. Already this corps amounted to four thousand men; and they were soon joined by the nobility of *Samogitia*, *Novogrod*, *Brezcia*, and *Witespi*; a letter from the palatine of which province to the queen was intercepted, whence it appeared, that her majesty was at the bottom of the revolution in *Lithuania*, as she was suspected to have been the promoter of the sedition in the *Polish* army. *Sapieha*, determining to punish the rebels, marched with all who adhered to him of the army, and a body of the nobility, to attack *Oginski* in his trenches, who, on the enemy's approach, retreated to *Brezcia*, but was pursued thither. Here an action ensued, in which *Sapieha* had at first the advantage; but was in the end, repulsed with great slaughter. A second attempt to force *Oginski's* works was made, and with more equality of success. The defence and attack were vigorous, the loss on each side considerable, but equal; which induced both to listen to the terms of accommodation proposed by *Polignac*, who became apprehensive that the divisions of *Lithuania*, which had run higher than he expected, might wholly overturn the government, and thereby frustrate his designs in favour of a prince of the house of *Bourbon*. That minister, to effect his purposes, engaged the son of the grand mareschal, who was likewise the intimate friend of *Oginski*, to negotiate the agreement; promising to defray all expences, provided both sides would engage, by a secret article, to unite in favour of the candidate he should propose. Such was the insinuating manner of the *French* ambassador, that the negotiation succeeded to his wish; and it was stipulated, that *Oginski* and the confederates should return to their duty; that *Sapieha* should grant a general pardon; that he should undertake that the republic advanced half the arrears due to the army; that they should have the same quarters with his own troops, who had remained unshaken in their fidelity; and that no distinction should hereafter be made to the prejudice of *Oginski*, or his party^a.

Address of Polignac the French minister.

The influence of the Polish army.

IN a very different disposition was the *Polish* confederated army under *Baronowski*. Nothing pacific appeared in this quarter: the troops were ravaging the territories of the republic with all the fury of barbarians, burning and destroying the towns and villages that refused

^a Id. ibid. etiam FONT. cap. vi.

a through inability, to pay the exorbitant contributions they demanded. *Baronowski* demanded thirty-two thousand florins from the city of *Leopold*; and the *Jews* were forced to pay fourteen thousand to be exempted from quartering the forces. An hundred thousand florins were demanded from the magistrates of *Zolkiew* and its dependencies, and the people threatened with military execution, if they failed a single day of the time limited. To stop the progress of disorders which threatened the kingdom with destruction, the senate proposed a conference with *Baronowski* in the neighbourhood of *Leopold*. Commissaries were accordingly appointed, and the grand-general of *Poland* was desired by the senate to attend the negotiation, which had almost blasted all the hopes which arose from the approaching conference. The commissaries from the army refused to admit them, declaring they had nothing to transact with the crown-generals; and *Baronowski*, who dreaded lest the senate would comply with all he could reasonably demand, laboured to raise new difficulties. He now insisted, that the funds charged with the payment of the troops should be left to his disposal, and even of those forces who were not engaged in the confederacy. He likewise demanded, that he might be at liberty to levy payment in what manner he should think proper; that he should chuse quarters for his troops where he pleased; and, in a word, that he should govern the republic despotically, and dictate to the whole kingdom with the same authority he did to the capricious soldiery, who might in the first change of humour hurl him down from his dignity with the same rapidity he had been elevated. Upon the refusal of the commissaries of the senate to admit those conditions, the rebel general sent detachments to raise contributions, commit some dreadful acts of hostility, and strike terror in several provinces, even to the gates of *Warsaw*; nor did the remotest territories of the republic escape insult and devastation. *Polish Prussia*, though at a vast distance from the camp, was overwhelmed with dismay on the entrance of twelve companies of soldiers into the very bowels of the province, where they exacted heavy contributions by dint of military execution. However, the spirit and resolution of the *Polish* nobility gave the army a check in the interior parts of the kingdom: they gave *Baronowski* to understand, that, if he did not recall his detachments, they would unite and give him battle, which by no means suited with that general's designs. He dreaded the thoughts of driving the people to despair, and thought it more adviseable to confine his ravages to the skirts of the republic, though less profitable, than run the hazard of a defeat, which would be attended with the immediate extinction of his power.

THESE civil commotions proved extremely inviting to all the barbarous neighbours of the republic; nor did the *Tartars* fail to take advantage of the opportunity. During the late conference they advanced in a body of fifty thousand men, into the district of *Leopold*, plundering whatever had escaped the rapacious hands of the rebels, devouring and desolating, with inexpressible fury, corn, cattle, villages, and towns, and carrying off the wretched inhabitants into slavery. A small corps of troops, that had remained faithful to the government, opposed itself to this multitude; and acted with such vigour, that great numbers of the enemy were made prisoners, all of whom declared, that they penetrated into *Poland* at the instigation of some of the principal nobility, who thereby intended to accelerate the measures for an election. The *Turks* too made incursions with the same fortune into the *Polish* dominions, and the prisoners made a similar declaration. In this situation the abbé de *Polignac* interposed and determined to convert circumstances to the advantage of the court of *Versailles*. He offered to pay a sum of money to the *Othoman* court, to remove all apprehensions of future incursions from that quarter during the inter-regnum; and the proposal was regarded by a majority of the senate as an extraordinary proof of generosity, considering the inability of the state to repay the obligation; though others construed it into a selfish design, intended only to extend the influence of his court at the future election. This conjecture was not without foundation. *Polignac* had acted with the utmost capacity and address. Perceiving the unsteady conduct of the queen-mother, who fluctuated from one opinion to another, and sometimes espoused the interest of prince *James*, and at other times determined to set prince *Alexander* on the throne, he concluded, that her fickleness would occasion the exclusion of both, and thence derived hopes for a prince of the blood of *Bourbon*. King *Lewis* and the *French* ministry yielded intirely to the schemes of *Polignac*, from a thorough confidence in his capacity; and now the abbé talked publicly of nominating a candidate: but before he mentioned names he resolved to remove all obstructions to his election. With this view he declared against all the children of *Sobieski*, and thereby ingratiated himself with all the *Poles*, who either disliked the queen's conduct, the royal family, or the elevation of a native to the sovereign dignity. He likewise checked the desires of the *Polish* lords whose ambition aspired at the crown, by representing that such pretensions must terminate in their own destruction, not only from the number of the candidates, but from the jealousy of their competitors, who would not easily acquiesce in the preference given to a person no way their superior in birth, fortune, or merit. Having by these artful insinuations ex-

Another irruption of the Tartars.

Abbé de Polignac's artful conduct.

tinguished their hopes, he put the question, Where they thought a prince equal to the necessities of the state could be found, whose valour might restore the lustre, and prudence re-establish the tranquility of the republic; in a word, a prince whose dignity and illustrious qualities would be able to crush the head of faction, and render all men unanimous in admiring his virtues? The Protestant states, he alledged, could not furnish a monarch to *Poland*, as religion and the laws effectually excluded the natives of *England*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, however acknowledged their merit. A prince of the house of *Austria* would endanger the liberties of the republic, as the instances of *Hungary*, *Bobemia*, and *Silesia* were sufficient to evince. The long tranquility of *Italy* rendered the princes of that country inactive, indolent, averse, and ignorant of the art of war; yet *Poland* required a warlike sovereign. *Holland* afforded only merchants, and persons sprung from low mechanics. *Spain* would be obliged to borrow a monarch from *France*; and as to *Portugal*, it was little better than a fief of the holy see, in so slavish a dependence was that kingdom held by the church. In short, the eloquent abbé discovered objections to the natives of every kingdom and state in *Europe* except *France*, which he seemed to prefer with the most specious impartiality, and without any other view than to promote the true interest of *Poland*. Having thus paved the way, he mentioned the prince of *Conti* as the person whose birth and virtues rendered him worthy of the crown, and whom the particular circumstances of the republic, at this juncture, loudly demanded for a sovereign. He was the last of the blood royal of *France*; ten princes claimed the crown before him, and there was no reason to apprehend he should ever be tempted to quit *Poland*, in order to take possession of the throne of his native country.

He is opposed
by the imperial
minister.

POLIGNAC had, previous to this declaration, formed a very powerful party; yet he met with strenuous opposition. The imperial minister used his utmost endeavours to embroil matters. He represented in the strongest manner the aspiring views of *Lewis* king of *France*, who laboured destroying that balance which all *Europe* had been striving to keep equal for near a century. He said, that one of the most brilliant diadems in Christendom was insufficient for that monarch: he must kindle the flames of war, and overwhelm *Europe* with blood and horror, to unite the crowns of *Spain* and *Poland* in the house of *Bourbon*. He expatiated upon the interest the republic had in disappointing such vast designs, which could not fail of proving ruinous to her liberties. The emperor, *Great Britain*, the republic of *Holland*, and almost the combined strength of Christendom, hath not, said he, been able to stop the rapidity of his conquests. Should *Poland* join herself to that prince by any alliance direct or indirect, will she not be accessory in establishing the universal empire of *Lewis*, in shackling the liberties of neighbouring powers, and sharing their bondage? *Polignac*, on the other hand, obviated all the inconveniences represented by the imperialist, with that irresistible stream of persuasion and insinuating manner which he eminently possessed; but, though his arguments and eloquence deeply impressed the minds of great numbers, they were not universally evincive; and several great personages opposed the pretensions of the prince of *Conti*, among whom was the bishop of *Cujaiva*. *Polignac* had written to this prelate to secure his interest, and was surprised to receive for answer, that the designs of the prince would be fruitless; that the *Polish* nation was not well affected to *France*; that many insuperable objections lay against chusing a prince of the house of *Bourbon*; that the queen dowager's conduct inspired a general dislike to that union, and that for his own part, though he highly esteemed the prince of *Conti*, the court of *France*, and in particular the abbé *Polignac*, he must nevertheless consult the real interest of his country and the republic.

And incurs the
displeasure of
the queen of
Poland.

It would be endless to repeat all the arguments produced by *Polignac* to dissipate those and similar scruples; he omitted nothing in this way; but he fell upon a still more effectual method of accomplishing his purpose. His measures were so effectually taken with the petty diets, that they entered upon a new resolution, of excluding prince *James*, by which the queen's indignation against the court of *Versailles* was more inflamed, tho' it answered no other end than strengthening the prince of *Conti*'s party. Her resentment was carried to such a pitch, that she ordered her picture hung up in the abbé *Polignac*'s apartments, to be taken down, from which it became evident, that her interest and the abbé's were not united, as had been long supposed; and this circumstance drew the *Poles* more readily into the designs of the latter, because they saw he acted with sincerity.

Nor was this the only advantage which the cool, sly address of the minister obtained over this passionate princess. While he was upon terms of friendship with her, he persuaded the queen to apply all the treasures of her late husband to purchase annuities in the *French* loans, exciting her avarice by the extraordinary interest they would yield. She fell into the snare, and thereby deprived herself of the means of promoting the election of her children, while at the same time she strengthened the hands of the minister and the court of *Versailles*. As soon as she had discovered her error, she flew into a rage, and loaded *Polignac* with all the abuse which the imagination of an incensed woman could suggest. He wrote to her in vindication of his conduct; she answered with bitterness;

- a nefs; and the correspondence is curious, as it explains a variety of circumstances in the conduct of both parties, otherwise unintelligible. Hence it was evident that the interests of the queen and of prince *James* her son had been widely different; that she had laboured to raise her younger son to the throne; that a reconciliation having been effected between the elder prince and queen-mother, she had directed all her batteries to remove the obstructions to his ascending the throne; and that, to prevent the jealousy which might arise from the presence of his brothers, she had sent the two young princes to *France*, under pretence of completing their education, in a kingdom then in the highest estimation for its progress in every art, science, and accomplishment. It was upon this union, and the measures taken by the *French* minister to procure his exclusion in the petty diets, that prince *James* determined to sound in person the affections of the *Polish* nobility, gain them over by his promises, or at least know the real cause of their coldness; for hitherto he had no suspicion of the intrigues of *Polignac*. With this view he went in disguise to *Cerzko*, the first district in the province of *Mazovia*, where a petty diet was assembled; but his project had almost cost him his life; he was discovered and pursued closely by several gentlemen, sword in hand, and escaped only thro' the fleetness of his horse. Nor was this the only consequence of a measure taken so precipitately; the *Poles* were so incensed at a practice which they regarded as the most flagrant violation of their rights, that they combined more firmly than ever to exclude all the children of *Sobieski*, by which they fell directly into the views of the *French* minister. Yet still the imperial minister found means to keep up a strong faction against *France*, and to render the integrity of *Polignac* suspected by his own court; upon which the abbé *Chateauneuf* was sent to *Poland* with the powers of envoy extraordinary. On his first arrival he found that *Polignac* was unjustly impeached; that his party was in the exact situation he had represented; that all the chief nobility were in the interest of the prince of *Conti*, and that the minister had acquitted himself with equal honour, address, and ability; upon which the powers of *Polignac* were confirmed, and his instructions extended. What confirmed the court of *Versailles* in the opinion entertained of *Polignac's* integrity, was the order issued soon after by the palatinates, for her majesty to quit *Warsaw*, in consequence of which she retired, with her father-in-law the cardinal *Arguieu*, to *Dantzick*^e. This was a certain proof of her declining interest, and of the little chance any of the children of *Sobieski* stood of succeeding to their paternal throne.

A. D. 1697.

- d To effect the exclusion of the young princes appeared to be the settled purpose of the factions formed by the imperial and *French* ministers, who differed in every thing besides. For this purpose the duke of *Newburg* was proposed a candidate by a small party, which had hitherto declared for no interest; but as this prince wanted money, the essential virtue of a candidate, he was only mentioned, to pave the way for some person more able and willing to diffuse his wealth among the electors.

Candidates for the crown.

- e THE next candidate was ushered in by the palatines of *Cracow*, *Siradia*, and *Leopold*. This was no other than *Livio Odescalchi*, nephew to the pope, a prince whose wealth, munificence, and generosity, were highly extolled in the diet. He besides promised, that all his riches should be given to the republic as a pledge of the performance of his engagements; but all the return that *Odescalchi's* offers met with, consisted in bitter pasquinades on himself and the consistorial advocate, *Monté Catini*, who was ridiculed, as the solicitor of a hopeless cause. In these pieces it was alledged, that the *Italian* prince intended to pay the arrears due to the army in paintings, sculpture, and ancient coins; and that for this purpose he had sent into *Poland* the head of an *Otho* in brass, as a specimen of what might be expected from his liberality.

- f A fourth candidate nominated in the diet was the duke of *Lorraine*, a prince still less able than the duke of *Newburg* to gratify the rapacity of the electors. He had been lately stripped of his dominions, relied wholly on the assistance of the imperial court and her allies, and was but nineteen years of age; circumstances no way favourable to his pretensions, though possessed of extraordinary merit. He was the son indeed of a queen of *Poland*, consort to king *Michael*, but he had little reason to depend on the affections of a people who refused to pay his mother's dowry; accordingly his party was inconsiderable. Fame reported that the crown was offered by a very numerous faction to the duke of *Bavaria*; but that he was seduced by the insinuations of the imperial court to decline the proposal. It is probable, however, that rather the fear of being disappointed, after launching out into extraordinary expences, than respect for the emperor, actuated his conduct.

- 8 PRINCE *Lewis* of *Baden* might be reckoned among the most powerful of the prince of *Conti's* competitors. His repeated victories in *Hungary* and *Transylvania* had spread his fame all over *Europe*, and fixed the imperial crown on the head of the emperor, at a

^e Lettres de Reigne de POLOGN. au POLIG. let. 4.

^f Lett. ibid.

The elector of Saxony opposes the prince of Conti.

Count Fleming sent to Poland.

time when it tottered through the rebellion of his own subjects, and the formidable irruption of the *Turks* into his dominions. A prince accustomed to conquer the *Turks*, and capable of completing the great work begun by *Sobieski*, must appear a welcome candidate to the *Poles*, had his merit been supported with sufficient wealth, or could they be certain that the elector of *Brandenburg* would perform the promises he made in behalf of the prince of *Baden*, without expecting some equivalent at the expence of the republic. This alone was sufficient to render his influence greatly inferior to that of the prince of *Conti*, who seemed to triumph over all his rivals, until *Frederick Augustus*, elector of *Saxony*, declared his pretensions, and suddenly chilled all the hope of *Polignac* and the *French* party (A). *John Presboudowski*, castellan of *Culm*, finding that his own ambitious projects met with little success, first joined himself to the *French* interest, imagining he should become the head of that faction; soon however perceiving that his influence was little regarded, he cast his eyes on the elector of *Saxony*, a young, wealthy, ambitious prince, who would probably reward his services liberally, should they prove effectual in placing the *Polish* diadem on his temples. He sent a message secretly to *Augustus*, and received such an answer as encouraged him to set out privately to the electoral court at *Dresden*, where the reception was such as firmly secured his zeal and fidelity. He laid before the elector a state of the parties as they appeared in *Poland*, and informed him of the means which must infallibly procure success. These consisted chiefly in the promise of three millions, of which the republic was in great want, for the payment of the army. This sum it was necessary should be shewn to the commissaries before the election. The presence of the elector would, he observed, contribute greatly to the success of his application, and this was an advantage which he would probably have over the prince of *Conti*, whom the *French* court found it difficult to transport to *Poland*, during a war with the maritime powers and the emperor; but he mentioned, as a necessary condition, that he would abjure the *Lutheran* religion, a point which it was imagined would occasion the greatest difficulty, though it proved otherwise: in fact, the prince had, two years before, renounced his principles in a tour he had made to *Rome*, and his conversion was registered in the diocese of *Javarin*, and registered by the prelate prince of *Saxe-Zaits*, his kinsman. The castellan besides represented the difficulties under which the prince of *Conti's* party laboured, though incontestibly the most powerful; namely, the scarcity of money, the minister of *France* having taken up six hundred thousand livres from the bankers, which had already been distributed among the *Poles*, and his credit being now at a stand, on account of the difficulty the *French* monarch found in remitting specie, while the seas were covered with the ships of his enemies. He told the elector that the *Polish* nobility were always more powerfully influenced by present than by past favours. Smaller sums duly applied at the time of election, proved of more efficacy than much larger given before, or promised eventually. In a word, he represented every circumstance in so favourable a light, that *Frederick Augustus* was easily prevailed on to appear a candidate for a crown, which became the source of manifold calamities to himself and to *Saxony*^g. Having taken his measures with the court of *Rome*, to remove all obstructions on the score of religion, he began laying up the sums which he imagined would be necessary in the prosecution of his great project.

ON the return of the castellan to *Warsaw*, he found himself greatly embarrassed; his credit was not considerable enough to gain approbation to a treaty projected and formed wholly by himself. He was equally apprehensive of disappointing the elector, and incurring the resentment of the *Poles*; but prudently imagining that money would effect every thing with a people so corrupt, he wrote to the elector, candidly confessed the difficulties he had to encounter, and was soon relieved from his perplexity by the arrival of colonel *Fleming*, the elector's growing favourite, whom he sent to support the castellan's credit. This minister immediately delivered a letter from his master to the abbé *Polignac*, and asked the *French* envoy whether he had not received instructions from his court relative to the late negotiation between the king and the elector. *Polignac* was astonished to hear of a negotiation, of which he had not the least intimation; he answered, that he could not conceive the cause of the inquiry, since the affairs of the prince of *Conti* were in a flourishing situation; and behaved with a caution and reserve, which gave *Fleming* to understand, that he doubted the truth of any treaty between the courts of *Versailles* and *Dresden*. The scheme indeed was well laid to seduce the abbé into a belief that he was

^g PARTHEN. lib. i. VOLT. Siecl. tom. i. Mem. de Fred. August. p. 59.

(A) Besides these candidates, *Opalinius*, starosta of *Nowenmiciski*, one of the richest noblemen in *Poland*, and the grand-general, count *Jablowneski*, shewed themselves on the list of competitors for the crown. It was thought the queen, despairing of the success of her children, inclined to favour the grand-general, up-

on condition that he married her, and shared his authority with a princess to whom he owed his good fortune. To these we may add the castellan of *Culm*, who at first formed designs for himself, but soon renounced them in favour of the elector of *Saxony* (1).

(1) *Parthen. Hist. lib. i. p. 55.*

a now to co-operate with the elector's designs; but *Polignac* was too sagacious and penetrating to be over-reached. He determined to wait for direct instructions from his court, before he began the smallest alterations in his measures^b. Notwithstanding this report, it was rumoured that the *French* minister had deserted the interest of the prince of *Conti*, and it required all the address of *Polignac* to prevent the bad consequences of such a report.

b It was not long before the abbé received an answer from the *French* court, requiring him to persist in his designs, and to prosecute with the utmost vigour the pretensions of the prince of *Conti*. This he made public; and now the kingdom was divided into two great parties, all the lesser ones being wholly absorbed in the superior weight and influence of the factions formed by the courts of *Versailles* and *Dresden*. The former was the most numerous and popular; the latter acquired gradual strength, was supported by money, the talents of *Fleming*, the influence of the court of *Vienna*, and the clamours of the castellan of *Culm*, that *France* did not execute her engagements, that the prince of *Conti* was absent, and that money was wanting for the payment of the army, without which the state was exposed to the most imminent danger. There was indeed some truth in this last allegation. *Baronowski* was still at the head of the mutineers, plundering the provinces, and ravaging with peculiar animosity the estate belonging to the late king's family, which created suspicion that he was countenanced by the *French* minister, who thereby intended to put the queen-mother and the princes out of all condition of supporting an opposition. c It was besides reported, possibly by the imperial and *Saxon* ministers, that he had promised the troops all their arrears, besides large gratuities, provided they would countenance and espouse his designs. However, the misconduct of the proud *Baronowski*, and some fortunate actions overturned the project formed by *Polignac*, and entirely crushed the rebellion. The senate, unable to stop their ravages, had set on foot a new conference at *Leopold*, at which *Baronowski* consented as before, that commissaries should attend. Here the commissioners of the republic conducted themselves with such dexterity, that the military commissaries were drawn in to sign a treaty, notwithstanding the endeavours of their general to traverse the negotiation. Incensed at their conduct, he condemned them to death, and by this insolent tyrannical act of power alienated the affections of the soldiers, and paved d the way for the spirited measures upon which the senate was entering. The commissaries of the republic interceded for the delinquents, and procured a respite of the sentence by renewing the conferences at the castle of *Samber*, where the mutineer chief established his head-quarters. By dint of subornation, *Baronowski* directed the new negotiation at his pleasure, and obtained a resolution of the whole army against any renewal of the conferences. Immediately after he published a defence of his conduct, or rather a libel upon the senate; but this proved the ruin of all his projects. All men were sensible that he pushed his ambition to an extreme, dangerous to the constitution. The senators assembled at *Leopold* had the courage to declare him a traitor, and the whole body of the confederates rebels and enemies to their country. Rigour effected what had long foiled all e lenient applications. More than half the troops deserted the confederacy, and *Baronowski* had so little confidence in the steadiness of the remainder, that he endeavoured to make a merit of the necessity of his affairs, and procure pardon before he was abandoned by all his forces. Accordingly he offered his submission, threw himself upon the clemency of the senate, and would have met with his just reward, had not *Jablonski*, who had discretionary powers, interposed. Many were for putting him immediately to death, as as example of the authority and justice of the senate, necessary to the tranquility of the state, and essential to the support of good government. The crown-general, however, over-ruled all violent resolutions, declared the pardon granted to the confederates, and pledged his honour that they might repair in perfect security to *Leopold*. They embraced the offer, appeared with *Baronowski* before the tribunal established by *Jablonski*, and washed out the stains of rebellion by tears and a hearty contrition. The proud *Baronowski* now displayed the utmost meanness, kissed the hands and feet of his judge, and shewed by his servility, how little he merited the compassion that extended to the preservation of his life and fortune.

The confederate army reduced to submission.

No sooner was the republic restored to peace by the submission of the confederate army, than fresh causes of dissention arose. The day was now arrived for the meeting of the final diet of election, when all parties agreed on the necessity of giving the kingdom a sovereign, and terminating the authority of the archbishop, who was accused of shifting and temporizing in a manner unworthy of his sacred function, and the dignity of his employment. On the fifteenth of *May* the diet met, and the first day was consumed in formalities, the election of a marshal having been deferred to the day following, on account

The final diet of election assembled.

^b Auct. citat. ibid.

of the difficulties that must arise from the multiplicity of candidates for that office. *Humieniski* urged his pretensions, arising from his having been appointed marshal to the preliminary diet; but this argument was over-ruled. The present assembly was composed of different deputies from the former; and by the same rule the speaker must be changed, or at least placed upon a footing with the other candidates: however, the palatines joined in requesting that he might continue in that office until another marshal was elected, which was accordingly granted, in order that the assembly might proceed to business with more regularity. Some debates, which arose on a motion that enquiry should be made into the causes of the late confederacy of the army, occasioned an adjournment to the nineteenth, when the subject of electing a marshal was resumed, and disputed with great warmth and animosity. It was now the turn of *Great Poland* to give the assembly a speaker, and accordingly this province supported the interest of *Odolanowski*, starost-general of *Great Poland*. He was opposed by the *French* party, in which appeared eight candidates, who had more trouble to reconcile their several interests than would have been sufficient to exclude their adversaries. Besides, a party proposed continuing *Humieniski*, though this was generally supposed to be a violation of the constitution. Count *Bielinski* was favoured above all the competitors by the abbé *Polignac*, because he was known to be entirely devoted to the interest of *France*, on account of his possessing a large estate in that country, and marrying a daughter of count *Morsteyn*, who had great influence over his conduct. The abbé managed the affair with so much address, that he at last united the strength of the whole *French* faction to support this gentleman, and then the dispute lay chiefly between the count and *Odolanowski*. It became violent in proportion as it was contracted to a point: *Great Poland* insisted upon its right, and the *French* party were equally attached to their interest; both sides were so tenacious of their opinions, that it was found necessary to defer the election. At last the suffrages were given by the *pospolite*, every gentleman in turn putting the name of the candidate he espoused into the hands of *Humieniski*, by which it appeared, on a scrutiny, that *Bielinski* had a majority, and upon this he was immediately proclaimed marshal, after a whole month had been spent in fruitless altercations. *France* triumphed in gaining this point, as the marshal has always been regarded of the greatest importance in determining controversies before this assembly.

Corruption of
the electors.

It was now that the crown was openly put up to sale, and the acts of corruption were practised in the most glaring and shameful manner by the candidates for the sovereign dignity. The pretenders bid to a degree of extravagance; but the electors were too numerous and too avaricious to be fully gratified. The two great parties had calculated their strength, the one endeavouring to improve the late advantage, and the other striving to strengthen themselves and deprive the enemy of the fruits of their victory. Both were so powerful, that all men dreaded a double election; and it was proposed in the assembly that the marshal should not deliver the diploma to either party, without the consent of the republic. What likewise contributed to render the dispute more equal, were the talents of the agents employed. *Fleming*, the minister of *Saxony*, was artful, cunning, plausible, and liberally supported with money, by which he daily augmented his faction; *Polignac* was eloquent, elegant, liberal in his manners, irresistible in his address, and foremost in his application. He was not so well supplied with money; but he had formed his party before the arrival of his adversary. The castellan of *Culm* laboured to break this interest; and, perceiving that the palatine of *Wilna* fluctuated, he endeavoured to fix him on the side of *Augustus*, by representing that the elector of *Saxony* performed all his engagements, while the court of *Versailles* gave only fair words, which were forgot as soon as a point was gained. This led to an enquiry into facts, from whence it appeared that *Polignac* was totally destitute of money, and that attachment to his person alone had hitherto kept his party steady and unanimous. Such a discovery could not but be productive of advantage to the *Saxon* minister, whose coffers were as full as his hand was liberal. Complaints were published against the failure of *Polignac's* promises; but he answered them so well, and gave such assurances that supplies of money would arrive at *Dantzick* before the day of election, as broke the schemes of his adversaries. The palatine of *Wilna* was again brought back to the prince of *Conti's* party, just as he was on the brink of deserting it, and he joined in an oath, taken by the primate and several noblemen, of admitting no other nomination. In consequence of this association, expresses were dispatched to *France* to hasten the prince's arrival, as his absence proved the greatest detriment to his affairs.

Intrigues of
the parties.

FLEMING opposed his utmost ability to frustrate the designs of the *French* minister, whose talents he respected and dreaded. He judiciously distributed large sums among the nobility, by which he daily made converts. Such proofs of the rectitude and justice of his cause, were too powerful to be resisted by the candid *Poles*, who made no scruple of relinquishing

a relinquishing that party which they regarded as conquered by those beneficial solid arguments. This minister's steadiness, supported by actual performances of all his engagements, laid the foundation of his master's success. He saw that the arrival of the prince of *Conti* would be able still to maintain a powerful party, which would oblige the republic to cast her eyes on a third candidate; and he levelled all his batteries to make an advantage of such a situation. Once the prince of *Conti* was abandoned, it would, he conceived, be no difficult matter to gain over many of his partisans, who might think themselves at liberty to join him, as they were absolved from their promises to the court of *Versailles*.

b It was on the twentieth of *June* that audience was given to the foreign ambassadors; and first to the pope's nuncio, as had always been customary. This prelate took not the least notice of the pretensions of the *Italian* candidate; but confined himself wholly to recommend a Catholic king, and harmony among the deputies. Next day the emperor's ambassador was admitted to an audience, after having sustained a variety of indignities from the *French* faction, owing to the ignorance of his retinue, in points of ceremonial, which obliged the mareschal to declare, that unless they paid more regard to form, he would give orders they should be cut in pieces (B). Another mortification was sustained the moment he entered the assembly. On delivering his instructions to the grand secretary of the crown, it was observed that the title of *Serene*, which the republic always assumed, was omitted; but the consequent difficulties were removed by the prelate's offering to make his apology in full diet. These were but preludes to the farther vexations he was c about to encounter. His train surrounded him so closely that he could not be seen, which gave offence: they were desired to remove to a greater distance; but they chose to lie down on the ground, for which the ambassador was reprimanded by the mareschal. In his speech he omitted certain phrases of honour and compliment which the republic thought due to her, and this furnished the emissaries of *France* with frequent opportunities of rudely interrupting the bishop, who went on in his own way, without altering an expression; though he was so incensed at their behaviour that he glowed with indignation, the blood rushing from his nostrils. On the twenty-second, audience was given to the abbé *Polignac*; and the opposite party determined to revenge themselves for the insults passed on the imperial minister. The starost of *Olzten* plainly told him, "You have affronted an d "ambassador: expect retribution;" which determined the abbé to print the speech he intended to pronounce, and distribute it, signed with his hand, to the palatines and other electors.

Foreign ambassadors have audience.

It was soon after this transaction that the council sent a detachment to the abbé, to request he would use his endeavours to prevent a double election, which to them appeared unavoidable, except by the prince of *Conti*'s resigning the crown to the elector of *Saxony*, on that prince's undertaking to reimburse the court of *Versailles* in all the expences, and acknowledge that he owed the crown to the *French* monarch. This expedient was not relished by *Polignac*: he attended the deputies to the senate, and there demonstrated, with all the force of his elocution, the danger that would ensue to their liberties from placing e a *German* prince on the throne. He represented the assurances he had of being supported at the election by a powerful body of nobility; he repeated all that he had before advanced, relative to the character and superior merit of the prince of *Conti*; and he concluded, that should that prince be disappointed, his party had determined to join the interest of prince *James*, and both might probably be able to carry the crown against all opposition. "It is," he, said the abbé, shall ascend the throne which religion, the security of your liberty, "and the honour of *France* will not suffer to be enjoyed by the elector of *Saxony*, a disguised Protestant, and an acknowledged *German*." His discourse made an impression; and the whole senate determined to adhere to his interest, except the palatine of *Witesp* and the castellan of *Czerkow*, who had been gained over by the liberality of *Augustus* f and his agent *Fleming*. The example of these noblemen was followed by *Potolski*, palatine of *Cracow*, who first offered his services to *Polignac* for a certain sum of money; but finding the *French* ambassador was in no condition to accept his terms, he went over with all his adherents to the elector of *Saxony*, and received the sum he stipulated. The want of money, indeed, proved the greatest detriment to the *French* party; who lost a great number of nobility because they could not advance the sums required. *Jablownoski*, the grand-general of the crown, declared in favour of the elector, for no other reason than because his coffers were better filled than those of the prince of *Conti*. *Polignac* saw the continual desertion; he knew his danger, and exerted all his ability to break the schemes of the

The party of Saxony increases.

(B) The bishop of *Passau* came into *Poland*, attended only by a few gentlemen; but finding it necessary to support the dignity of the imperial court, he took into his service a great number of *Germans* who resided at

Warsaw. They met with some insults from the populace, which occasioned their surrounding their master with their naked swords. This was the indecorum of which the mareschal complained.

adverse party ; but the elector's money proved too powerful for his address and eloquence : however, he still maintained his ground, and even appeared formidable at the period when the time limited for the sitting of the diet was almost expired. a

*The pospolite
assemble in
the field.*

On the twenty-fifth day of *June* all the nobility, exceeding an hundred thousand persons, assembled on the plains of *Warsaw*, each palatinate being divided into companies under their proper standards, and all the electors mounted on horses, and armed with lances and scythes, that you would have taken them for a vast assembly of reapers. In their countenance however was an air of ferocious dignity and importance, that denoted their consequence, and the power they possessed of bestowing the regal dignity. It is customary on this occasion for the senators to harangue their several palatinates, and to recommend a due regard to the laws of the constitution. The bishop of *Plosko* begun his harangue ; but had not finished it, when the nobility of his palatinate cried out, “ Long live *Conti*,” which was ecchoed back by the palatinates of *Siradia*, *Rava*, and the three distinct governments of *Prussia*. The election was on the point of being anticipated ; and unless the castellan of *Culm* had exerted himself in an extraordinary manner, at the hazard of his life, the prince of *Conti* must have been elected king of *Poland* : but that nobleman protested against all that had been done, inveighed bitterly against the proceedings of the bishop of *Plosko*, and the heads of the opposite party, as a violation of the constitution, and procured that the nomination should be deferred to the next day, by which time he mustered up his strength, and infused spirit into his party. Mean time both parties played every engine of intrigue and calumny ; the *French* party vilified the elector as a pretended apostate ; and *Fleming* and the castellan of *Culm* used their utmost influence with the pope's nuncio to confirm the certificate of his conversion ; and though the enemy seemed to prevail that night, yet they carried their point next morning. It has been supposed, with great probability, that the nuncio was gained over by *Saxon* gold, though he was under the utmost dread of disobliging the court of *Versailles*. b

THE twenty-sixth the assembly met early in the church of *St. John's*, when, after mass had been celebrated, the cardinal primate made a speech, in which he drew the picture of such a prince as the circumstances of *Poland* required, and evidently described the prince of *Conti* ; after which he nominated the several candidates, artfully placing the elector of *Saxony* last, as if he had been forgot. “ We ought not, said he, to neglect the *German* prince, though he be a *Lutheran* ; the laws require we should mention him, and I swear that I will not proclaim any candidate who has not the unanimous suffrages of the nobility, unless he be deserving of the throne ; but I conjure you not to cast your eyes upon any subjects of the republic, unless their virtues be very conspicuous.” He was proceeding in his harangue, when the ecclesiastical and secular senators quitted their seats to put themselves at the head of their palatinates, and there only remained in the *szcropa* the primate and mareschal, who received dispatches, and transmitted the necessary orders to the field of election. As soon as they were mounted, all were astonished to hear three companies of the palatinate of *Cracow* cry out, “ Long live prince *James*.” The royal interest had been entirely given up, and it was matter of astonishment to see it now revive without any apparent cause. These were supported by a company of *Poznania*, who likewise declared in a faint voice for the prince ; upon which the three remaining companies of *Cracow*, and the five remaining of *Poznania*, proclaimed the prince of *Conti* with loud acclamations. c

THIS party had found means to spread a report, that the pope's nuncio had refused to attest the elector of *Saxony's* conversion, which raised such doubts that at first he was nominated only by one company of *Samogitia* ; but the castellan of *Culm*, producing the attestation in the field, soon encreased the number of voters, and approached almost to an equality with the *Conti* party. The princes of *Newburg* and *Lorraine* had their espousers, and Don *Livio Odescbalchi*, who was lately severely lampooned, had his advocates in the assembly ; but the great struggle was maintained by the *French* and *Saxon* divisions. Confusion succeeded to the heat of faction ; and as it was found impossible to take the votes, the primate proposed that the voters for *Conti* should range themselves in a line upon one side, and those for the elector on the opposite part of the field. Immediately the proposal was embraced, and so great a number of companies drew up on the *French* side as greatly alarmed the *Saxons*, who redoubled their diligence, but could not equal their adversaries in number. The *French* interest, perceiving their superiority, insisted upon the primate's proclaiming the prince of *Conti* ; but the stiffness of the opposite party, and the fear of bloodshed, made him defer it, and slip this opportunity as he had done a former. Besides, he had just received a letter from the bishop of *Cujavia*, in which that prelate declared that should the prince of *Conti* be nominated, he would join the interest of *Saxony* with forty companies. This menace still more perplexed the primate, and determined him at length to postpone the proclamation till next day ; an oversight of which

*The election
deferred.*

- a which the opposite party did not fail to make an advantage. By dint of money and intrigue; *Fleming*, the imperial minister, and the castellan of *Culm*, united all the small parties, who had declared in behalf of other competitors, in the elector's interest, which, with the bishop of *Cujavia's* party, set him again pretty near an equality with *Conti's* party; but *Polignac* balanced this advantage by prevailing upon the primate to proclaim the prince of *Conti*, which he did in the usual form, after much hesitation, declaring *Lewis de Bourbon* king of *Poland*, and grand duke of *Lithuania*. He then repaired to the great church of *St. John's* to sing *Te Deum*; and the bishop of *Cujavia* took that opportunity of proclaiming *Frederick Augustus* with the same formalities, singing likewise *Te Deum* in the field of election, and next morning celebrating it with more pomp in the church of *St. John's*,
b and administering the oath for observing the *pacta conventa* to count *Fleming*, in the name of his master the elector.

June 27.
A double election.

It is remarkable that neither party observed the forms prescribed by the constitution; the primate forgot to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and the bishop seemed to forget that it was necessary the archbishop should ratify his nomination. In consequence there passed conferences between the two parties, in which it was proposed to observe the laws of the kingdom, which require that none of the competitors should set foot in the kingdom till after the confirmation; but this was refused by the friends of *Saxony*, who depended much on the elector's proximity. It was then objected by the *French* party, that, besides other violations of the constitution in the elector's election, the proclamation was not made properly in the field, therefore the whole ceremony was void; but this the bishop of *Cujavia* endeavoured to remedy, by repeating the proclamation, and making a fresh offer of the *pacta conventa* to the *Saxon* minister, which the reader may peruse, in the manner it was accepted, in the margin (C). The bishop's conduct gave great offence to delicate consciences; and men who had no scruple about selling their

(C) The articles signed by count *Fleming* are so frequently mentioned in the course of this reign, and are so different from what had been promised by *Augustus* before his election, that we thought it would be necessary to transcribe the whole for the satisfaction of the curious, who are desirous of tracing the causes of the clamours which afterwards arose against the king's government, and *Fleming's* administration.

Art. I. The republic of *Poland* shall preserve the privilege of electing her sovereign, and the crown shall never become hereditary.

II. No king shall be elected, who is not a member of the *Roman Catholic* church, and does not swear to continue in that communion.

III. There shall be a toleration of conscience to all the subjects of the republic; and the state of the *Greek* church shall be taken into consideration at the coronation-diet.

IV. No money shall be demanded, or presents accepted from them who shall solicit great offices in the disposal of the crown.

V. The queen shall not intermeddle with public affairs.

VI. The examples of *Uladislaus IV.* and *John Casimir*, shall be followed in the conduct of military affairs.

VII. The alliances with foreign powers shall be renewed.

VIII. The king shall exert his utmost endeavours to recover the *Ukraine*, and to conclude a perpetual peace with *Muscovy*.

IX. The revenues of the mint shall not be applied to the king's particular advantage; nor shall money be coined without the consent of the republic.

X. No foreign troops shall be introduced into the kingdom without the consent of the republic.

XI. Only gentlemen of considerable property shall be employed in embassies.

XII. No person shall be admitted to the privileges of a denizen, who hath not performed extraordinary services to the republic.

XIII. No person shall be qualified to administer in the king's household, who hath not been highly serviceable to the crown.

XIV. No person, even with the approbation of the senate, shall enjoy the smaller revenues of the crown, without the consent of the republic, by which is understood the deputies of the palatinates assembled in diet.

XV. Holding two considerable offices at the same time shall be deemed illegal *in futuro*; but those who are

in present possession of two such employments shall be continued, and enjoy their revenues without any diminution.

XVI. The usual method of administering justice shall be continued entire, and without alteration.

XVII. When *Kamimiec* shall be retaken, the king shall fortify it at his own expence; but the republic shall ever after keep it in repair.

XVIII. The king's court and guard shall be composed of natives of *Poland* and *Lithuania*.

XIX. The senate shall be consulted in the choice of a consort for the king: if the queen be a foreigner, she shall not have above six foreigners about her court.

XX. Only the *Latin* and *Polish* languages shall be used in the king's letters.

XXI. In the trials called *post curialia*, the laws called *pacta Henricea*, shall be observed; and difficulties shall be solved by the opinion of the counsellors-assessors.

XXII. The differences which subsist shall be concluded with all possible expedition.—Here followed a secret article.

XXIII. No alteration shall be made in the economy of the king's table.

XXIV. The vacant offices; when the diet is not assembled, shall be filled up in six weeks.

XXV. The militia shall be regulated in such a manner at the approaching coronation, that foreign troops will be unnecessary; and care shall be taken that military discipline be equally observed.

XXVI. Salt shall be taxed, and distributed according to custom in all the palatinates.

XXVII. Every gentleman shall be exempted from paying the duty upon salt, and have free possession of the mines upon his estate.

XXVIII. *Regales*, or certain fiefs held of the crown; shall be re-established in those places where they have been abolished.

XXIX. All the privileges of the university of *Cracow*, and other cities, as well ecclesiastical as secular; and all articles agreed upon oath at the coronation of the kings *Henry*, *Stephen*, *Sigismund*, *Uladislaus*, *John Casimir*, and others, shall be renewed in this election; and in case of violation, the inhabitants of *Poland* and *Lithuania* shall be absolved from all obedience.

We shall see, in the course of our narration, the complaints made by the *Poles* of the little regard paid by the elector to these articles, which became the source of manifold misfortunes to himself and the republic.

Disputes about
the confirma-
tion of the
election.

country, and the most flagrant corruption, took fire at seeing the oath administered to a Calvinist ambassador, while the holy sacrament was exposed. They never reflected on the violation of their oath committed while they received presents, and seemed to pay a veneration only to the exteriors of religion, and certain forms independent of truth, justice, and virtue. Sabres were drawn upon this occasion: the pope's nuncio blamed the bishop; but as he had been gained over by the elector's money, he did not push his indignation to extremities, or carry his respect for religion beyond the bounds of prudence and his own interest. Certain it is, that the election on both sides was illegal; but it was not to be decided by equity, but by intrigue, money, or the sword: and, if we refer to the accounts published at that time, it will be difficult to discover which party acted with the least candour; so hard have the writers on both sides laboured to disguise the truth, and wrest circumstances to their own purposes. Neither party took any concern about the legality of their measures: they only studied to avoid calumny, as far as it affected their interest, and to carry the point by any means in their power. Conferences were set on foot to determine to which of the competitors the crown should be given; but as neither relaxed in any part of their claims, the matter became every day more embarrassed. The primate proposed to refer the decision of differences to another diet: but he was overruled: upon which he wrote to the elector of Saxony, that the diet, with almost unanimous consent, had elected the prince of Conti; he therefore requested him to relinquish his claim, and thereby restore peace to Poland. The elector paid little regard to this request: he even refused to receive the letter, because he had not been saluted by the title of His Majesty. He then turned his views to the courts of Vienna and Berlin: he wrote to the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg; but met with little encouragement from either. Failing in all his projects, he moved that there should be a fresh election, as the only method of untying those knots, which were only drawn harder by their tampering; and those who had hitherto remained neutral, or expected to make further advantage of their votes, readily closed with the proposal: but the expedient being violently opposed by all the Saxon party, the diet broke up on the eleventh day of July, without coming to any resolution.

AFTER this dissolution of the diet, the whole kingdom was divided, and different provinces were under the government of different sovereigns. Wherever the prince of Conti was acknowledged, all public business was transacted in his name; and the same measures were pursued by the opposite party. When the primate summoned a diet of confirmation to assemble on the twenty-sixth of August, the bishop of Cujavia issued writs for another diet to meet on the fifteenth of September for the elector's confirmation. Mutual protests were published, and bitter pasquinades stuck up in every public place in Poland; but the delays on the side of the prince of Conti brought daily advantages to his rival. His friends cooled in their ardor, in consequence of the dilatory proceedings of the court of Versailles; and great numbers were intirely weaned from their attachment by the magic powers of the elector's money. Some mistakes, committed by the couriers dispatched by the abbé de Polignac, increased the evil; and the difference must have immediately been decided in favour of Augustus, but for the extraordinary ability of M. Polignac and Chateaufort, who animated and supported the French party under every disadvantages. It seasonably happened, to assist their endeavours, that the marquis of Brandenburg, pressed by the primate's repeated letters, at length offered his mediation, which was accepted by both parties. The French interest wanted to gain time, which they hoped this negotiation would procure; and the Saxon faction imagined they would find a partial friend in the umpire. Such were the motives of both, and in consequence a conference was agreed upon. Here the electoral ambassador demanded, that the writs issued for the diet of confirmation should be revoked; or, if that was thought unreasonable, that the primate should nominate the elector, instead of the prince of Conti. In the next place it was required, that petty diets should be assembled previous to the general diet. Upon these conditions the elector consented not to receive the crown from the hands of the bishop of Cujavia; but to date his election only from the day it should be confirmed by the diet; to sign such additional articles to the *pacta conventa* as should be deemed necessary; and to pay, in ready specie, to the chiefs and lords of the opposite party, the sum of nine hundred thousand crowns.

To this proposal the primate delivered an answer in writing, professing his respect for the elector's person and merit; but declaring the aversion of his whole party for his religious persuasions. He affirmed, that, to a man, they were ready to shed their blood in defence of their liberty and religion; and that chusing a Protestant would be a direct violation of the latter, and would necessarily pave the way to the subversion of the former. He then represented the obligation that not only the king but the queen consort should embrace the Roman Catholic religion before their confirmation, on pain of having the election declared void; but it was not so much as pretended that the electress had abjured heresy, and there-

The elector of
Brandenburg
offers his medi-
ation.

a fore he could not in conscience consent to the confirmation of the elector her husband. Thus the conferences came to nothing, and each side endeavoured to profit by the diets summoned by the primate and the bishop of *Cujavia*. In this particular the prince of *Conti*'s party had apparently the advantage, had not the elector been provided with an army of Saxons on the frontiers of the republic. Little regard was paid to the bishop's writs in those palatinates attached to the adverse faction; and where they were complied with by the nobility, it was only with intention to oppose the confirmation of the elector, and to embroil the assembly. Some districts refused to send deputies; and the diet of *Seroda* carried matters so far as to declare open war upon the elector, to levy troops, and to appoint the castellan of *Kalisch* their general. To this confederacy the palatinates of *Lencicia* and *Rava* b acceded; and the spirits of the party were still more animated by letters just received from the prince of *Conti*, giving the strongest assurances of his intention to put himself at the head of his friends, and venture his life in defence of their privileges.

On the other hand, the elector of *Saxony*, finding himself supported by an army of Saxons, doubted not but his presence, his money, his forces, and his party, would be able to triumph over all obstructions. He had just received a deputation of sixty gentlemen, attended by a train of several thousand horse, sent by the bishop of *Cujavia* to compliment him on his accession. The elector was at *Tornowitz*, when the deputies were all admitted to the honour of kissing his hand, and dining in his presence at the table of the imperial ambassador. Nothing could be more fulsome than the adulation poured forth in the speeches c of the deputies, three of whom harangued the prince in the name of the republic of *Poland*, the duchy of *Lithuania*, and the nobility. Had he been made grand seignior, or sopher of *Persia*, the incense offered by the palatine of *Volhinia* would have been too strong a perfume for his nostrils. "Your majesty, said he, hath triumphed over the enemies of " Christianity; reign now in the hearts of the *Polish* nation. Let those hands, accustomed " to victory, receive our crown, and render it brilliant, by decking it with the laurels " which adorn your temples. The people who gave you their suffrages, gave them to a " prince regarded by *Rome* as her defender, and by *Europe* as her bulwark; to a prince " whose consummate abilities, and distinguished virtues, render him equally esteemed and " beloved by all mankind. We read this day the indulgence of heaven in the general joy, d " and a peculiar providence which descends among us, to render *Poland* the seat of perfect " felicity. For this reason our republic, now yours, reveres you, cherishes you with intire " affection, and desires you, as the person chosen by heaven for her king. We receive " you with gladness, and regard you as the elect of the Almighty. Come then, added " he, blessed prince, since God hath so decreed it, since *Poland* so ardently desires it, since " *Germany* approves it, since *Europe* applauds it, since all the world, except the barbarians, " share the general joy, and join in our acclamations. For you Christendom prepares im- " mortal fame, *Asia* its spoils, and *Poland*—We bless what we have seen, concluded this " sycophant; we publish what you are, and we declare to the whole world the hopes we " entertain of so great a prince: in a word we proclaim your glory to the nations around, e " and the universe shall be filled with your renown and majesty."—No wonder that *Augustus* came afterwards to regard himself as a despotic monarch, when he was thus loaded with adulation before he had a certainty to the crown, or had touched the reins of authority. The palatine reaped the reward of his compliment: he was conducted to the camp, and made general of the army.

Deputation to the elector.

On the twenty-fifth the elector advanced to *Pukari*; and on the twenty-seventh he repeated the abjuration of his errors before *Crispin*, bishop of *Samogitia*, swearing also to the observance of the *pacta conventa* accepted by his minister *Fleming*. By the twenty-ninth he approached to the gates of *Cracow*; but deferred his public entry, because count *Wielopolski*, governor of the citadel, had refused to surrender his charge, until the election was f unanimously confirmed. Threats did not terrify this nobleman: however, he yielded to the irresistible persuasion of five thousand crowns, and a rich diamond necklace presented to his lady; in exchange for which he made over his honour and government. Having now gained intire possession of the capital, *Augustus* made his public entry, and immediately summoned a grand council, to deliberate upon the necessary measures for reducing the rest of the kingdom to obedience. A few of the nobility recommended his compelling the primate, exerting the power which God had put into his hands, coming immediately to blows, and advancing to *Warsaw*, to prevent the meeting of the diet summoned to assemble on the twenty-sixth of *August*. This measure was deemed too violent by a majority of the council, who were of opinion, that he ought to wait the result of the diet, remain at the capital, g repair and improve its fortifications, secure himself, and gain the affections of the people by his lenity and moderation. After violent debates this opinion was followed as the safest, and most likely to impress the minds of the people with a favourable sense of the new government. The elector, however, could not help declaring his astonishment at

He gains possession of Cracow.

at their timidity and want of vigour, after they had expressed so much satisfaction at his accession. a

Arrival of the
prince of Con-
ti.

MEAN time the *French* faction was thrown into the utmost consternation, at seeing the elector with a body of troops in possession of the capital; and they determined not to irritate too much a prince who bid so fair for the sovereignty. It was their fear which suggested the resolution of not surrendering the instrument of the prince of *Conti*'s election into the hands of the *French* minister, until he had paid off the arrears due to the army, and performed a variety of other engagements. A resolution so sudden and unexpected greatly embarrassed *Polignac*, who immediately informed his court of the determination of the party. He exhorted the prince of *Conti* to embark without delay, and furnish himself with all the money possible, without which his expedition would be fruitless, and the immense b sums already expended intirely thrown away. In consequence of *Polignac*'s remonstrances, the prince went on board the little squadron of the chevalier *du Bart*, lying at *Dunkirk*, attended by several of the nobility and gentry of *France*, and arrived on the twenty-eight of September in the road of *Dantzick*. He had brought with him an hundred thousand pounds in specie, besides an equal sum in bills of exchange, payable on sight, and a great number of jewels; but the city of *Dantzick* had attached herself to the elector, and refused paying the prince any other honours than a single discharge of the artillery at fort *Weychelmunde*. The citizens even insulted the officers of the *French* squadron; to revenge which the admiral seized upon five merchantmen belonging to the city; and the magistrates, by way of reprisal, laid hands upon all the effects of the *French*, carrying their resentment so far as to sell the *French* ambassador's horses to the highest bidder. *Polignac* was using his utmost endeavours to pave the way for his entrance into *Poland*; but he encountered manifold difficulties. The electoral troops dispersed through the kingdom rendered it necessary that the prince of *Conti* should be attended by a strong guard; to procure which the ambassador entered into treaty with the powerful family of *Sapieba*, who engaged, for the sum of four hundred thousand livres, to send twelve companies to *Dantzick*, under the conduct of the son of the grand-treasurer: after which the grand-general of *Lituania*, and all the officers, were to swear fidelity to the prince, and march at the head of their troops to the general rendezvous that should be appointed: first, however, the prince was under the necessity of advancing near five hundred thousand livres, besides the sum promised to *Sapieba*. Fear prevented the *Lituanians* from executing their engagements. The *French* ambassador went on board the fleet, in full confidence that the prince would immediately be furnished with a sufficient escort. Couriers were continually arriving with advice that the troops were in motion, and the prince was advised by his *Polish* friends to advance to *Marienburg*; but he seemed to distrust the *Lituanians*, and chose to wait on board until their arrival, which never happened: for, notwithstanding daily intelligence that the army was near, and attended with several *Lituanian* senators, who, in conjunction with the *Polish* embassy, came to present him with the crown; yet the prince of *Sapieba* had not moved out of his camp, and the arrival of a body of the elector's troops in *Prussia* made him drop all thoughts of advancing. d

A diet of confirmation held previous to his arrival.

WHATEVER disappointments the prince of *Conti* encountered at *Dantzick*, his arrival threw the *Saxon* party into some confusion. Before this news was published at *Cracow*, the elector was carrying all before him, by means of two millions which had been distributed among the army, and other extraordinary liberalities, that extremely augmented his party, strengthened his interest, and raised his popularity. A great number of companies, with *Potoski*, great-huntsman of the crown at their head, joined his party, though they were before considered as the partisans of *France*. To the honour of the military gentlemen it must however be observed, that a majority firmly rejected the pecuniary bribe, and remained attached to that side which gave them nothing besides promises. When the diet of confirmation, or *poparcia*, summoned by the primate, assembled, it was opened by a speech f from *Bielinski*, mareschal of the diet, and attended by great numbers of the *Saxon* interest, who came on purpose to excite discord, and disturb business, by the tumults they proposed fomenting. *Donowski*, deputy of *Wilski*, had the boldness to ask the mareschal, for what purpose the diet of confirmation was called, when the nation had already proclaimed the elector of *Saxony*. But this temerity had almost cost him his life: six thousand gentlemen drew their sabres, struck him several blows, and left him to be carried for dead out of the field; which so terrified the other partisans of *Saxony*, that they stole away privately from the assembly. The result was, that the primate and mareschal carried every thing in favour of the prince of *Conti*, whose election they confirmed, promising to support it at the hazard of their lives. This was followed by a general confederacy to sustain the measures they g had taken, to which all the principal nobility present subscribed. It was called an association in defence of religion, honour, property, liberty, and the constitution; each member declaring, that he would sacrifice his life in its defence. The next step was to deliberate on

Confederacy to support his interest.

a on a deputation to the elector of *Saxony*, to represent the violation of the rights and liberties of the republic he was daily committing, by his residence with an armed force in the kingdom; but the difficulty was to find persons of sufficient courage to undertake the dangerous embassy. To remove their perplexity, the bishop of *Kiow* offered his services: they were accepted, and he had begun his journey to *Cracow* when he was given to understand, that he should be treated in the same manner as *Donowski* was at the diet, which cooled his ardor, and determined him to return. It was then proposed to appoint a generalissimo to the confederacy; but every one to whom it was offered refused the honour. The castle of *Warsaw* was summoned to surrender; and the palatine of *Plesko*, who acted as governor; at first refused; but was soon intimidated to submission by a battery of cannon, which
b was erected, and began firing upon the walls. The following days several articles were signed for the support of the *roboz*, or confederacy; and a resolution was taken of writing to the bishops of *Cujavia* and *Cracow* to exhort them not to expose themselves to the resentment of the republic, by an imprudent attachment to the elector of *Saxony*, whom they intended to crown with all possible solemnity. At the same time the bishop of *Kiow* was appointed to inform the army of the resolutions of the diet, and to invite them to accede to the confederacy. In a word, the primate was desired to hasten his proclamations; in order that the nobility might march in a body to drive the elector out of the kingdom. The whole design, indeed, of the confederacy was to prevent the elector's coronation, which gave him the disposal of all vacant offices. In this he must anticipate the prince of
c *Conti*, because he was at the capital, and actually surrounded with a numerous body of troops, which disconcerted all the vigorous resolutions of his opponents; and effectually frustrated their execution.

SECURE of his own strength, the elector determined to proceed to the ceremony of his coronation, which he believed would greatly extend his influence, by giving him the disposal of all public employments; and indeed many lords and gentlemen only waited this event to declare in his favour. Many difficulties however occurred to prevent the solemnization of the ceremony agreeable to the laws. The first was, that all the crown-ornaments were locked up in the treasury of *Cracow*, the keys of which were kept by eight officers, six of whom were in the opposite interest. The *Saxon* council determined
d to force a place that had been always deemed sacred; but, that the laws might not be violated by breaking open the doors, it was judged expedient to enter by a breach made in the walls; a quibble suggested by some of those miscreants of the court, who are never at a loss for the means of excusing the most flagrant and criminal actions in princes. Another great obstruction to his designs arose from the necessity of being crowned by the primate archbishop of *Gnesna*, which alone could give credit to that ceremony with the people; to remove this inconvenience, the elector's little council of four or five senators declared the archbishopric vacant. It was likewise required that the body of the late monarch should be interred the day preceding the coronation; but neither was this possible, as the enemy were in possession of *Warsaw*, where the royal remains were deposited.
e However, a salvo was provided for this likewise; the funeral obsequies were to be performed in effigy, in the cathedral church, with the same pomp and magnificence as if the body had been actually present. Every obstruction being thus surmounted, the ceremony began, and a procession was made with vast pomp to the church of *St. Stanislaus*, where the confession of faith was read by the bishop of *Cujavia*, and the sacrament administered by two other prelates, during which the prince fainted away; a circumstance which some turned into raillery, while others regarded it as an unhappy presage. The crown was placed on his head by the bishop; and, after all the ceremonies were finished, he received the homage of the nobility and gentry present, the crown-officers who were in the opposite interest being represented by proxy.

The elector's measures to oppose the confederacy.

He is crowned.

f ON the same day the coronation-diet assembled, and occasioned the utmost tumult and confusion. Complaints were ushered from every quarter, that certain essential formalities had been omitted; but this difficulty was surmounted with the same facility as all the preceding; the deputies agreeing to regard each other as regularly elected; however, the choice of a marshal gave birth to new contentions, that honour being claimed by prince *Wiesnowski* and *Zwissa*, and at last carried by the latter. The next subject of division respected the *pacta conventa*, the original draught of which the diet required should be laid before them. They asserted it should stipulate, in express terms, that the election should be void, should the ceremony of coronation be performed previous to the electress's conversion; and they were the more confirmed in their opinion by the elector's answer, in
g which he declared that the original act was lost; an evasive reply, which highly incensed the deputies. An association of gentlemen, of the palatinate of *Sandomir*, produced a copy that had been taken from the original act; but this the elector's council refused to admit; and the castellan of *Culm* so effectually embroiled the affair, that the decision was

deferred to the month of *February*. Fruitless protests were entered by several deputies against all that had been transacted before and after the coronation; the elector expressed no concern at their proceedings, and regarded the storm as a sudden blast, whose duration would be proportioned to its violence. Others turned the diet into ridicule, and revenged by a jest the injuries offered to national liberty. A pasquinade, under the title of *The Comedy of Cracow*, was handed about. The piece contained five acts, to each of which was prefixed an argument, to the following purpose: 1. A king without a *diploma*. 2. An interment without a corpse. 3. A coronation without a primate. 4. A diet without deputies. 5. Protestations without effect. Such is the genius and temper of the *Poles*, that they contented themselves with displaying their wit, when they ought to be exerting their courage; nor was it disagreeable to the elector to see their resentment exhale in a manner so little detrimental to his interest.

Triple diets
summoned by
the primate.

In this situation were matters at *Cracow*, when the news of the prince of *Conti*'s arrival at *Dantzick* obliged the electoral party to unite more closely, drop their private animosities, and point their whole strength against the enemy. On the other hand the primate issued proclamations for three particular assemblies to be held on the 20th of *October*, in which he justified his own conduct, and threw all possible odium on the elector and his party. On this occasion, *Augustus* deviated from his usual maxims. He thought proper to answer these manifestoes by circular letters, tho' hitherto he had opposed the writings of his adversaries by action. Here he advanced every argument capable of demonstrating the legality of his election and coronation, concluding with an exhortation to all the friends of their country to join with him in defence of their honour and liberty, and in re-establishing the peace and tranquility of the republic. Nevertheless, both sides were sensible that the dispute must be determined by power and not by argument. It was with this view the primate assembled the triple diets, and it was with the same design that the elector ordered six regiments of *Saxony* to surround the petty diet of *Cracow*, and threaten to cut the whole in pieces, if they did not subscribe to his decree against the primate and the confederacy. Three proposals were now made by his adherents, either of which it was imagined would wholly destroy the hopes of the prince of *Conti*. First, he was advised to march directly with the *Saxon* army to the camp occupied by the crown-forces, to prevent, by his presence and liberality, their joining the adverse party. Great sums of money had already been distributed among them, but a majority remained still uncorrupted. The next proposal was, to prevent the meeting of the assemblies summoned by the primate, and to surprize that prelate at *Lowitz*; and the third was to march at the head of all his forces into *Prussia*, to oppose the prince of *Conti*'s debarkation; or, if he should already be landed, to obstruct his march to *Poland*. The last proposal was embraced, as the least unconstitutional; but the elector contented himself with detaching a strong reinforcement, under the generals *Fleming* and *Brandt*, to join the forces already in *Prussia*, instead of taking the field in person. In consequence of this resolution, the triple diets met without opposition from the elector. At *Grodno* nothing was effected, as the assembly was wholly directed by the *Sapiehas*, who promised every thing, without having yet executed their engagements to the prince of *Conti*, of sending him an escort, notwithstanding they had received the sum stipulated. At *Zawieho* scarce any deputies appeared, even the president of the diet was absent; but near two thousand gentlemen met at *Lencicia*, where no other business was transacted than the useless ceremony of again proclaiming the prince of *Conti*, and appointing a deputation of three hundred gentlemen and nobility to wait upon him with the *pacta conventa* and *diplo*ma. To this succeeded a circular letter, published by the prince, in which he stiled himself duke of *Conti*, and, by the grace of God and affection of the *Polish* nation, king of *Poland*, and great duke of *Lithuania*. He apologized for his delay, and attributed it wholly to his regard for the liberties of the constitution. He urged the same reasons for his not debarking, or coming to the *Polish* coast attended by a military force. He insisted upon the illegality of the elector's election, and touched particularly on the heresy of the electress, which alone was sufficient to render void all that had been transacted in his favour; and he concluded with expressing his affection for the *Polish* nation, his desire to avoid the effusion of blood, and his willingness to expose his life in defence of the religion and liberty of the republic. This letter, though penned with great address, wrought no effect. Every man in *Poland* was directed by private interest, prejudice, or passion. Most people had taken their measures, and having drawn money from both parties, resolved to adhere to that which was still in a condition to gartify their insatiable avarice. Hence fresh succours every day joined the electoral party, for this reason only, that his coffers were not exhausted. Many made promises to the prince, which they had neither the power nor inclination to perform; others took his money and betrayed his secrets, and some openly declared themselves his enemies from a pacific intention and strong desire of terminating the ruinous confusion of the republic. But of all his adherents, the prince

Prince of
Conti's circu-
lar letter.

- a prince of *Conti* had the greatest cause to complain of the *Sapiehas*, and the great general of the crown, who propagated false reports injurious to his interest, only to palliate their own fears and misconduct, in not sending the promised escort. The behaviour of these lords gave him so much disgust, that he offered to retire to *France*, but was prevented by the abbe *Polignac* and some *Polish* lords about him, who still fed his expectations. Their hope proceeded from the arrival of young *Sapieha*, son of the grand marshal, with his company of guards, in the neighbourhood of *Dantzick*, but when that nobleman acquainted the prince, that the main body of the *Lithuanian* forces could not begin their march in less than six weeks, he abandoned all hopes, relinquished his whole project, and determined to return to *France*, after all the expence and trouble which the pursuit of a crown had cost the court of *Versailles*. The coasts of *Prussia* were lined with troops, and he could not, without the utmost danger to his person, wait longer for the execution of promises in which he placed no confidence, after such repeated disappointments.

He loses all hopes of success.

- ALREADY the magistrates of *Dantzick* had put several affronts on the sea-officers and the *French* ambassador, which obliged *Polignac* to give orders for shipping the most valuable effects brought to the city for the accommodation of the prince of *Conti*. The order came too late, the magistrates seizing upon the effects, and imprisoning the ambassador's domestics, and several merchants who assisted in the removal. The same day on which this affair happened, news arrived that the electoral forces had advanced to *Stum*, where they made prisoners three hundred and sixty of *Sapiehas* cavalry; which determined the ambassador to lodge the remainder of his effects in the abbey of *Oliva*, the only place of refuge on the whole coast, and where the *Polish* nobility attached to the prince of *Conti* had taken sanctuary. They were not long in this place of supposed security, before general *Brandt* and the *Saxons* arrived, broke into the abbey, and seized all the effects, took several *Polish* lords prisoners, and were near laying hold of the person of the *French* ambassador, who escaped with the utmost difficulty on board the squadron in the road.

- BRANDT having finished this exploit with great success, resolved to profit by the general consternation which had seized the *French* party, and accordingly invested the citadel of *Marienburg*. He pushed his operations with vigour, and obliged the grand carver of the crown, who acted as governor, to capitulate; in consequence of which the palatine of *Siradia*, and the great chamberlain *Bielinski*, repaired to *Cracow* to make their peace with the elector, and take the oaths of fidelity to that prince. The defection of these lords, and the loss of *Marienburg*, the only place where he could effect a debarkation with any degree of safety, confirmed the prince of *Conti* in his resolution of setting sail back for *France*, and abandoning all hopes of acquiring the crown of *Poland*. Yet he still entertained some appearances of expectation, and landed the abbe *Polignac* in the isle of *Rugen*, from whence he was directed to pass into *Poland*, should the conjuncture of affairs render it necessary; and he wrote two letters, one to the primate and another to the republic reproaching the nobility with timidity, and attributing to their misconduct the affront he had received in the face of all *Europe*; after which he weighed anchor, and steered for *France*, by the way of *Denmark*.

He returns to France.

- THE departure of his rival brought a fresh accession of power to *Augustus*. Not only several districts acknowledged his sovereignty, but took the usual oaths of fidelity. A great number of the nobility who had before kept aloof, now made no scruple about acknowledging the legitimacy of his election. Part of the army that had rejected his pecuniary offers with disdain, sent deputies to swear obedience to the new sovereign; and proposals were made both by the king of *Sweden* and the czar of *Muscovy* to assist him with powerful armies;—how soon the face of affairs, with respect to the former of these princes, altered, will appear in the sequel. This was a turn of fortune which it was imagined would bear down all opposition; yet did the primate, assisted by several powerful noblemen, maintain an opposition with their whole influence and authority. They published manifestoes in vindication of their adherence to the prince of *Conti*, and exerted themselves so effectually, that the elector began to meet with opposition from those very persons who had raised him to the regal dignity. He had introduced a body of *Saxons* into *Poland* with their consent, and he retained them from the necessity of circumstances, and for the security of his person. Of this the *Poles*, ever jealous of their liberty, complained, as a violation of the constitution. They chiefly objected to the *Saxons* being put in the garrisons of *Cracow* and *Marienburg*, and said that it was unprecedented to see the *Polish* fortresses in the hands of foreigners. Whenever the troops of both nations happened to be quartered together, skirmishes and duels continually ensued, and the elector was under the necessity of devising some expedient for satisfying the *Poles*, without dismissing the *Saxons*, upon whom he chiefly relied in the present unsettled state of the kingdom, and while a strong party opposed his government. It was difficult to hit the medium between measures so extremely contrary; the council was several days employed on this subject; and

The elector's success.

Fresh disturbances occasioned by the foreign troops.

and it was at length resolved, that the *Saxons* should be removed to the sea-coasts, to guard against all attempts from *France*, while the *Polish* troops should be quartered on the frontiers, as a barrier against the irruptions of the *Turks* and *Tartars*. The great distance between both would cut off all opportunity of broils and divisions, at the same time that the situation of the *Saxon* camp, and the removal of the troops of that nation out of garrison, would, it was hoped, extinguish all jealousy of any designs against the liberties of the republic. This resolution in some measure produced the desired effect; it quieted the minds of his own adherents, and silenced the clamours raised on that account by the primate and opposite faction.

The king enters Warsaw.

HAVING healed these divisions, the elector determined to gain possession of *Warsaw*, for which purpose he began his march in the month of *December*, in order to assemble a diet of pacification in that city, and reconcile such of the nobility as continued averse to his government. He was met on the road by the grand-mareschal of the crown, the great-treasurer of *Lithuania*, and divers other noblemen, who took this opportunity of detaching themselves from the primate's declining interest, and on his arrival near *Warsaw*, the keys were presented to him by the magistrates, he was saluted by a discharge of the artillery mounted on the ramparts, and *Te Deum* was sung in the great cathedral church, accompanied with the shouts and acclamations of the populace, as if he had obtained some signal victory, or had been raised to the throne by the universal suffrage, in favour of distinguished merit. These ceremonies being ended, he went to the citadel, the keys of which were presented to him by the palatine of *Plosko*, as governor of the city and castle, and in the evening he made a visit to the queen-dowager, which terminated in an entire reconciliation with her majesty, and the whole royal family of the late monarch. As the *robosz* or confederacy persisted in refusing to acknowledge any other sovereign besides the prince of *Conti*, *Augustus* was confirmed in the resolution of assembling a diet of pacification, as the only means of reclaiming the primate and his adherents to their duty. For this purpose writs were issued, in which the elector declared the sincerity of his conversion to the *Romish* faith, his respect for the liberties of the *Polish* constitution, his earnest inclination to heal up the wounds of discord, and to become the sovereign of an united happy people. He avoided all harsh expressions, which might irritate the spirit of the adverse party, and only lamented that their mistaken zeal and erroneous principles should occasion their persevering in measures which could not fail of terminating in their own destruction, and the ruin of the kingdom, if not speedily relinquished: and concluded with assurances, that his forces and treasures should not only be employed in restoring the antient lustre of the crown, but in retaking *Kaminiec*, and placing the frontier in such a situation, as should foil all the future attempts of the barbarians to ravage the provinces belonging to the republic, or extend the barrier.

Troubles in Lithuania.

THE expected effects did not follow these declarations; a variety of circumstances concurred to rekindle the sparks of sedition just as they were thought to be extinguished, both in *Poland* and *Lithuania*. In the latter, *Oginski*, great-standard-bearer of the duchy, resented that the house of *Sapieha* was reconciled to *Augustus*, and had the courage to take up arms against the great-general. A body of nobility was assembled, part of the army was corrupted, hostilities were committed in the country, and the lands belonging to the house of *Sapieha* were ravaged. These violences the grand-general determined to oppose with the remainder of the forces that continued in their allegiance. *Augustus* interposed his authority, ordered *Oginski* to dismiss his forces and repair to *Warsaw*, and gave strict orders to *Sapieha* not to oppose violence to the measures of his adversary, assuring him that he should be amply indemnified. In consequence each sent deputies to *Warsaw*; but it was impossible to effect a reconciliation, because the deputies declared they were not furnished with sufficient powers to conclude a treaty: all therefore that the elector could perform, was to exhort the parties not to disturb, with their private animosities, the peace of the kingdom, which the people began now at length to enjoy.

IN *Poland* the army frequently mutinied, notwithstanding a majority had acknowledged the elector, and taken an oath of obedience. From their extravagant pretensions it was obvious they harboured the ambitious design of acquiring a share in the legislative government, and erecting themselves into a fourth estate. Add to these causes of the public disturbance, that the primate appeared as averse as ever to an accommodation. He heard the remonstrances of several of his friends, and was visited by them, without being once moved from his inflexibility; and he now began to express himself with more boldness, because he had received advice of certain preparations making in *France* in support of the prince of *Conti*. Even the pope's nuncio could work no change in the obstinate humour of this headstrong prelate, who seemed determined to fall a sacrifice to his engagements, and the animosity he entertained to the elector of *Saxony*. At length the court of *Rome* openly declared for *Augustus*; the preparations in *France* were laid aside, and the indignation

a nation of the primate began to subside, merely because his pride was not flattered by solicitation. The conditions of reconciliation which he offered, were extremely insolent; but *Augustus* was pleased that he could be brought to any terms; and regarded this change of disposition as a happy preface that he would soon relax in the most material points. His demands now were, that the republic should make him satisfaction for the injuries committed against his person and dignity, public acknowledgment of the violation of the laws in respect to him, engage never to proceed to the coronation of any future monarch without the consent of the primate, and that the bishop of *Cujavia* in particular should make a personal submission. The primate's change of humour drew a letter to him from the king, in which he professed a personal regard and affection for the prelate, who, softened by kind expressions, condescended to return an answer to the letter of his sovereign, in which he gave him the title of Majesty. He likewise gave the king to understand, that he could exert all his authority in the assembly of the *roboz*, to establish the public tranquility, and procure a general acknowledgment of his sovereignty, provided his demands were gratified. This promise however he did not execute in its full extent; for though the assembly met with the king's consent, the prelate's whole application proceeded no further than a general proposal, that methods should be devised for re-establishing the laws, restoring the course of justice, securing the liberty of the constitution, and for promoting, peace, concord, and unanimity; to which pious work himself gave the greatest obstruction. *Augustus* sent the grand-mareschal of the crown, and the great-treasurer of *Lithuania*, in quality of deputies to this meeting; but the title of commissioners, which they assumed, and certain inadvertent expressions dropped in course of conference, so aroused the indignation of the confederacy, that they were forced to retire privately, to prevent their being insulted. Divers members likewise exclaimed against the title of king, which *Augustus* assumed in his letter to the assembly; but, after warm debates and violent altercation, a bill, consisting of twenty-one articles, was prepared, without signing which, the assembly declared their resolution of not receiving the elector for their lawful sovereign. The reader may peruse a copy of the articles in the margin (D). The conditions were found too rigid to be accepted, which threw the assembly into a ferment. The rage of the confederates blazed out with such violence, that divers persons fired in at the windows of the *Brandenburg* envoy, for using his good offices, in moderating the terms, calming the spirits of the party, and effecting a reconciliation. For several days the tumult continued, and every man of candour and public spirit lamented the excess to which faction was carried in a meeting, where it was proposed to close all the sores of discord. Many of the principal members withdrew, with intention to acknowledge the elector without insisting upon unreasonable conditions. The primate and mareschal were in the number of those who would admit of no relaxation; on the contrary, they insisted that the bishop of *Cujavia* should be deposed, and for ever disqualified from holding any public employment, civil or ecclesiastical; and they had the influence to repair the

The primate becomes more pliant.

Feb. 18.

Assembly of the roboz propose terms, which are rejected.

(D) ART. I. That the elector shall give positive assurance, attested by the court of *Rome*, that his conversion is sincere.

II. That the electress shall embrace the same religion.

III. That the four provinces dismembered from the crown, shall be re-united with all possible expedition.

IV. That the *Roman* Catholic religion shall be established in *Saxony*.

V. That accounts shall regularly be laid before the diet of the application of public money.

VI. That the *pacta conventa* shall be prepared by the *roboz*, and presented by the marshal of that assembly.

VII. That the vacant offices which had been filled up shall be confirmed, with new provisions.

VIII. That all foreign troops shall be dismissed.

IX. That, in consideration of the ravages committed by the imperial troops in *Poland*, the emperor shall grant winter-quarters to an equal number of *Polish* troops in his dominions.

X. That no public employments of trust, profit, or dignity, shall be given to foreigners.

XI. That the act of naturalization granted to the house of *Saxony* shall not extend beyond the royal family.

XII. That the king shall not use the title of elector.

XIII. That the damages done by the army shall be made good at the expence of the grand-general.

XIV. That all the officers in the guards and army shall profess the *Romish* religion.

XV. That all foreigners in the service shall be sent out of the dominions of the republic.

XVI. That the city of *Dantzick* shall be indemnified the losses she has sustained in consequence of the capture of her ships, or the expedition of general *Brandt*.

XVII. That public sentence shall be pronounced against the bishop of *Cujavia*, disqualifying him from proclaiming and crowning any future sovereign.

XVIII. That inquiry shall be made into the cause of the treasury's being broke open.

XIX. That ecclesiastics shall not be disturbed in possession of their estates.

XX. That general *Brandt* shall acknowledge and answer for all the damages done in *Prussia* by his troops.

XXI. That all decrees passed during the divisions of the republic shall be cancelled and annulled (1).

Such was the bill presented to *Augustus* by the assembly of the *roboz*, many of the articles of which could not possibly be complied with, because they were extravagant, and the highest reflection upon his honour. It will appear by comparing them with the *pacta conventa* signed by *Fleming*, what additional restrictions were laid on the royal prerogative; and hence we may judge of the sincerity of the primate's professions, who now interested himself so little in bringing the assembly to a better temper.

(1) *Parthen. lib. ii.*

loss of the late secession, by six standards of the crown, and several lords, who now declared for the *robex*, and embraced all their measures. a

THERE is something extremely unaccountable in the fluctuating principles of the *Poles* at this juncture. They seldom adhered to any particular interest, and seemed to be equally agitated by avarice, ambition, principle, and passion, each ruling in its turn. On some occasions private interest would seem to prevail, at others the love of liberty would appear the only actuating principle; while in general, prejudice and passion conquered every other emotion of the heart. The latter would seem to have wholly swayed this assembly; and many persons were surprized that the king ever permitted the *robex* to meet, though it is plain that he was deluded by the primate's professions, and induced to it by an earnest desire to restore the tranquility of the republic, which had not, for near the space of two years, b tasted the sweets of repose. It was for similar reasons that he refrained from giving satisfaction to the *Brandenburg* envoy, who made loud complaints of the violence committed on his house, of the insults offered to his person, and of the infraction of the laws of nations, and the privileges of ambassadors. He only promised to punish, at a proper season, the offenders, and the minister was forced to rest satisfied with this acknowledgment, at a time when the whole kingdom was distracted. The confederates persisted in open opposition to *Augustus*, and endeavoured to strengthen their faction by succours from *France*, which they earnestly implored. A deputation was sent to *Versailles*, to solicit the prince of *Conti's* return; but they met with a cold reception. *Lewis* was not only offended at the usage the prince had met with from the republic, but he was deeply engaged at that c time in affairs of greater moment, the king of *Spain's* illness opening a prospect for his grandson of succeeding to the throne of that monarch. This disappointment proved the ruin of the schemes formed by the confederates, and brought the greatest advantages to *Augustus*; yet still the troubles in *Lithuania* threatened an insurmountable obstruction to the quiet possession of his new acquired dignity. The army of that duchy had almost intirely revolted from the great-general, and joined themselves to the party formed by *Oginski*, great-standard-bearer. The late injunctions laid upon both these noblemen by the king availed little; all the nobility who had sided with *Oginski*, demanded to be put on a footing with the same order in *Poland*. They also insisted upon having four hundred thousand crowns, which they alledged had been promised by *Sapieha* for the payment of d arrears due to the army. Had a pacification depended on this last article, it would have been easily procured; it was the king's intention to purchase the public repose at any price; but the demand which was now made of assembling a diet in arms and on horseback, occasioned more speculation and greater difficulty. He dreaded the effusion of blood, and the thoughts of having a new election proposed; and therefore peremptorily refused granting this demand, although at the hazard of seeing the desired coequation of the *Lithuanian* and *Polish* nobility take effect, a step which must necessarily render him unpopular in *Poland*. It was particularly prejudicial to the interest of *Sapieha*, and happily for *Augustus*, that powerful nobleman opposed it with all his strength and influence. He published a manifesto, demonstrating that *Oginski* not only violated the laws of the constitution, but those of equity e and humanity also; and he reviled in the bitterest terms the cruelties committed by that officer. This publication wrought a happy effect; many were impressed by the arguments, and not a few were swayed by the eloquence displayed, and the dreadful picture drawn of the violences committed by *Oginski*: in consequence they deserted his party, joined themselves to the interest of *Sapieha*, and declared their resolution of opposing, to the last drop of their blood, every measure which had a tendency to disturb the tranquility of the duchy and republic. Even this did not determine the controversy; the sword alone was capable of unttying those knots, which had foiled all the address of the king and government. *Sapieha* reinforced by the deserters from *Oginski*, marched against that general, came to an engagement, and, after an obstinate conflict, obtained the honour of a victory, with the loss of f six hundred men killed and wounded, on the side of the enemy.

THE blood spilt in *Lithuania* abated the heats of party in that country; but it was otherwise in *Poland*. Seditious writings were fixed upon the cathedral-door of *Warsaw*, and absolution offered to all who should assist in massacring the *German* soldiers. A great reward was published for discovering the author of these pieces, and proper cautions were taken for guarding against the effect: after which the king set out upon a progress to *Prussia*, to establish his authority in that province, one of the most considerable of the republic. Here he visited the fortification of *Marienburg*, and received the submission of the magistrates of *Elbing* and *Dantzick*; after which he made his public entry into the last of these cities, receiving the keys from the hands of the burgomasters. In a word, he received the g homage and oaths of fidelity from the inhabitants of *Marienburg*, *Dantzick*, *Elbing*, and all the considerable cities, towns, and villages in the province; upon which he returned to *Warsaw*.

DURING

*Divisions in
Lithuania.*

a DURING his absence, *Paulucci* arrived in quality of nuncio from the pontiff, with more ample powers than those given to *Davia*, his predecessor. It was through his influence that the confederacy was dissolved, on a reconciliation effected between the king and the *roboz*. He had so artfully soothed, cajoled, and threatened the primate, that the inflexibility of that prelate yielded to his respect for the holy see; in consequence of which he made a feeling speech to the assembly of the *roboz*, which produced a conference with the king's deputies. *Paulucci* took upon him the character of mediator, assisted at the conferences, and acted with such impartiality, that all parties were satisfied his sole design was to restore the peace of the country, and crush those factions which had brought *Poland* to the brink of destruction. A reconciliation was accordingly signed, upon condition, that the king should exhibit

b fresh proofs of his having embraced the *Romish* faith; that he should use his utmost endeavours with his consort to follow his example; that he should dismiss the Protestant ministers in his army; that he should pass an authentic act to preserve the freedom of elections and diers; that he should not require to be reimbursed in the sums expended in *Poland*; that he should pay the arrears due to the army; that he should employ his forces in regaining *Kaminiec*, and re-uniting that city and the provinces of *Podolia* to the crown; that he should afterwards dismiss all foreign troops; that he should revoke his grants of certain demesnes to private persons, and apply them to the support of his household: that he should give the preference to the members of the *roboz* in the distribution of public offices; that the primate should confirm the king's election: and, lastly, that this prelate should

c give his majesty the benediction in the great church of *Warsaw*, the courts of justice to remain suspended until that ceremonial was compleated, and the king confirmed in the possession of the crown.

Dissolution of the roboz, and a general reconciliation.

Thus happily was *Augustus* unanimously acknowledged sovereign of *Poland*, without we except the palatine of *Sandomir*, who not only refused to sign, but entered a protest of nullity against the agreement: a circumstance which gave but little disturbance to the king, who was sensible that he must soon close in with the sentiments of the nation. Accordingly the mareschal of the assembly broke his staff, to signify that the confederacy was dissolved: after which *Te Deum* was sung in the cathedral, and a splendid entertainment given in the castle, the whole concluding with general demonstrations of joy, and the loud acclamations

d of the people¹.

S E C T. VIII.

Containing the Transactions of the Republic to the Deposition of Augustus, and the Elevation of Stanislaus to the Throne of Poland.

ALL the arts of the primate being insufficient to extend the duration of his authority, by continuing the inter-regnum, he at length reluctantly yielded submission, and waited upon the king at *Warsaw*, with thirty of the principal personages of the *roboz*, and paid him a kind of homage; not, however, with the usual formalities, which he refused, under pretence that the election had not yet been solemnly confirmed. He likewise had the honour of a private audience, and was closetted for two hours by *Augustus*, though to very little purpose, the prelate waving, with great address, every proposal made of taking the oath of fidelity to the king; insisting, that the election should be confirmed by a diet. It would be absurd in *Augustus* to consent to this measure, which would be an acknowledgment that neither his coronation nor election were valid: the prelate was sensible of this; but he wanted to prepare the way, by plausible excuses, for his future conduct, which evinces how little sincerity there was in all his professions of reconciliation.

The primate waits on the king.

THE next affair which alarmed the king's attention, was the quarrel between *Sapieha* and *Oginski*, which divided all *Lithuania*, and had already occasioned bloodshed. The great-general was supported by the army, and the standard-bearer by all the nobility, who were jealous of the power and aspiring views of *Sapieha*. This family, indeed, ingrossed all the public employments, either lucrative or honourable, by means of their great influence with the court; an influence which they could always maintain, on account of their vast possessions and dependencies. *Augustus* had already attempted a reconciliation between these chiefs by his own authority: now he thought proper to refer it to the senate, which he assembled on purpose to deliberate on the present situation of the great duchy of *Lithuania*. The deputies of the army demanded their arrears, and laid the whole blame of their circumstances on *Oginski*, though lately they had taxed *Sapieha* with having detained

Troubles in Lithuania.

¹ PARTHEN. Hist. lib. ii. FONT. lib. vi. Lett. de Pologn. passim. BARRE Hist. tom. x.

four hundred thousand livres. Orders were sent for these two noblemen to appear at *Warsaw*, and *Sapieha* obeyed, while *Oginski* contented himself with sending his brother to attend the king and senate. In consequence a treaty was signed, by which all parties agreed to lay aside their differences; but unfortunately the reconciliation was scarce effected, when *Sapieha* received advice that a battle had been fought in *Lithuania* during his absence. This, it was imagined would throw every thing again into confusion. The young prince *Sapieha*, to whom his father had left the command of the army, seized this opportunity of trying his fortune, and displaying his valour. Accordingly he began his march at the head of six squadrons and seven battalions, with a train of seven pieces of cannon charged with grape-shot, against *Oginski*, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Jurginburg*, in *Samogitia*. *Oginski* drew up his forces in order of battle, determined to give them a warm reception; but his army could not stand before the fury and regularity of the enemy's fire: the ranks fell into confusion, the whole fled in disorder, and great numbers were drowned in the *Niemen*, or slain in the pursuit. *Oginski* had the good fortune to escape safe into *Ducal Prussia*, whither he was followed by a small part of the shattered remains of his forces; but he lost four pieces of cannon, all the money for the payment of the army, and every requisite for keeping the field and making fresh head against the victorious *Sapieha*. The news of this combat deeply affected the elder *Sapieha*, who feared that his son's rashness might be attributed to him; but it caused no alteration in the treaty, and the king made immediate use of the intelligence that was brought, by publishing a mandate to the following effect: That since his accession he had laboured to compose the civil divisions, and restore the peace of the great duchy of *Lithuania*: that, as it was necessary all hostilities should cease, it was his pleasure to make known, that all other persons should lay down their arms, and repair to their several homes, as soon as the army of *Lithuania* should begin to march; to act in conjunction with the *Polish* in retaking *Kaminiec*: that whoever should henceforward foment new divisions, would be deprived of the privileges of nobility, and subject to such other punishments as the law inflicts on disturbers of the public tranquillity; and *Sapieha* sent orders for the army to march to *Leopold*, in execution of the treaty, and conformity to the king's mandate.

The king takes the field, and the council is divided.

THE king had serious designs upon *Kaminiec*; the retaking of which fortress would not only be an exceeding popular measure, but furnish him with a specious pretext for retaining a body of *Saxons* in the kingdom. Though his sovereignty was generally acknowledged, yet *Augustus* did not think himself perfectly secure without the assistance of troops on whose fidelity he might depend. The *Saxons* intended for this expedition were held in readiness, and the duke of *Wurtemberg* was come from *Germany* to take the command: the crown-army was quartered on the frontiers of *Podolia*, and magazines had been formed sufficient for the subsistence of the combined forces during the campaign. On the tenth of *August*, *Augustus* set out for *Rava*, where he found *Peter* czar of *Muscovy*, with whom he entered into conference for the space of three days, which concluded in a treaty of alliance, that laid the foundation of the unfortunate war with *Sweden*. On the czar's departure, *Augustus* set out for *Leopold*, into which city he made his public entry with great magnificence. The eighteenth of *August* a grand council was held, at which assisted the senators; the *Polish* generals; and the principal officers of the *Saxon* army, which gave offence to the rigid republicans. Here it was debated, whether *Kaminiec* should be immediately attacked. Some of the council espoused the affirmative, alledging that the place could not possibly hold out until the winter should oblige the army to quit the field; while others supported the negative, because the season was too far advanced, and the enterprize more difficult than was imagined. Besides, they thought it of more consequence to fall upon *Moldavia*, to seize the principal fortresses in that country, to cut off the communication of the *Turks* with *Kaminiec*, and to quarter the *German* troops in that province during the winter. By this, foreigners would be removed from the bosom of the republic, and stationed in those places where they might not only guard the kingdom from irruptions; but stand between danger and the *Polish* army. There was something indeed extraordinary enough in all these counsels, when we reflect that a negotiation was now actually carrying on between the *Porte* and the Republic, to which both the Grand Seignior and king *Augustus* had set commissioners. A few, with more justice and good sense, recommended pacific measures; and alledged that no great stress could be laid on the assistance of the emperor and *Venetians*, with whom the republic was engaged in an offensive alliance for two years preceding the death of their late monarch *Sobieski*. As each party obstinately persisted in the opinions advanced, the council broke up without coming to any resolution. Next day they met; but were not more unanimous: however, a majority now declared for peace, alledged their reasons, and were opposed with arguments equally plausible in point of policy, but less consonant to equity, and that candour which ought to direct the measures of states, as well as the conduct of individuals. As it was impossible

- a impossible to determine while the council remained divided, *Augustus* resolved to disoblige neither party; but, in some degree, to act agreeable to both. With this view he nominated an extraordinary ambassy to conclude a peace, and at the same time made preparations for taking the field. He reviewed his army on the sixth of *September*; and, while he was thus employed, advice arrived that a body of *Tartars* had entered *Volhinia*, ravaged the country on all sides, and defeated a part of the *Polish* army. In consequence the king put himself in motion, and advanced at the head of the *Saxons* to join the crown-army, which had orders to meet him in *Podhaicia*. In their march thither, the *Poles* were attacked by forty thousand *Tartars*, who slew and made prisoners all the stragglers belonging to the army, and kept close to their skirts until they arrived in the suburbs of *Podhaicia*.
- b Here it was expected they should meet the *Saxons*; but the *Polish* general, finding he was disappointed, drew up his army in order of battle, in expectation of being attacked by the *Tartars*; a precaution that soon proved necessary. The enemy fell in by break of day, and by their impetuosity broke the advanced-guard, threw themselves on the first line, and were gallantly sustained. Meeting with insurmountable difficulties on this quarter, the *Tartars* surrounded the wings, defeated them, and penetrated to the baggage, to which is ascribed the safety of the *Polish* army. While the *Tartars* were employed in plundering, the *Poles* rallied, and renewed the charge with such success, that the enemy were forced to retire with part of their booty, after an obstinate engagement for eight hours, during which the artillery did prodigious execution. Yet the advantage gained could not prevent the enemy from carrying off some very valuable plunder, and burning the suburbs and part of the city of *Podhaicia*: however, it must be confessed that the *Poles* acted with great bravery, considering their number did not exceed eight thousand men, opposed to forty thousand. Nine hundred *Poles* were slain in the action, above a thousand were wounded, and the son of the great-general *Jablownoski* with three starosts were carried into captivity by the *Tartars*, their ardour pushing them too far into the midst of the enemy^a.
- c As the army of *Lithuania* was not yet arrived, and the season far advanced, *Augustus* laid aside all thoughts of besieging *Kaminiec* for this year, and made dispositions for putting his troops into winter-quarters. Just as every thing was in readiness for this purpose, the
- d *Lithuanians* joined the army; and advice was at the same time brought, that the *Tartars*, reinforced by great numbers of their own countrymen, and a strong detachment of janissaries, were advancing to revenge their late disgrace. This intelligence extremely embarrassed *Augustus*. A thousand circumstances evinced the little dependence he could have on the *Poles*, when-joined with the *Saxons*, whom they detested; and either of the armies singly would be insufficient to resist the enemy. Nor were the *Saxons* less odious to the *Lithuanians*, who took every occasion to affront and insult the *German* officers, which had almost involved the united armies in scenes of civil discord and bloodshed. Their mutual animosity daily increased, and at length rose to such a pitch, that the king, believing his person was no longer safe in the *Polish* camp, drew up the *Saxons* in order of battle, with intention to obtain justice by force of arms, in case the crown generals refused to punish the authors of the tumult. On the other hand the *Poles* and *Lithuanians* drew up, affording the fairest opportunity to the *Tartars* to ruin both, had they received intelligence of the division; and in this situation the two armies continued for above half a day, when the menaces of the *Polish* army to join with the primate and nobility against the foreign troops, obliged *Augustus* to quit the field, and repair to *Leopold*, after having assigned quarters to the *Saxons* at a distance from the army of the republic.

The Polish army attacked by the Tartars.

- e *AUGUSTUS* had scarce checked the divisions in *Poland* by his prudent management, when the troubles in *Lithuania* again broke out with redoubled vehemence. The treaty mediated by the king and senate had not quieted the spirits of the people; or restored that harmony which was necessary to the tranquility of the duchy. On the contrary, it proved a mere temporary expedient to enable the *Lithuanian* army to take the field. The members of the diet disavowed the treaty of *Warsaw* concluded by their deputies; and, assembling at *Wilna*, protested against almost every article, declaring that the deputies had greatly exceeded their instructions, and been inveigled into an agreement prejudicial to the interests of the duchy. This alluded to the act of *coequation*, and not to the quarrel between *Sapieha* and *Oginski*, though this too was renewed as a necessary consequence of the other. In this assembly it was resolved to summon the whole body of the nobility to meet at *Grodno* on the fifteenth of *October*, in order to raise money for the payment of the army, which would secure the troops in their interest; and in the mean time hostilities commenced, the lands belonging to the house of *Radzivil* being entirely desolated, rather from wantonness, than any particular pique to that noble family.

Divisions between the Poles and Saxons.

The troubles in Lithuania renewed.

^a PARTHEN. lib. iii.

The king's re-
sentment a-
gainst the elec-
tor of Bran-
denburg.

To these evils was superadded an open attack on the republic, made by the elector of *Brandenburg*, who had seized upon the city *Elbing*, as an equivalent for a debt of three hundred thousand rixdollars, due to him by the crown of *Poland* since the reign of king *Casimir*. This city had been pledged to him in security of payment; the affair had been forty years in agitation, and the late treaty, set on foot between *Augustus* and the elector, was broke off without coming to any conclusion. Before he invested the place, the elector published a manifesto, declaring the reasons upon which was founded his resolution of doing himself justice; at the same time he wrote a letter to the primate, and notified his pretensions to the magistrates of the city in dispute. The magistrates desired time to consider the elector's proposal, and at last offered to pay the money for the crown, at certain instalments, rather than be oppressed by a military force; but the elector, either b suspecting that this was an artifice to procure delay, or possibly chusing rather to be master of the city than to have the sum required refunded, ordered trenches immediately to be formed, and threatened to bombard the place if the magistrates made any scruples about capitulating. This menace wrought the desired effect, and the city capitulated on the eleventh of *November*, on condition that the privileges, religion, schools, and hospitals should be preserved on their present footing. To this was added an article respecting the conservation of the magistracy and commerce, the suppression of imposts on their mer-
chandize at *Pilau*, with other conditions of less importance. *Augustus* was at *Leopold*, ready to set out for *Lithuania*, when advice arrived that *Elbing* was invested by the forces of *Brandenburg*. The news extremely embarrassed and affected him; he declared the neces- c sity of having reparation, and expressed his resentment in terms the most bitter and lively. He wrote to the senate a letter full of indignation at the elector's perfidy; the primate and the nobility joined in his complaints; but their passion evaporated in murmurs and revilings; the season for relieving the magistrates was lost, and *Elbing* fell a sacrifice to the discords, jealousies, and irresolution of the republic. Malignity was carried to such a pitch, that the king's indignation was supposed counterfeit, and that prince actually taxed with conniving at the elector's designs; however, *Augustus* laboured to refute the mali- cious accusation, and earnestly solicited the republic to assist him in retaking a place equally important to the honour, interest, and security of the *Polish* dominions. Such indeed were the mutual distrusts, that the royal remonstrance produced no other effect than a resolu- d tion to put *Thorn* and *Dantzick* on their guard; to petition the king to send the *Saxon* army into *Polish Prussia*; to publish an order for the *pospolite* of this province to take the field on the third summons; to request the assistance of the allies of the republic; and to order the resident of *Brandenburg* instantly to quit the *Polish* territories. Next the king published the *Universalia*, taxing the elector with injustice and ingratitude; which piece was answered by similar accusations on the side of the court of *Berlin*; and these virulent publications were followed by a kind of irregular declaration of war, while both parties seemed to apprehend the consequences of a rupture.

A WAR in the North could not but be prejudicial to the interests of the court of *Vienna* at this juncture; the emperor therefore laboured to effect a reconciliation, and offered e his mediation, which was accepted by both parties, who acknowledged themselves his subjects, as far as they were members of the *Germanic* body. The conduct of the negotiation was entrusted to count *Sareniski*, the imperial envoy at *Warsaw*, a person extremely beloved by the *Polish* nobility. The minister exerted his utmost ability; *Augustus* was strongly disposed to an accommodation, on account of the divisions in his kingdom; the elector declared his intention for peace, yet was the treaty protracted for above a year, because *Brandenburg* insisted upon the reimbursement of the demand on the crown of *Poland* as a preliminary article.

The Lithua-
nians oppose
the Saxons.

WHILE the negotiation with the elector of *Brandenburg* was in agitation, the king applied f his mind to the affairs of *Lithuania*, which rose to a greater height of confusion, while his attention was diverted by the situation of *Elbing*. All the *Saxon* cavalry, with *Fleming's* regiment, had orders to take up their quarters on certain lands assigned for the maintenance of the king's household in *Lithuania*. This order was regarded by the *Lithuanians* as a violation of their privileges. In consequence the senate assembled at *Grodno*, and the nobility of the duchy sent two deputies to *Augustus*, who advanced to *Breszcia* in his way to *Lithuania*, assuring him of their zeal and fidelity, but requesting that the *Saxons* might not be quartered in the duchy, and pleading as the reason of their petition, that the country was already impoverished and exhausted by the hostilities of the parties in open arms. They also demanded arrears due for eight years to the *Lithuanian* army; and added menaces to oppose the entrance of the *Saxons*, unless this was granted. Without regarding g their threats the king ordered twelve regiments to advance to *Grodno*, placed a garrison in the tower, and distributed the remainder of the forces in the quarters first assigned.

- a It would be difficult to ascertain precisely the state of the debates in this duchy; but the chief motives of disturbance were the treaty of *Warsaw*, by which the *coequation* was settled, the quartering of the *Saxon* troops, and the private animosity between *Sapieha*, who might be considered as the partizan of *Augustus*, and *Oginski*, who was seconded by the nobility. The former was at the head of the army, amounting only to eight thousand men; and the latter was made general of a corps of the gentry and nobility, who exceeded double that number. The superiority of his strength urged *Oginski* to wipe off the disgrace of his late defeat: accordingly he attacked *Sapieha*, and soon obtained a victory over an army so unequally matched. This turn of affairs inclined the chiefs in the army to accept the proposed mediation of the bishop of *Wilna*, who was authorized by the king to accommodate the differences. The prelate laboured in this attempt; but met with little success, as the two armies were so nearly encamped, that another action was hourly expected, which determined *Augustus* to a vigorous step that alone could terminate the dispute. He ordered count *Fleming* to advance with the *Saxons* between the two armies, and instructed that officer to enjoin *Sapieha*, in the name of the king and the republic, immediately to disband the army. *Sapieha* was struck with this order, paused a little, but reflecting on the consequences of disobedience, and the superior strength of *Oginski*, he complied, by which the way was paved to a treaty of pacification. Commissioners were immediately appointed to meet; it was mutually agreed, that the army should remain disbanded; that two thousand six hundred foot, including the regiment of the republic, should be retained as a standing force; that every officer should take an oath of fidelity to the king, and the states of *Lithuania*; that eleven hundred dragoons should be maintained upon the same footing; that the *Hungarian* forces should be dismissed; that a year's pay should be advanced to the army, in consideration of which they were to renounce their claim to all further arrears; that a general amnesty should take place; that the sums stipulated by the *pacta conventa*, in favour of the army should be advanced; that the republic should solicit the execution of that promise; that new levies should be deferred until the ensuing season; that means should be taken to oblige the great-general to observe the institution of *coequation*; that the palatines who refused assigning quarters to the troops, should be compelled thereto by the diet; that the expences of the artillery should be provided for by certain funds specified in the agreement; that the cannon should be lodged in the arsenal of *Wilna*, from whence it should only be employed against the enemies of the republic; and that the *Tartars* of *Lithuania* should be equally protected by both parties in their persons and effects, provided they immediately swore fidelity to the king and republic.
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- d

The army of Lithuania disbanded, and a treaty ensues.

In consequence of this treaty the troops were discharged, after which the number stipulated were retaken into the service, and to conclude this affair with more solemnity, the bishop of *Wilna* sung *Te Deum*, with the act of thanksgiving, accompanied by a general discharge of the artillery, and acclamations at this happy period to domestic faction.

A. D. 1699:

- On the king's return to *Warsaw* his first care was to fall upon measures for reconciling the primate and the bishop of *Cujavia*, whose dissensions might again embroil the republic. This was a point of the utmost consequence, especially as the primate still demanded a confirmation of the election in a general diet, and a decision of that dispute, whether the bishop of *Cujavia* had a right either to proclaim or crown a king of *Poland*? He had used his utmost endeavours to assemble a diet for this purpose, and the king consented that the states should meet; but he was swayed by a double motive to delay this assembly until the month of *March*. Hence he would have more leisure to effect a reconciliation between the two great prelates, and might be able to judge of the issue of the congress at *Carlowitz*, both which would produce a good effect, and bring the diet into an obliging humour. The latter negotiation passed to a final conclusion with all the facility and success imaginable. A peace was signed between the king and the republic on the one hand, and the Grand Seignior on the other, by *Stanislaus Malakowski*, plenipotentiary from *Poland* to the congress, and *Mahomet Effendi* and *Alexander Mama Candato*, ambassadors from the *Porte*. This treaty contained in substance as follows: 1st. The antient amity shall be renewed, and the provinces of the two states distinguished by the boundaries which were mutually acknowledged before the war. 2. The republic shall restore all her conquests on the frontiers of *Moldavia*. 3. *Kaminiec*, all *Podolia*, and the *Ukraine*, shall be restored in their present situation to *Poland*. 4. The Grand Seignior shall strictly enjoin all his subjects and vassals, whether *Turks* or *Tartars*, from making irruptions into the *Polish* dominions. All the *Turkish* governors and officers shall have peremptory orders to be vigilant in guarding the frontiers, and active in punishing all violators of the treaty; the republic engaging to do the same on her part. 5. *Poland* shall be acknowledged a state entirely free and independent. 6. The *Tartars*, who have deserted their own country to possess lands to which they have no right, shall return and reside within their antient limits. 7. The religious of the *Roman Catholic* persuasion, through the whole *Turkish* empire,
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Peace of Carlowitz. Jan. 26.

empire, shall enjoy the free exercise of the functions annexed to their religion and circumstances, according to antient treaties subsisting. 8. Mutual liberty of trade shall be restored, and the merchants of either nation suffered to pass without molestation, on paying the duties specified by antient treaty and agreement; and no merchant shall be obliged to pay a debt claimed only upon verbal evidence. 9. All prisoners taken during the war, shall be mutually released, on paying the ransom adjusted by former treaties; the ransom to diminish in proportion to the length of the captivity. Prisoners taken after the conclusion of the treaty, to be restored without ransom, and a free passage granted them through the dominions of either power. 10. The vaivode of *Moldavia* shall continue a good understanding with the republic; and neither *Poland* nor *Moldavia* shall protect or countenance the fugitives of either country. By the 11th and last article, former treaties, in every point not specified in the present, were confirmed. Each of the contracting powers agreed to notify it to their respective allies, governors, officers, and magistrates, within the space of thirty days, and to punish any infraction with great severity. The republic engaged to send an ambassador to exchange the ratifications at the *Porte*, and also to pay the compliment of a solemn embassy to the Sultan, as soon as conveniency would admit.

Irruption of
the Tartars.

In this manner did the peace of *Carlowitz* restore the important fortress of *Kaminiec*, the province of *Podolia*, and the vast territory of the *Ukraine* to *Poland*; an happy event for *Augustus*, who was thereby disengaged from the most difficult of the engagements contracted by the *pacta conventa*. It was not doubted but this event would pave the way to other felicities, the entire re-establishment of the public tranquility, and confirmation of the sovereign on the throne. The peace was celebrated by splendid public rejoicings at *Warsaw*, which were soon interrupted by an expedition of the remote *Tartars*, who either were not informed of the pacification, or took advantage of the security of the *Poles*. They advanced in a vast body as far as *Leopold*, plundering and ravaging all before them, and were preparing to return with prodigious booty and twelve thousand captives, when a detachment of *Poles* fell upon them and retook great part of the prisoners. This incident checked, but did not entirely stop the course of pleasure at court. The carnival was splendid and magnificent, beyond any thing ever beheld in *Poland*; and the politeness, graceful person, and majestic air of the monarch, contributed greatly to gain over the affections of the *Poles*, and soften the animosity of his most inveterate enemies.

Addresses to dis-
miss the
Saxons.

At a council held about this time, it was resolved, that the diet should not be convoked before the last day of *May* ensuing; that it should be referred to the king to appoint commissioners to receive from the hands of the *Turks* restitution of the places specified in the treaty of *Carlowitz*; that the mediation of the maritime states should be accepted, to accommodate the differences with the court of *Berlin*; and that conferences should be held for this purpose at *Elbing*, and not at *Breslau*, as had been proposed. With respect to the restitution of *Elbing*, the king was left at liberty to act as he thought fit and conjunctures might require. *Sweden*, *Denmark*, the states-general, and even the emperor and *French* king offered their good offices: mediators were not wanting; but the elector's policy, and strong desire of possessing this city, raised difficulties. A congress was sitting, yet *Augustus* perceived the necessity of preparing for war, though he was sensible that the mediating powers would oppose his laying siege to *Elbing*. However, this furnished him with a plausible excuse for retaining the *Saxons* in the kingdom, tho' repeated addresses were presented, desiring they might be dismissed. He flattered himself likewise that his preparations would render the elector more pliant; but he was deceived in both conjectures. The *Saxons* became odious to all men, not from their own misconduct, but from the jealousy which the *Poles* always entertain of foreigners. The primate, seconded by a great number of senators and the nobility, strenuously opposed the design of retaking *Elbing* by force of arms, from an apprehension that this measure might involve the republic in a war, and in expences which the treasury was in no condition to supply. Notwithstanding their remonstrances, a camp was marked out at *Marienburg*, and the *Saxon* artillery sent to *Polish Prussia*, which obliged the elector to prepare for his defence. The prince had intelligence of a conspiracy set on foot by the magistrates of *Elbing* to introduce the king's troops, and he took the most effectual measures to defeat the project. A stronger garrison was put in the town than had been stipulated in the capitulation, the keys were taken from the magistrates, and all the guards mounted by the troops of *Brandenburg* instead of the citizens and militia.

A general diet,
which ends
happily.

In this state were affairs when the diet assembled, the result of which the elector determined to await. It met on the day appointed, and a mareschal was chosen without opposition, from which the king drew a happy presage: but this harmony was not of long duration; the diet demanded that the *Saxons* should be dismissed, and the king waved it by every art and intrigue. At length debates rose so high, that *Augustus*, fearing the consequences, gave

a gave the most solemn assurances that part of the *German* army already had orders to quit *Poland*, and the rest were preparing with all expedition to oblige the diet. He remonstrated, however, that this could not be done till fifteen days after the assembly broke up: that he then should require ample security for his person, and expect that a guard of fourteen hundred *Saxons* should always be suffered about his court. To enforce this demand *Augustus* ordered the *acta conventa* to be read; by which he was allowed a guard of six thousand men: all were now sensible of his moderation, and acceded to his opinions without further litigation. A deputation waited upon his majesty to acquaint him with the inclination of the diet. *Augustus* gave audience, seated on a magnificent throne; he preserved all the dignity of a sovereign in his air, but the complacency of his manner obtained whatever he pleased from the deputies. Such was the popularity he acquired, that he was solicited to preside in person; he accepted the invitation, and his address quickly contributed to the happy issue of the diet, which confirmed, by unanimous consent, the act projected for the safety and authority of the king, annexing a clause, by which the most rigorous punishments were denounced against whoever should make any attempts against his person and dignity, or offer to renounce obedience to his authority. It was also resolved, that all *Saxon* and other foreign dependents upon the king's court, should continue about his person; that the king should always retain six ministers or counsellors of state for the affairs of *Saxony*; but his majesty, to remove all exceptions, declared he would be satisfied with a third of the number. It was further decreed, that besides the two regiments of infantry called the king's and queen's, there should remain twelve hundred horse, under the names of great musqueteers and train-bands; that an equal number of *Saxon* troops should remain in *Lithuania*, the whole to be maintained at the expence of the republic; that arrears for two years should be paid to the *Polish* army, and the king authorised to put the forces of the republic on a better footing. In a word, every thing was transacted with perfect harmony, and to the king's satisfaction, the diet closing with the primate and the great-chamberlain *Bielinski's* signing the act of election.

THE result of the diet was by no means agreeable to the hope entertained by the elector of *Brandenburg*. That prince was in expectation that such heats would arise as must sufficiently divert *Augustus* from any attention to the affair of *Elbing*. This occasioned his protracting the negotiation during the whole winter, and rising or falling in his demands, just as the intelligence he received of the transactions in the diet directed. He now however, sent an envoy extraordinary to *Warsaw*, and relaxed so much in his demands, that a treaty was concluded to the following effect: the first article contained a reciprocal promise to harbour no resentment, not only upon account of the seizure of *Elbing*, but of any thing said, wrote, or published by either party. This article likewise stipulated, that a perpetual amity and union should take place between the contracting powers. By the second article, the evacuation of *Elbing* was fixed for the first day of *February* the ensuing year, without the smallest alteration in the antient fortifications. By the third article, the elector promised to leave every thing in the city in the same situation he found it. By the fourth article, the king and *Polish* republic engaged faithfully to pay the elector in the city of *Warsaw*, three months after the general diet should be held, the sum of three hundred thousand rixdollars, and for his better security, to pledge the crown jewels in the hands of the commissaries the day preceding the evacuation of *Elbing*. By the fifth article, the elector was empowered, on default of payment, not only to retain the jewels; but to repossess himself of *Elbing*, and its demesnes, until the intire discharge of his demand. Four other articles respected certain private differences, which this treaty furnished an opportunity of regulating. At the day appointed the electoral forces quitted the city by torch-light. As soon as the *Polish* commissaries regained possession, they reproached the magistrates with cowardice and perfidy, for opening their gates to the *Brandenburgers*; acquainting them with the penalties incurred by that transgression, if the king and republic had not out of parental fondness interposed their clemency. The magistrates pleaded necessity; but the commissaries refusing all their allegations, told them they were to hold their privileges on the following conditions, prescribed as a just punishment. That the city should furnish fifty thousand crowns towards the redemption of the jewels; that three hundred foot and thirty horse, should henceforward be maintained for the defence of the posts, instead of two hundred, the usual number, and these should be augmented to two thousand upon any appearance of danger; that an officer of valour, experience, and reputation, should be retained in quality of commandant, who should take an oath of fidelity to the king and republic; that the president of the council should henceforward take an oath never to surrender the town to any besieger, until it was reduced to the last extremity; and that certain new privileges mentioned in the treaty should be granted to the inhabitants of the *Romish* profession. Such was the issue of an affair, attended with much anxiety to *Augustus*, as it gave birth to a variety of aspersions equally unjust and irksome, and occasioned violent contentions between him and cer-

Treaty with
the elector of
Brandenburg.

^b Mem. de Brändenb. p. 72. PARTHEN. Hist. lib. iii.

tain members of the republic, who had not yet laid aside their prejudices, or submitted with a good grace to his sovereignty. a

The Turks
make difficul-
ties about the
surrender of
Kaminiec.

So deeply had the king and republic been immersed in negotiations on account of *Elbing*, they had scarce time to attend to the execution of the treaty of *Carlowitz*, with respect to which some difficulties occurred. The restitution of *Kaminiec* was deferred under several pretences, notwithstanding this place was to have been delivered into the hands of *Polish* commissaries immediately after the ratification. The Grand Seignior expressed the utmost reluctance to part with a fortress which proved so galling a thorn in the side of the republic. The restitution was so contrary to his true interest, that the mufti would have absolved a breach of his engagements, and consecrated the perfidy. A curse was denounced upon the vizier, who had consented to this article; but he defended himself by shewing the impossibility of supporting the war without money and forces, or of procuring peace upon other conditions. Now the most pitiful shifts were taken to evade this article. At first, the serasquier had not received the necessary orders, and the harvest, which the garrison had sown, must be reaped. Next, restitution was deferred until the minister of the republic at the *Porte* had an audience of the Grand Seignior. When the audience was at length obtained, other pretences were devised, until it became obvious that the divan had formed a design of not complying with the terms of the treaty. At last, the vizier exerted himself so effectually, remonstrating, in the most lively colours, the national dishonour that must ensue from so open and bareface a violation of treaties, that the resolution was taken of executing the article in its full extent. Accordingly one gate of the fortress was surrendered to the *Polish* commissaries, and a promise given that the place should, in eight days, be entirely evacuated. The serasquier kept his word, had a magnificent present from the republic, and thus *Poland* was once more put into possession of this important barrier fortification. b c

It was after this event that the king proposed a visit to his *German* dominions; a point that was agitated with great warmth in the senate. Some objected that his presence could not be dispensed with at a period when the resolutions of the diet required immediate execution; when it was necessary to repair the breaches made by the long confusion of the republic, and to restore the tranquility of the kingdom in general, as well as of individuals. It was added, that the *Saxon* troops still remained in *Poland*, notwithstanding the assurances given by the king to the diet that they would be dismissed; and if his majesty persisted in this neglect of his word, there could no longer be any dependence on the royal promise. These arguments were answered by the king's party, who insisted strongly on the necessity of his drinking the waters of *Toplitz* for the recovery of his health. The senate sat from the twelfth to the fifteenth, and the result was to present the subsequent articles to *Augustus*; that he should send circular letters to all the palatinates, to signify the cause of his departure; that the two grand-mareschals should have the entire distribution of quarters to the army; that the general of *Great Poland*, appointed ambassador extraordinary to the *Porte*, should have fifty thousand crowns from the treasury; that two thousand florins should be given the envoy from the republic to the cham of *Crim Tartary*, with the present of ten thousand ducats promised to the cham of *Little Tartary*; that the treasurer should continue collecting the public revenues; that the deputies from the army should have a certain gratification proportioned to their services; that settling the arrears due to the great-generals should be referred to a diet; that a certain sum should be applied for putting the frontier in a state of defence; and that a regency should be appointed during the king's absence. Having adjusted all these points to the satisfaction of the senate, *Augustus* left *Warsaw* with a small train, and arrived at *Dresden* before the close of the year. d e

The king re-
pairs to
Saxony.

THE king had scarce reached his electoral dominions, when repeated letters from the senate, primate, and nobility, desired his return to *Poland*. Not only the war which broke out in *Holstein*, and the storms that were gathering in *Sweden* and *Denmark* threatened danger to *Poland*; but the aversion of the *Poles* to the *Saxons* required the presence of the monarch to be restrained within the bounds of decency and the security of the republic. *Saxon* blood was every day spilt in some of the palatinates, and the army loudly menaced revenge. Even the nobility of the provinces where they were quartered, frequently declared they would mount on horse-back to drive them out of the kingdom. In consequence the unhappy foreigners were under the necessity of perpetually shifting their quarters to avoid the effects of these discontents and jealousies. *Augustus*, at such a distance, could not possibly apply the proper remedies to these evils; yet they appeared extremely dangerous to the constitution. His presence at *Dresden* was equally necessary as in *Poland*: certain schemes he had formed for the recovery of *Livonia* rendered it necessary to procure a large supply from the states of the electorate, which could only be accomplished by his own immediate influence. This subsidy was granted, and *Europe* was astonished to see the storm suddenly break out when it was least expected; and a *Saxon* army, instead of assisting the *Danes* in *Holstein*, f g

He invades
Livonia.

^a *Holstein*, turn suddenly to *Livonia*, carry the fortress of *Köber* by storm, and form the blockade of *Riga* (E). Nothing could be more unprovoked and wanton than this attack, of which the king had not given the slightest intimation to the senate or council of *Poland*, acting wholly in the affair of *Livonia* as elector of *Saxony*, though in that quality he had no claim upon the province. In fact, *Patkul*, a *Livonian* nobleman, whom we have had repeated occasions to mention, was the author of this expedition, which ended so fatally to himself and to *Augustus*. He represented the facility with which this country might be conquered, because the nobility and common people were equally incensed against the tyranny of the *Swedish* government. The king of *Sweden* exclaimed against the perfidy of *Augustus*; but he resolved to defer his vengeance until he had brought the king of *Denmark* to reason.

^b MEAN time the court of *Saxony* thought it necessary to give some colour of justice to their invasion of *Livonia*, which all the powers in *Europe* ascribed to the king's ambition; to supply therefore a declaration of war, and remonstrances which had been omitted, count *Fleming*, the *Saxon* general, published a manifesto after he had reduced some places in *Livonia*, and committed several acts of successful hostility. He pretended that his court had received certain advice that the king of *Sweden* formed a design of attacking the *Saxon* army, as soon as the war in *Holstein* left him at liberty to turn his arms from that quarter; and that he entered *Livonia* only to frustrate that project, by taking possession of such posts as were necessary to his security. He offered his protection to the nobles, burghers, and peasants; but at the same time declared, that whoever disobeyed his orders should be considered as rebels, and punished capitally. The public saw through the thin disguise; they penetrated the ambitious views of the *Polish* monarch; but no power offered to assist the *Swede*, whose safety depended wholly upon his own activity and valour. All men agreed that *Augustus* embraced this opportunity of making a conquest which had so often eluded his predecessors; and he had all the reason imaginable to expect success, considering that *Sweden* was governed by a minor, and engaged in actual war with a powerful monarchy, always her rival and frequently her conqueror. *Augustus* flattered himself, upon the assurances of *Patkul*, that the *Livonians* would receive his general with open arms, and express the utmost eagerness to break those galling fetters in which they were held by the *Swedish* government; and it was matter of the utmost astonishment to him, that *Fleming's* manifesto produced no other effect than bringing over six obscure gentlemen to his party. Fear indeed, and not affection for the *Swedes*, would seem to have operated on the minds of the inhabitants; they lamented the loss of their liberties, but they dreaded expressing their resentment. They had frequently experienced the valour of the *Swedish* forces, and regarded a handful of *Saxons* but a feeble barrier against the vengeance of veterans trained under the celebrated *Gustavus Adolphus*, and that list of *Swedish* heroes formed by the *German* war. In vain did *Fleming* detach parties of horse up and down the country offering peace or war: scarce any one moved from his habitation, or if he did, it was only to retire at a greater distance from the invaders; and there were some of the nobility who had the courage to mount on horseback, and endeavour to persuade their countrymen to drive the *Saxons* out of the province.

^c FOILED in all his attempts to raise the nobility and peasants against *Sweden*, *Fleming* applied himself to the governor and magistrates of *Riga*. Disappointed in his expectation that the city would surrender on the first summons, he now made use of promises, and endeavoured to corrupt those whom he could neither persuade by arguments, nor intimidate by menaces. Proving equally unfortunate in this attempt, he put himself at the head of two thousand horse, and once more strove to engage the nobility in the king's interest; but he made no progress in the design, and the *Swedish* governor of *Riga* profited by the delay, and put himself in a better posture of defence. In the fortress of *Dunnamunde* he placed a strong garrison, kept up a brisk fire from his artillery, and even ordered a sally to be made, but with little success. Next he set the suburbs on fire, that the houses might not cover the enemy's approaches, and was upbraided with cruelty by *Fleming*, who wanted to establish some degree of popularity by rendering the conduct of the enemy odious. *Dalberg* the governor, however, made answer, that what he had done was agreeable to the laws of war, from his ignorance of which *Fleming* exclaimed; and

A. D. 1700.

^c FONT. cap. vi.

(E) It must be observed, that the czar of *Muscovy*, the king-elect of *Poland*, his *Danish* majesty, and several other princes, had secretly conspired to ravish from *Sweden* those conquests she had made under the famous *Gustavus*, *Christina*, and *Charles X.* and *XI.* the reigning prince was a minor, who had yet exhibited no proofs of his capacity, and indeed impressed foreign ministers with a mean opinion of his talents. *Augustus*

offered to assist the king of *Denmark* with eight thousand *Saxons*; but being refused a passage by the court of *Berlin*, he suddenly turned his strength towards *Livonia*, and expected he should easily recover that province, which would render him extremely popular in *Poland*. The reader may consult the *History of Sweden*, where the origin of this war is minutely traced.

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he was ready to vindicate his conduct in proper time and place before those who were proper judges. His cool sarcastic reply so irritated *Fleming*, that he determined to bombard the town, and had erected a battery for that purpose, though he had been just reproaching the governor for burning the suburbs in his own defence: however, before the battery began to play, orders arrived from *Augustus* against laying the town in ashes, until every other method was first tried. This obliged *Fleming* to alter his purpose, and begin his operations with battering *Dunnamunde*, which commanded the passage of the river, and enabled the besieged to supply themselves with all manner of provision. It was cannonaded with great fury for six days, when a breach was effected and stormed. The *Saxons* fought with the utmost intrepidity; but they were repulsed, after an obstinate conflict, and driven headlong from the walls, with the loss of general *Carlowitz* and six hundred soldiers and inferior officers. *Fleming* knew the valour of his troops, and resolving not to give the enemy time to repair the breach, he detached two thousand fresh forces, who advanced under the cannon of the fort, and renewed the assault with the utmost magnanimity. The commandant had lost his best officers and soldiers, and the bulk of the garrison was now composed of raw undisciplined persons, forced into the service. No dependence could be placed in their defence; he therefore thought it more adviseable to capitulate, than, by a fruitless resistance, run the hazard of being put to the sword, by troops who resolved to conquer, or perish in the breach. Accordingly a flag of truce was displayed, and he obtained honourable conditions.

Dunnamunde
fort taken.

FLEMING was now in possession of an important out-post, on which depended in a great measure the fate of *Riga*; it was therefore expected he would prosecute the siege with redoubled spirit. A reinforcement of troops, of cannon, and of military stores was arrived, the army was in high spirits, the besieged despaired of relief, and every circumstance contributed to insure success; yet he contented himself with blocking up the city more closely, and repeated his summons to the governor, which were despised. This conduct was suggested by an unseasonable parsimony; both the king and his general were of opinion they should be able to induce the inhabitants to revolt against *Dalberg*, and thereby save the consumption of blood and treasure consequent on a regular siege. In a second manifesto which *Fleming* published, in obedience to the king's command, he offered his protection to those who should throw off the *Swedish* yoke, and granted all the immunities of commerce to all the towns, and even to *Riga*, provided the obstinacy of the inhabitants did not compel him to more rigorous measures.

In this train were the affairs of *Livonia* when the king returned to *Warsaw*, and gave orders that the *Swedish* envoy should immediately quit the *Polish* dominions, an affront which he drew upon himself, by insinuating to the senators that the *Livonian* expedition implied a design dangerous to the liberties of the republic, and that *Augustus* had in view the extension of the royal prerogative, not of the dominions of the republic. The king's whole policy was directed to effect a rupture between *Poland* and *Sweden*, in order that he might profit by the secret treaty concluded with the czar, in which it was proposed to deprive the young *Swedish* monarch of *Livonia*, and all the lands he possessed between the gulph of *Finland*, the *Baltick*, *Poland*, and *Muscovy*. The czar was now enabled to pursue the object of this alliance, by concluding a truce for thirty years with the *Infidels*, and the king laboured to bring the republic into his views, but he feared the result of a general diet, as the *Poles* in general expressed an aversion to a rupture, before the nation had recovered the losses consequent on the late scene of confusion and discord. He flattered himself that he should meet with less opposition from a grand council, and therefore determined upon this method of obtaining the approbation of the republic, though less constitutional and valid than the resolutions of a diet. Even here he was very near sustaining the mortification of a disappointment; for several of the members who composed this assembly expressed their dislike of the *Livonian* expedition, and the intended rupture with *Sweden*, by absenting themselves, while others came with great reluctance to *Warsaw*, with a full resolution to oppose the ambitious designs of their sovereign. The meeting was far from numerous; but there appeared a sufficient number to justify the council in proceeding to business. Accordingly they immediately began to deliberate on the expedition to *Livonia*, and the consequences to the republic of a rupture with *Sweden*. *Augustus* presided, and opened the council with a speech, setting forth the affronts sustained by the *Saxon* troops, who were employed in fortifying the gate of *Polonga*. "I thought it, said he, my duty to revenge these indignities, and the injury regards the *Polish* nation, as well as the elector of *Saxony*. As sovereign of both countries, I am interested; but my design, in fortifying that gate, was its peculiar importance to the republic; you are therefore obliged to concur in my revenge, and cannot possibly excuse yourselves from assisting me, without betraying the honour and rights of the kingdom. In pursuing the dictates of the revenge here pointed out, the republic will recover great part of her antient territory, and remove at some distance a neighbour that hath been the constant source of trouble and chagrin." He concluded

The king endeavours to gain the consent of the republic to a rupture with Sweden.

a concluded with an apology for not assembling the diet, which was deferred, he alledged, on account of the dissensions which prevailed in the provincial diets; and he declared, that if a diet should be judged necessary, he was ready to give his assent, in order that a final resolution might be taken respecting *Livonia*, which he promised upon his royal word should immediately be restored to *Poland*, when it once came into his possession. The specious eloquence of *Augustus* could not prevail; a majority refused to declare their sentiments, and recommended assembling a diet. Others alledged that the indignity mentioned respected the *Saxons* only, glanced but very obliquely on the king of *Poland*, and scarce at all upon the republic, since it was in quality of elector of *Saxony*, and not of head of the republic, that *Augustus* had sustained any part of the affront. They added that the affair was
b of too little consequence to occasion a rupture between two nations, in which thousands might perish. States, like individuals, must bear with lesser evils to avoid greater; and the misconduct of the governor of a remote province was certainly not to be ascribed to the *Swedish* administration, before complaint was made and satisfaction demanded. Should the king of *Sweden* vindicate the insolence of his servant, after the fact had been made evident to him, it would then be time enough to think of hostile measures. A few of the senators would willingly have obliged the king; but they dreaded the thoughts of having a prince at the head of his own troops in the heart of a republic, whose treasures and forces were quite exhausted. Upon the whole, it was evident to *Augustus*, that the council would not consent to the rupture proposed, and he was sensible he should meet with still greater opposition from a diet; he therefore declared his intention of acting agreeable to his engagements with the czar and king of *Denmark*, ratified by the republic, without further consulting men who paid no regard to the faith of treaties, or the royal honour.

WHEN we consider that many of the senators and principal nobility were in the king's interest, we should be the less surprized at the boldness of this resolution. The primate, from whom he had reason to fear the strongest opposition, took his part, and thought it reasonable to wink at some irregularities in the manner of coming to a rupture with *Sweden*, on account of the benefit the republic must deduce from the conquest of *Livonia*. On the other hand, the bishop of *Cujavia*, until now attached to every measure proposed by *Augustus*, gave the strongest opposition to a scheme upon which the king had fixed his heart; perhaps for this reason chiefly, that it was espoused by his inveterate enemy. He not only refused appearing at council, but he likewise wrote to *Augustus*, telling him plainly, that his attack on *Sweden* was a gross violation of the rights of nations, and of equity, which the Almighty would not fail to punish, if he did not make proper atonement; a judgment which would seem to be dictated by the spirit of divination. Notwithstanding this remonstrance, and the general dissatisfaction of the nation, *Augustus* went soon after in person to *Livonia*, to invigorate the operations by his presence, and commence in form the siege of *Riga*. *Fleming* had returned to *Warsaw* to solicit a reinforcement of troops and supply of money, and, during his absence, hostilities had entirely ceased, except the accidental exchange of a few cannon-shot; but the king's arrival infused new life and spirits,
c and the reinforcement which he brought of ten thousand men, enabled the army completely to invest the city. To effect this, however, several previous motions were requisite. The king found that *Fleming* had neglected taking possession of the most advantageous posts; he therefore crossed the *Duna* with the rear of the army, and seized an eminence covered with trees and bushes, which served effectually to cover his artillery. The rear-guard was left on the opposite side, to prevent surprize, and here he directed that the enemy should be driven from a rising-ground, on which he proposed erecting a battery. All these orders were executed with success, while general *Welling*, a *Swede*, had been collecting an army of ten thousand *Finlanders*, with which he encamped at the distance of half a league from *Riga*. Imagining that the *Saxons* were greatly inferior to their actual number, he quitted his intrenchments, and *Augustus* artfully kept up the delusion, by opposing him for two days with very small detachments, by which he drew the *Swede* into an engagement, that had near proved fatal to his whole army. As soon as *Welling* had advanced within musket-shot, he was saluted with a storm of bullets from batteries concealed among the woods and bushes, and had he not immediately sounded a retreat, must have been entirely cut in pieces. Encouraged by this advantage, the *Saxons* descended from the eminences, and pursued the enemy. *Welling* for a while persisted in his error of believing the king's army less numerous than it was; but after he was surrounded, and his mistake discovered, he fought with the utmost intrepidity, and made good his retreat with the loss of not more than six hundred men.

He sets out in person for Livonia.

Gains an advantage over the Swedish general.

AUGUSTUS now determined to attack the *Finlanders* in their intrenched camp; but
g *Welling* did not chuse to run the hazard of being stormed, and exposed to the fire of so fine a train of well-served artillery; he therefore decamped without beat of drum, entered farther into *Livonia*, with intention to seize all the passes by which the *Saxons* could plunder the country, having first strongly reinforced the garrison in *Riga*, which was now deprived

Forms the
siege of Riga.

But is forced
to relinquish
the enterprize.

Affairs of
Lithuania.

of the army that for some time prevented the king of *Poland* from making regular approaches. The king now finding that all obstruction was removed, invested the city with his whole army, summoned *Dalberg* to surrender, and was answered by that brave officer, "That he hoped his defence would merit the esteem of so great a monarch." It was indeed less the king's inclination to besiege the place, than to terrify the inhabitants by menaces, or engage them to submission by promises. When he saw the governor was inflexible, he applied to the people, and put back thirty of their fellow-citizens, giving them their liberty on a promise that they would use their influence with the burghers of *Riga* to avoid the effects of the king's indignation. The example of the governor would seem to have animated the inhabitants: they determined to defend the place to the last extremity, and *Augustus* made preparations for bombarding the city, and had actually thrown some shells and red-hot bullets, when the *Dutch* envoy interposed, and threatened the utmost vengeance to the republic, if he persisted in the resolution of destroying a town filled with the merchandize of the United Provinces. Whether this menace operated on the mind of *Augustus*, or whether it was that he did not chuse to encounter the *Swedish* army, in full march from *Holstein*, is what we cannot pretend to determine. Certain it is, that he raised the siege, and deliberated on the means of fulfilling his engagements with the czar in a manner less hazardous. This prince had already declared war against *Sweden*, marched at the head of a vast army to invest *Narva*, and was on the point of coming to blows with *Charles XII.* who was in full march with a handful of forces to the relief of that city. Happily for the czar's reputation, he was not present when the *Swedish* monarch, with no more than a detachment of eight thousand men, forced the *Russian* intrenchments, and defeated, with prodigious slaughter, an army of between eighty and an hundred thousand men, who seemed determined to conquer or perish. A stroke so unexpected occasioned considerable perplexity to *Augustus*, who saw his ally, on whom he depended so much, crushed just as he was meditating a blow against the common enemy, and the young king of *Sweden* changed from a prince of no very distinguished talents, to a hero equal to the most glorious of his predecessors. It is probable that he would have listened to the proffered mediation of the emperor and *French* king, but it was now too late; *Charles* having beat the *Russians*, determined to revenge himself on the *Saxons*, and was accordingly preparing to advance to *Poland*, but the season was too far advanced. The *Saxon* army, under colonel *Schulenburg* and general *Stenau* having reduced fort *Kokenhausen*, by which they secured a communication with *Russia*, covered *Courland*, and facilitated the establishment of a magazine, was now distributed in winter-quarters.

ALL *Europe* stood astonished at the policy of *Augustus*; no reasons could be assigned for his endeavouring to involve the republic in a dangerous war, with a warlike, powerful nation, on account of a province which he was to share in conjunction with the czar of *Muscovy*, the antient enemy of the republic. Giving the czar footing in *Livonia* would only be drawing him so much nearer the frontiers of *Poland*, and enabling him upon the first opportunity to pour his forces into the different provinces of the republic; but it was not considered, that to give employment to a set of factious nobility, at perpetual war with each other, was bringing a very important advantage to *Poland* and *Augustus*. The two principal noblemen had renewed their dissensions in *Lithuania*, and were at the head of hostile armies, desolating each others lands with the fury of barbarians. The reconciliation effected between *Sapieha* and *Oginski* was but of short duration; the party of the latter was now headed by the prince *Wiesnowski*, and amounted to six thousand men, who were opposed by two thousand of the faction of *Sapieha*. A battle ensued; the *Sapiehas*, incensed at the destruction of their lands, marched up with a few pieces of cannon, and attacked the enemy with the utmost fury and intrepidity, and were sustained with proportioned valour. The conflict was obstinate and bloody; victory was long disputed, having more than once seemed to incline to the *Sapiehas*, but at length declared openly for *Oginski*, who not only remained master of the field, but obliged the enemy to retire in confusion, with the loss of their cannon, baggage, and a great number of prisoners. Near a thousand men perished on both sides, and the battle was followed by a scene still more dreadful, as it was transacted in cold blood, which equally evinced the perfidy and the inveterate animosity of the parties. Among the prisoners were the son of the great-general *Sapieha*, and the starost of *Bressau*, who capitulated for their lives; nevertheless, on their arrival in the camp of the conquerors, they were cut in pieces by their exasperated enemies, contrary to all the rules of war, and the most solemn engagements; a single instance sufficient to display the bitterness of the parties, and the necessity of finding some employment for the nobility, which should extinguish their private dissensions, that threatened more danger to the state than the most unfortunate foreign quarrel. In fact, nothing could be more distracted than the situation of *Poland*, rent with civil faction, on the eve of a war with a formidable external enemy, the republic in opposition to the king's measures, the electorate

of

a of *Saxony* exhausting its treasures and spilling its blood in conquering a province which the *Poles* despised, merely because they would owe no obligations to a people they detested; in a word, all the departments of the state in opposition to each other, the finest provinces desolated, and the inhabitants massacred without compunction, or the feelings of humanity. Such was the inauspicious dawn of the reign of the *Polish* monarch, doomed to still greater misfortunes.

WHEN the new year commenced, it was expected that the diet would assemble, restore the public tranquility, and in particular apply proper remedies to the fatal disorders in *Lithuania*. Those hopes however soon vanished, in consequence of a meeting of the senators, wherein it was resolved, that the diet should be deferred, on account of several

A. D. 1701.
Resolution of
the Polish se-
nate.

b difficulties that were foreseen. The affairs of *Lithuania* were entrusted to the king's discretion, who was requested to march the *Saxon* army into the duchy, and take upon himself the protection of the crown-general and the house of *Sapieha*, so grievously oppressed ever since the late unfortunate action. This resolution facilitated all the projects formed by *Augustus*, which were chiefly directed to support the war in *Livonia*, and the family of *Sapieha* in *Lithuania*. Putting off the diet, because it would probably oppose a rupture with *Sweden*, tended to enable him to execute his engagements with *Muscovy*, and the march of the *Saxon* army into the duchy absolutely put *Lithuania* in his power. He did not fail to embrace the favourable conjuncture; and, not doubting but the *Swedish* conqueror would push his advantage, and fall upon the *Saxons*, he used every method of encouraging

c the czar, and enabling him again to take the field. It was now agreed that the allied monarchs should have an interview, to concert a plan of operations, and *Birzen*, a small town in *Lithuania*, was fixed upon for the conference: here the czar and *Augustus* met, and plunged themselves in the most riotous pleasures, as if their dominions were in profound peace, and the sole intention of the interview was to make trial of the strength of their constitutions, and their several inclinations for the most shameful excesses. For the space of fifteen days the princes were in a perpetual state of inebriation, *Augustus* indulging the humour of his savage ally, and that passion which, during his whole life, he entertained for drinking strong liquors; however, in the midst of these tumultuous beastly joys, the king-elect presented the czar with a plan of warlike operations, which they were to execute

Interview be-
tween the czar
and *Augustus*.

d in concert. It was eagerly embraced by *Peter*, who perfectly well comprehended, at the first glance, the benefits which must redound from it to his country, as it was the certain method of training the *Russians* to the art of war. A treaty was accordingly concluded, whereby the czar stipulated to bring two hundred thousand men into the field by the month of *June*, to send fifty thousand men into *Poland*, to be instructed in the military art, to pay three millions of rixdollars in the space of two years to the *Polish* monarch, with some other articles of less importance. In return, *Augustus* consented to furnish fifty thousand *Germans*, who should instruct the *Muscovites*, and to maintain besides, in *Poland*, *Saxony*, and the frontier, a body of twenty-eight thousand foot and eight thousand horse. *Livonia*, *Ingria*, and *Finland* were the scenes designed for their warlike preparations.

e THIS treaty and plan having been mutually signed, *Augustus* returned to his *Polish* capital, to prepare matters for the execution of his engagements; but here he met with a variety of obstructions, some of them quite unexpected and unforeseen. Murmurs were not only raised against the *Saxon* troops, though the senate had expressly requested they should be employed in *Lithuania*, but *Augustus* was taxed with neglecting the promises made at his coronation; and in particular, the discharge of several considerable sums on account of the republic. The prorogation of the diet was another grievance of which the nobility loudly complained, especially in the provinces, where the clamours were much louder than about the court and in the capital. Petty diets were held in divers places; and the great diet of *Poland* resolved to send a deputation to the king, to demand that he

Deputation to
the king.
March 20.

f would assemble the general diet in the month of *May* ensuing, instead of *September*, as had been proposed at the council of senators; that he would terminate the civil divisions in *Lithuania*; that he would dismiss the *Saxons*; that he would conclude a solid peace with *Sweden*; and, lastly, that he would protest against the title of the king of *Prussia*, and the coronation of the elector of *Brandenburg*, so highly injurious to the republic. *Augustus* was forced to receive this deputation with the utmost complaisance, and to promise indirectly almost every article of their demands. The first step taken to satisfy the deputies was the assembling the diet on the thirtieth of *May*, at *Warsaw*; for *Augustus* was sensible that the provincial diet of *Great Poland* had expressed the sentiments of the whole republic. As the *Lithuanians* objected to *Sapieha's* being honoured with that distinction, g the staff of mareschal was deposited in the hands of the nuncio of *Poznania*, which was the only measure embraced with unanimity: every other proposition was opposed and dif-

The diet as-
sembles,

puted with vehemence. A motion, that the king should be addressed with the usual a formality, first indicated the sentiments of the diet. Instead of deliberating on this proposition; the deputies began with urging their grievances, all of which they attributed to the king's breach of the engagements he entered into at his coronation, and the residence of the Saxons in Poland, whence arose damages to the republic, estimated at twenty millions. Some went so far as to insist upon reparation from Augustus, and a positive promise that the foreign troops should immediately evacuate Poland, Lithuania, Livonia, and Courland. This last proposition was opposed: however, it was voted by a majority, that a remonstrance, requiring the dismissal of the Saxons, should be presented to the throne. A deputation accordingly waited on Augustus, and, besides the articles stipulated, made a demand that peace should be concluded with Sweden, an end put to the divisions in Lithuania, b and all foreign ministers removed from his person, or at least from the Polish councils; notwithstanding he was allowed by the *pacta conventa* to retain a certain number of Saxon senators.

and breaks up.

AUGUSTUS gave for a reply, that he was ready to dismiss his Saxon troops, provided the republic would secure him against the designs of the Swedish monarch; but this answer did not prove satisfactory. He was required to fix the time for the departure of the Saxon troops, immediately to interpose the royal authority to quiet the dissensions in the great duchy, and to remove general Fleming from the office of master of the horse in Lithuania. The nuncio of Posnania was charged with this commission to the king: he delivered the request of the diet: and had for answer, that his majesty would issue writs c for the meeting of another diet in the month of December, and that he would dismiss the Saxons as soon as peace should be concluded with Sweden. The answer was by no means sufficient to quiet the diet; yet it is remarkable, that this assembly broke up without ever taking it into consideration, without murmuring, or offering any renewal of their complaints d.

The Saxons
defeated,

In the mean time the active Swedish monarch was taking measures to disconcert the projects formed by Peter the Great and Augustus. A spy whom he maintained at Birzen, gave him information of all that had been transacted at that conference; and he now took the resolution of attacking the Saxons encamped on the Dvina, before they should be reinforced by the expected succours of Russians and Cossacks. At the head of fifteen thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry, he crossed the river in the teeth of the enemy. The Saxons, commanded by the duke of Courland, made some resistance, but were in the end defeated, and forced to take shelter under the cannon of Birzen, after having blown up the fortification of Kokenhausen, which they had lately taken great pains to fortify. d

and the consequences.

THIS single advantage inflamed the victorious Charles with the desire of pushing his designs far beyond the revenge which he at first meditated. Several neutral powers interposed, and offered their mediation, to effect a reconciliation between Sweden and Poland; but Charles declared he had not leisure to give audience; and could not, in fact, enter upon negotiations before the end of the campaign, by which time he hoped to be able to dethrone Augustus. Vast and ideal as this project appeared, it was justified by the event; e and, indeed, a variety of circumstances concurred in rendering the issue of the war unfortunate to the Polish monarch. When the news of the defeat of the Saxons arrived at Warsaw, the court was plunged into despondency, while all the republicans rejoiced at it, as an event extremely advantageous to Poland. Apprehending that the republic had nothing to fear from the Swedish arms, they congratulated themselves on the prospect that the kingdom would at length be delivered from those hated foreigners, who preyed upon her vitals, and alone basked in the smiles of the sovereign. The primate wrote a letter to the Swedish monarch, reminding him of the constant affection and good faith of the republic towards the crown and states of Sweden, explaining the opposition made by the diet to the present unhappy rupture, and requesting his majesty not to violate the treaties f subsisting between the two kingdoms, by any attack upon the frontiers or privileges of the republic. A deputation from Lithuania addressed this prince in similar terms, assuring him of the strict regard which the duchy would pay to the treaty of Oliva, and the scrupulous delicacy with which the Lithuanians would decline every measure that might give umbrage to so great a monarch. These submissions served only to exalt the pride of the Swede, who told the Lithuanian deputies, that he could not see how the republic had so inviolably preserved her friendship for Sweden, as she must in some measure be deemed accessory to the measures of her sovereign, who could neither maintain a foreign army, nor of consequence begin hostilities, without her consent. Yet his answer to the primate was more gentle: here he expressed no resentment against the republic; on the contrary, he even declared his inclination to maintain a good understanding between the g

a two nations; and desired that the *Poles* would not take umbrage at his quartering his army in *Courland*, which was a necessary consequence of the share which duke *Ferdinand* took in the ambitious designs formed by the elector of *Saxony*. He hinted at the breach of the engagements entered into by *Augustus*, his encroachment on the liberties of the *Polish* constitution, the oppressions of the *Saxons*, and his readiness to assist the diet in the defence of their laws and privileges.

AUGUSTUS was sensible of the dangerous effect which this letter, improved by the address of his enemies, might work upon the minds of the *Polish* nobility, and therefore determined to gain their confidence by a sacrifice the most grateful to those staunch republicans. Immediately he issued orders for dismissing the *Saxons*, and thereby roused the
b states to a just sense of the dangerous designs of the *Swedish* monarch, and a resolution to defend the person and dignity of their sovereign with their lives and properties. Even the primate, who had entered into a correspondence with *Charles*, was moved by this instance of the regard which *Augustus* paid to the inclinations of the *Poles*; and wrote circular letters to all the palatinates, in which he observed, that as the king had withdrawn his hereditary troops from *Courland* and *Lithuania*, it was the duty of the republic to provide for the security of his person and dignity, as he had left himself destitute of forces, from a desire of removing the jealousy entertained by the *Polish* nation. "The danger," said he, is not remote, or on the frontiers, but in the heart of the republic; therefore there is no time left for tedious deliberations." In this manner did this artful
c prelate temporize, and ballance between his private interest and his duty to his king and country. On the defeat of the *Saxons*, he expected nothing less than that the king of *Sweden* would have penetrated to the heart of *Poland*, and therefore he paved the way to his favour: as soon as he found that *Augustus* had gained the confidence of the republic, by the dismissal of the foreign troops, he relinquished the *Swede*, and therefore paid his court to his own natural sovereign, advising the palatines to a measure upon which he expected they would enter without his persuasion, and even contrary to his inclinations. The future conduct of this ambitious cunning ecclesiastic is the best comment on the policy which he pursued on this occasion. The archbishop's circular letters were seconded by others from the king, in which he threw himself entirely upon the *Poles*, not doubting but their zeal and loyalty would fully compensate the loss he sustained by the dismissal of his hereditary troops; and these letters were answered by the palatines of *Cracow*, *Lublin*, and *Sandomir*, by a deputation to the king, expressing their readiness to lay down their fortunes and lives in his service: and several other palatinates declared all who did not employ their utmost influence and power in preserving the honour, dignity, and person of their king, traitors both to their king and country. Every day brought fresh assurances to the court, that the *pospolite* would mount to oppose the *Swedes*, and every attack on the royal authority, or the privileges and honour of the republic. The senate even came to the resolution of declaring war upon *Charles*, if he continued to aspire after conquest; and every thing seemed to be in a fair train to answer the most sanguine wishes
d of *Augustus*. However, the state of affairs in *Lithuania* threatened to throw all things again into confusion.

The primate's artful conduct.

AUGUSTUS had no sooner dismissed the *Saxons*, than the family of *Sapieha* discovered that they could no longer rely upon his protection against their powerful enemies. It was necessary therefore to have recourse to some other prince, whose authority might screen them against *Oginski's* schemes of revenge, and the most natural was the *Swedish* monarch, the vicinity of whose forces afforded a certain prospect of speedy relief. With this view they entered into a treaty with *Charles*, and engaged to favour his designs with all their interest; which obliged the *Oginski* faction to throw themselves into the arms of *Augustus*, and entirely renounce their principles, merely in opposition to their rivals. They sent
f deputies to *Warsaw*, offering to support the king at the hazard of their lives and fortunes; at the same time declaring that they had never opposed his government, but only the ambition of the *Sapiehas*, whose wrong information had misled his majesty, and filled him with suspicions and prejudices against his most loyal subjects. This sudden change of parties soon produced hostilities between the *Swedes* and *Lithuanians*. *Charles* detached two hundred dragoons to the assistance of *Sapieha*: they took post at the pass of *Kroling*, were attacked by *Oginski* at the head of ten thousand men; but, through the gallantry of their conduct, they repulsed the *Lithuanian* chief. This victorious detachment was reinforced by two thousand more *Swedes*, under the conduct of a *Scottish* officer, who had orders to push *Oginski* with the utmost vigour; and in a few days the king in person entered the
g duchy, at the head of the horse-guards and a strong corps of grenadiers. By this time *Oginski* had assembled an army of near fifteen thousand men, with which he might have made head against the *Swedish* monarch, had he not imprudently weakened himself at this critical juncture, by detaching a strong party to desolate the lands belonging to the

Revolutions in Lithuania.

chancellor *Radzivil*, who had taken part with his enemies. This rendered him an easy prey to the *Swede*, who now attacked him with such impetuosity as soon obtained a victory: after which *Charles*, without hesitation, quartered his forces in the duchy of *Lithuania* and the province of *Samogitia* *. To this advantage was added the surrender of *Duninunde* fort, which *Caunitz*, the governor, was forced to deliver into the hands of the *Swedish* general *Dalberg*, after withstanding a tedious blockade, and the utmost extremities for want of provision.

The diet assembles.

At this time the diet was assembled, agreeable to the promise made to the last diet by *Augustus*; and it was apprehended, from the different and almost contradictory instructions given to the deputies, that great heats and violent debates must ensue. Some were charged not to enter upon any business before a marshal should be regularly elected; while others were instructed to pay no regard to this circumstance, but to oppose every other proposition, until the affairs of *Lithuania* were placed upon a proper footing. There were a few of the deputies who had orders to insist, that the *Sapiebas* should be declared traitors, and enemies to their country. One point, out of the multitude which were proposed, met with universal assent; and this proceeded from the motion of the nuncio of *Russia*, that the king should be asked, by a solemn deputation, whether it was in fact agreeable to him that the differences of the grand duchy should be accommodated? It is not surprising, that the king was shocked with a question which tended to throw suspicions upon his honour: however, he kept his temper, and answered the deputies with great moderation, that he had used his utmost endeavours to compose the troubles of *Lithuania*; but as they proved inadequate, he hoped the republic would apply more powerful remedies to a disorder which required all their attention, as it seemed to threaten the dissolution of all government, and the subversion of the *Polish* constitution. To two other propositions, which demanded that he would punish the authors of the *Livonian* expedition, and dismiss the *Saxon* troops quartered in *Mazovia*, he answered, that the expedition against *Livonia* was undertaken in consequence of the *pacta conventa*, to which he had sworn. By these he was engaged to attempt the recovery of the provinces which had been wrested from the republic; and as to the *Saxons* in the province of *Mazovia*, he declared his ignorance; but promised, that if any foreign troops were found in the province, they should be speedily dismissed.

A. D. 1702. THE next proposition made to *Augustus* was, that he would again set on foot the treaties commenced relative to the affairs of *Lithuania*; and that a precise time should be fixed for a conference between the deputies of the diet and those of the senate: to which his majesty made a satisfactory reply by nominating the commissioners, and referring the rest intirely to the diet. Accordingly the conferences opened, and the great points debated respected a general amnesty, and the re-establishment of the house of *Sapieba*. The *Lithuanians* opposed the latter, and the house of *Sapieba* the former: however, it was at length agreed, that the family of *Sapieba* should be re-established in all its fortunes, offices, dignities, and prerogatives; that all hostilities and damages committed, or sustained by either party, should be forgot, and pardoned by a general amnesty; and that the dispute between the houses of *Sapieba* and *Radzivil*, about the tuition of the prince of *Newburg*, should be referred to arbitration. The accommodation was signed, and reported to the diet. Several motions were made by divers members, and it was proposed to send an embassy to the king of *Sweden*; but, instead of deliberating upon this subject, the assembly broke up tumultuously on the seventh day of *February*, to the great disappointment of those who expected to build their own fortunes on the public disturbances; and also to the mortification of the king, who hoped he had gained the confidence of the diet by his ready dismissal of the *Saxons*; a measure of which he now began with reason to repent. Public business was transacted by a general council, to which the king made overtures that were rejected. He commissioned the palatine of *Marienburg* to acquaint the council, that he would advance to the army two quarters arrears out of his own coffers, provided he might have the assistance of the *Polish* forces against the *Swedes*; and he demanded permission to recal twelve thousand *Saxons*, until the *Polish* army could be sufficiently augmented to make head against the public enemy, whose ambitious views must now appear sufficiently evident. The council referred an answer to be made by the primate, who now again resumed his correspondence with the king of *Sweden*, and easily evinced his partiality in the manner of his reply. As to the payment of the army, that, he said, would be an unnecessary expence to his majesty, since the troops could not act without the consent of the republic; and with respect to the return of the *Saxons*, it would be a sure means of exciting fresh troubles in the kingdom. *Augustus* besides put a variety of other questions to the council, which sufficiently demonstrated the difficulties that attended his situation.

* *Auct. supra citat. ibid.*

a He asked, what means the council proposed for driving the *Swedes* out of *Lithuania*? Whether they resolved to grant an audience to the czar's ambassador? What security they had provided for the royal person, and the dignity of the republic, in case the king of *Sweden* advanced farther into the *Polish* dominions? And, What funds were provided for the support of an army, and the expences of the artillery and ammunition? An answer was made by a resolution taken to mount the *pospolite*, that the republic might be able to defend herself, in case of necessity; and the king was advised to apply to the powers who were guaranties of the treaty of *Oliwa*, to give audience to the czar's ambassador, and to appoint proper persons for an embassy to the king of *Sweden*.

b In consequence of the deliberations of the council, an embassy, composed of five senators; set out to attend the *Swedish* monarch in *Lithuania*; but *Vander Sacken*, one of the king's chamberlains, whom he had sent to notify the embassy to the king of *Sweden*, was put under arrest by that prince, because he had neglected to procure a passport from the primate and senate, and was therefore considered as the emissary of *Augustus*. The ambassadors were received with great respect; but *Charles* told them he would hold the conference at *Warsaw*, and accordingly began his march, publishing a manifesto by the way, in which he declared that he would not quit *Poland*, until he had driven his enemy from the throne, and established a successor. He invited the *Poles* to join him, assured them that he laboured to preserve their liberties, and endeavoured to demonstrate that the interests of the republic and of *Sweden* were directly similar, and ought to unite to both nations in promoting his designs. After so public a declaration, it was impossible to mistake *Charles*: he proceeded to *Warsaw* with great rapidity, and *Augustus* entered that city four days before the arrival of the *Swedes*. Before his departure he summoned a council, and procured a resolution, that the crown-army should take the field, and assemble by the end of the month of *May* in the neighbourhood of *Leopold*, where the king might be allowed to join it with the six thousand *Saxons*, stipulated for his guard by the *pacta conventa*. It was however insisted, that not only the *Poles* but the *Saxons* likewise should be under the command of the crown-general; and that the foreign troops should be dismissed, as soon as peace was concluded. At the same time the king published his *universalia*, or writs, for assembling the *pospolite* by the middle of the month of *May*, and sent orders to *Saxony* for the immediate march of his hereditary forces; but, whatever expedition he used, his enemies were at the gates of the capital before the troops could assemble. *Warsaw* city and citadel surrendered without a blow, after some scruples raised by the *Polish* commandant, as a mask to his cowardice, had been surmounted; and this event was followed by a private conference between the artful primate, attended by the equally perfidious great-treasurer, and the king of *Sweden*. It was even affirmed, that *Augustus* so far despaired of being able to resist his victorious enemy, that he endeavoured to set on foot an accommodation, by means of the witty and beauteous countess of *Konigsmark*, who made a visit to *Charles* in his camp; but was denied an audience of that austere and unceremonious prince.

Deputation to the king of Sweden.

c NOTWITHSTANDING the plan for deposing *Augustus* was concerted; as most people imagined, by the primate and treasurer at the interview with *Charles*, yet greater difficulties now started up than had been foreseen. A *Saxon* army was come to his relief; and the palatines of *Cracow*, *Siradia*, *Great Poland*, *Volhinia*, and *Sandomir*, were arming in defence of the monarch. Already he had collected twenty-two thousand men, and the *pospolite* was preparing to mount. Many of the nobility offered to shed the last drop of their blood in opposing the ambitious *Swede*; and it was plain, that the issue of a battle must decide whether *Augustus* should remain king of *Poland*, or be reduced to his former state of elector of *Saxony* only. With this force he resolved to come to action, and accordingly began his march in pursuit of the king of *Sweden*, who was equally forward to engage, though inferior in numbers. Near *Glissow* the two kings met, a bloody battle was fought, and *Augustus* f was intirely defeated, flying before the conqueror to *Cracow*; the inhabitants of which city had the courage to shut their gates in the face of the victorious *Swedish* army. The king of *Poland* had displayed great valour and military skill: he fought like a prince who merited a crown, and knew the value of the regal dignity. He repeatedly rallied his troops, and charged in person; but fortune declared for *Charles*, and he yielded the victory with the loss of near four thousand men killed on the spot, two thousand taken prisoners, several pieces of cannon, and all the baggage of the army.

Battle of Glissow, or Clissow.

A BRUISE which *Charles* received by a fall from his horse, prevented his prosecuting his advantage, and furnished *Augustus* with the means of convoking a diet, re-assembling the scattered remains of his army, procuring a reinforcement of eight thousand *Saxons*, and of part of the *pospolite* of *Little Poland*. This assembly protested against the manifesto published by the king of *Sweden*, determined to support *Augustus* on the throne, and sent deputies to the palatinates of *Great Poland*, to desire their concurrence with the resolutions taken by

by the provincial diet of *Sandomir*; or, as the *Swedish* writers have it, of *Marienburg* (F). The spirited conduct of this province produced no effect in *Great Poland*, where the civil disorders seemed to increase in proportion as unanimity was become necessary. Instead of entering upon measures for the protection of the sovereign and the republic, the nobility were on the point of coming to blows with each other, thereby cutting off not only all prospect of being able to resist the common enemy, but endangering the intire subversion of the government. A few proposed imitating the example of *Sandomir*, and forming a confederacy in favour of *Augustus*: others proposed declaring for *Charles*; a third party thought it better that the association should take place, for protecting the liberties of the republic against all encroachments; and a fourth gave their opinion against all parties and confederacies, which they said ought to depend on contingencies. This spirit of dissention, and the fear lest the king of *Sweden* should object that the embassy was not sufficiently authorized to treat of an accommodation, determined *Augustus* to appoint a new assembly of the senators. This meeting was held accordingly; and the primate, who still continued irresolute, attended, had an audience of the king, who yet did not entertain any well-grounded suspicion of his fidelity, and obtained leave to send an express with proposals of peace to the *Swedish* monarch. The prelate wrote to that prince in terms extremely pathetic; but with a coldness for king *Augustus*, which plainly declared his sentiments. All that he said respected the republic: the king's affairs he referred to his agent, who accompanied the express. In a word, he endeavoured to throw the veil of elocution over the perfidy of his heart, and to cover with the broad mantle of religion, and ecclesiastical cunning, that selfish disposition which sought its own gratification at the expence of his honour, the dignity of the crown, and the felicity and peace of his country. The embassy too set out for *Cracow*, where the *Swedish* monarch resided; but was refused an audience, under pretence that his *Swedish* majesty could not determine whether he was at war or peace with the republic. However, both *Charles* and his minister count *Piper* answered the prelate's letter; and the terms in which they expressed themselves gave *Augustus* some light into the ambiguous conduct of that prelate.

The Polish envoys are refused audience.

WHEN it was known that the embassy had been denied audience, a new council was assembled, and fresh instructions given to the ambassadors to repeat their request of being admitted to a conference. The deputies obeyed their instructions; but met with another refusal, as *Charles*, now recovered from his late disorder, resolved to pursue his military operations, which he knew must cut off all altercation, and bring matters to a speedy issue. Leaving a sufficient garrison in *Cracow*, he put himself at the head of his army, and advanced to *Warsaw* by slow marches; upon advice of which motion, the king of *Poland* posted to join the *Saxon* army quartered in *Prussia*, and on his arrival at *Thorn* summoned a council secretly, and then passed on to *Dresden*, resolving to return by the day fixed for the meeting. What his intention was, in going to *Dresden*, is not clear; but the hurry in which he came back to *Prussia* proved fruitless. Neither the primate, the great-general, nor some of the principal nobility attended the council, and the few who were present were embarrassed and divided in their sentiments. Nothing, in short, met with unanimous consent, except a proposition to acquaint the king of *Sweden* that the republic had resolved to accept the emperor's mediation, and to declare war in case he refused to accept so equitable a proposal. For some time the court of *Vienna* had laboured to effect an accommodation; and *Augustus*, to facilitate the designs of the aulic council, had detached eight thousand of the *Saxon* troops to his imperial majesty, perhaps indeed with a view of biasing the mediator. All however that count *Zinzendorf* could urge produced no alteration in *Charles*; he rejected the offered interposition, and determined upon receiving no other conditions than a formal abdication of the crown of *Poland*, and a renunciation of that dignity, signed by the hand of *Augustus* himself.

Augustus arrests the French envoys

ABOUT this time a circumstance occurred, which more than ever inflamed the resentment of the *Swedish* monarch, and likewise involved the republic in disputes with the court of *Versailles*. *Augustus* had seized upon the *French* envoys going to *Warsaw*, the one to the king of *Sweden* and the other to the republic. The latter had been ordered to quit the dominions of *Poland*; but he replied to the messenger sent by *Augustus*, that he was ambassador to the states of the republic as well as to his majesty. This news no sooner reached the court of *France* than all the *Poles* in that kingdom were laid under arrest, and in the beginning of the year ensuing, the marquis *de Torcy* wrote to the primate, complaining in the most bitter terms of the gross infractions committed on the laws of nations, and demanding to know whether the envoys had been confined by the republic's

(F) It is probable that what the *Swedish* writers call a diet, was no more than a great council, which assembled at *Marienburg*, soon after the confederacy formed by the provincial diet at *Sandomir*. We have, however, in complaisance to them, called it a diet in our History of *Sweden*.

a consent, or only by the king's orders? The primate wrote in consequence to *Augustus*, in a manner that shewed how much he disapproved of his conduct. "I cannot, says he, carry my respect for your majesty so far as to vindicate an action which all men of honour must condemn." He then deplored the unhappy state of the republic, always doomed to share in the punishment however guiltless; and concluded with observing, "that sad experience ought to have made the king better acquainted with the characters of those blind guides, who, instead of conducting him to the temple of glory, were hurrying him on to the pit of ignominy and destruction." *Augustus* answered this letter, and evidently shewed, by the ironical sarcastic turn of his expression, that he at length suspected the zeal of the primate. "I beseech you, said he, my good cousin, neither to
b strain too far your complaisance or your dissimulation upon my account: let each of us preserve that power vested in us by the constitution; and do you remember, that while I am king, you are nothing more than a simple archbishop." *Augustus* however condescended to explain the motives upon which the ambassadors had been arrested, and declared that a full account of the affair was sent to *Versailles*, which he doubted not would fully justify his proceedings.

Altercation
with the
primate.

UPON this it was that the primate, of his own authority ventured to summon a great council of the senators, for which purpose he published circular letters in the same stile as if he had been pro-rex during an inter-regnum. In these letters he passionately lamented the decay of public spirit in the republic, and the indifference with which the *Poles* beheld the ruin of their country, as if no regard for law, justice, or liberty remained, and every spark of valour and virtue had been extinguished. After much declamation on the degeneracy of the times, and the dangerous situation in which *Poland* stood on the very brink of destruction, he added, that in discharge of his conscience, in pity to his country, and to express his zeal for the public service, as well as by virtue of the authority vested in the archiepiscopal dignity, he took upon him to require a meeting of the senate at *Warsaw*, to concert means for the preservation of the state at this critical juncture. Few, however, of the nobility paid any regard to these circular letters, some refusing to admit the primate's authority, while others pleaded that while the citadel was in the hands of the *Swedes*, they could not declare their opinions freely; and the prelate was under the necessity of putting off the council to a more seasonable opportunity.

A. D. 1703;

Feb. 15.

THE archbishop's disappointment afforded cause of triumph to *Augustus*, and indeed his affairs immediately assumed a more promising aspect. Several provinces assured him of their zeal and loyalty, by deputies sent to *Marienburg*, in which city the king had for some time resided. Many of them advised him to publish his *Universalia* for assembling a general diet; but *Augustus*, apprehending the consequence of divisions among the nobility, contented himself with issuing writs for a general council of the senate to be held at *Marienburg*. The letters published on this occasion were fraught with a variety of truths, which bore hard upon the character of the *Swedish* king; they accordingly gave great offence to that monarch, and extinguished every sentiment of peace in his mind, if he ever entertained thoughts of an accommodation. But this circumstance gave little uneasiness to *Augustus*, who saw himself rising in the esteem of the nobility and senate, many of whom he entirely gained over to his interest by his caresses, promises, blandishments, and that easy politeness of which he was so great a master. The *senatus concilium* accordingly met, the assembly was numerous, and the first resolution taken evinced the influence which *Augustus* had established. It was decreed, that as the republic had been equally injured by the pretended friendship of the king of *Sweden*, and by his avowed enmity, that prince ought therefore to be considered in the latter capacity; that the resolution of the diet of *Sandomir* should be confirmed, for uniting the whole republic against *Sweden*; that the nobility and a general diet should be summoned to assemble in the open field; that all assemblies held by the primate should be illegal and a violation of the constitution; that orders should be issued to the generals of the army to oppose the *Swedes*; and that the assembly should stand by the king, and venture their lives and fortunes in his service. A motion that a confederacy should be formed for the security of the regal dignity and the republic, met with opposition. The primate had raised a party to frustrate this measure, and now he demanded satisfaction for the injury done to his character and dignity by the decree of the assembly, insisting that in the present circumstances of affairs he was vested with a legal authority to summon a council of the senate. To evince his right, he appointed the sixteenth day of *April* for a council at *Warsaw*, and expected that the senators who attended the king's writs would pay the same obedience to his, as soon as the council at *Marienburg* was dissolved. Thus the primate once more declared openly against the king, and set at defiance the regal dignity. Two parties were formed, which

A council as-
sembled at
Marienburg;

Font. cap. v.

denied each other the right of acting in the name of the republic. *Augustus* could allow the primate no authority, and this opinion seemed to be founded upon the true constitution of *Poland*, by which the primate had no other authority than that of first senator and his spiritual prerogatives, except during an inter-regnum; while, on the other hand, the prelate declared the resolutions of the council held by the king illegal, until he gave his assent. In a word, it was apparent that the primate had declared tacitly for the king of *Sweden*, that all hopes of peace were vanished; and that the two kings would now exert their utmost ability to drive each other out of *Poland*, the unhappy scene of the contentions of two ambitious princes.

The Saxons
are defeated.

ALREADY *Augustus* had an army of fifty thousand men at his disposal. The *Lithuanians* under *Oginski* amounted to thirty-five thousand men, the remainder were *Saxons*, upon whom alone, either for loyalty, courage, or military skill, *Augustus* could place any dependence. The czar had indeed engaged to send an army of an hundred thousand men into *Lithuania*; and had he executed his promise, the king of *Poland* would have been in a condition to secure the dignity of his crown, and avenge himself of the *Swedish* monarch. But no danger moved *Charles*; camps were perpetually shifted, and a kind of emulation arose who should prove the most successful in ruining the territories of the republic. Mutual declarations and recriminations now passed, which more than ever confirmed *Augustus* that the primate had acted treacherously, by concerting matters with his rival, and that it would be necessary to assemble a general diet. While he was preparing to issue writs for this purpose, the king of *Sweden* attacked the *Saxons* encamped at *Paltusk*, and obtained an easy victory, after an engagement in which *Augustus* lost near two thousand men, either killed, drowned, or taken prisoners, together with all his cannon and baggage, general *Stenau* who commanded escaping with the utmost difficulty. *Charles* pursued his advantage, penetrated into *Prussia*, blockaded *Thorn*, and put garrisons into *Graudenz* and the little town of *Strazburg*, which opened their gates without any shew of resistance.

THOUGH this victory produced nothing decisive, it nevertheless more than ever confirmed the primate in his opinion that he ought by all means to stick fast by *Sweden*, which he found the republic and *Augustus* would never be able to resist. Yet he acted with the utmost circumspection, and such duplicity, that he reinstated himself entirely in the opinion of a great number of the nobility, who had entertained suspicions unfavourable to his character. While the diet was sitting at *Lublin* he wrote a letter to *Charles*, accusing him of a breach of the privileges of the republic, and insisting upon his withdrawing his forces from *Prussia*; but he at the same time took care that this letter should be intercepted, and produced at the diet, by which he gained the reputation of a strenuous patriot, who had been grossly misrepresented by evil disposed persons. Having thus paved the way for a good reception from that assembly, he set out for *Lublin*, attended by a great retinue of nobility and gentry, and was met on the road by several members of the diet. Such deference was shewn this hypocrite, that the diet returned his letter sealed up; but he was denied audience of the king, until he had taken the oath to which the members of the council at *Marienburg*, and the diet at *Sandomir*, had sworn.

Diet at
Lublin.

THE diet of *Lublin* had been opened by the king in person, on the twenty-fifth day of *June*; and now that the primate and his friends had taken all the oaths required, it was hoped the basis of concord and unanimity was fully established; yet there arose several debates, which rendered it necessary to prolong the session for three days beyond the usual period. Before this time was expired, the diet had agreed upon certain resolutions, couched in six articles to the following purport: that the crown-army should be augmented to thirty-six thousand men; and that the *Lithuanians*, including the *Saxon* auxiliaries in that duchy, should be raised to twelve thousand. To maintain this force a poll-tax was laid upon the *Jews* at a crown each head, and a duty upon all made liquors. By the second article, the king of *Sweden* was allowed six weeks to give his final resolutions relative to peace or war. The third article allowed the same space of time to the house of *Sapieha*, to return to the duty which it owed to the king and republic; in default of which all persons of that family were to be declared traitors. The fourth article annexed severe penalties to any mention of declaring the throne vacant. The fifth vested the king with a power of forming such alliances as would be necessary to the security of the crown and state, in case the *Swedish* monarch persisted in his ambitious designs: and by the last article a tax was laid upon all the water-mills in the kingdom, to satisfy the king of *Prussia's* claim upon *Elbing*. The last act of the diet was to prepare an instrument to unite the several members of the republic, under the title of the Mutual Protest and Agreement of the several Orders of the Kingdom; but the effects of this instrument of coalition were frustrated by the conduct of the nobility of *Great Poland*, where it would seem the primate

- a had gained an ascendant. The nobility of this province had entered into a confederacy to prevent the ruin of their country, and to preserve their liberties; and the king of *Sweden* took advantage of this circumstance to invite the rest of the republic into the confederacy; by whom he hoped to augment the divisions of this already distracted kingdom. He published a manifesto, offering his protection to all sober-minded well-disposed persons, and threatening to blast with his vengeance all who adhered to the pernicious aspiring schemes formed by king *Augustus*, whom he now distinguished only by the title of elector of *Saxony*. The confederates were cheered and animated by this declaration, which encouraged them to demand peace of the king of *Sweden* by a deputation. The deputies were well received; but *Charles* told them, in a resolute tone, that the deposition of
- b *Augustus* must be the preliminary condition of his compliance with their request.

THE measures taken by the nobility of *Great Poland* gave great offence to *Augustus*, who declared in a rage, that henceforward he should treat them as traitors; but this passionate denunciation, instead of intimidating the confederates, served only to augment the number of his enemies. A variety of palatines joined the confederated nobility, and *Augustus* was daily abandoned by some of the lords in whom he reposed the utmost confidence. To complete his embarrassment, the *Saxon* troops were too few to face the *Swedes*, and too much dispirited with their late defeats to think of coming again to action with an enemy whom they regarded as invincible. The crown-army relaxed in its zeal for his service, and attachment to his person; the primate's intrigues added to his perplexity, and he

Augustus declares the confederates traitors.

- c now suggested the idea of taking refuge in *Saxony*, under pretence of visiting his hereditary dominions. The primate opposed this resolution; but *Augustus* suspected his sincerity, and believed that the artful prelate had his own designs, and was actually in a conspiracy against his life and liberty.

MATTERS were now drawing towards a crisis. The *Swedes* were eager to come to a decisive engagement, and *Charles* indulged their ardor, by turning the blockade of *Thorn* into a regular siege. Trenches were formed, batteries erected, and the *Swedish* cannon played so furiously, that in a few days the whole city was almost reduced to rubbish. By the fourteenth of *October* the governor was forced to submit at discretion to the conqueror. *Charles* thought of dismembring the place; but the inhabitants purchased their walls and

Thorn taken by the Swedes.

- d gates at the price of forty thousand crowns. The cities of *Dantzick* and *Elbing* were chastised for the spirit the magistrates had shewn in refusing a passage to a body of *Swedes*; and *Augustus* opposed all these military operations only by a fruitless council of senators, whom he assembled at *Javarow*. Here the king proposed renewing the alliance with the czar, his only remaining resource; a step to which he was impelled by *Patkul*, who had now entered the service of that prince; and was authorised by the diet at *Lublin*; but the grand-marschal of the crown, and several senators, protested against sending an embassy to *Russia*, lest it should put an entire stop to the negotiations with the king of *Sweden*. Nor was this the only mortification he suffered; for the council passed an act, in which they decreed, that the regal authority was subordinate to the power of the diet; upon

- e which *Augustus* broke up the assembly in disgust, repaired to *Cracow*, and, after a short stay in the capital, set out privately for his electoral dominions. His departure furnished the primate with the fairest opportunity he could wish to execute his designs: he summoned an assembly at *Warsaw* on the fourteenth of *January*, to which the *Swedish* commissaries were invited, and by dint of address and intrigue procured a resolution, signed by himself, the bishop of *Posnania*, nine palatines, and the castellan of *Plosko*, declaring *Augustus* fallen from all right and title to the crown of *Poland*, for having violated the liberties of the people, who by the *pacta conventa* were thus far discharged from their oaths of obedience, and engagements of fidelity and allegiance. A decree likewise passed to seize upon the revenues of the crown, the primate proclaimed an inter-regnum, and the king of *Sweden*

Augustus deposed by the confederates.

- f recommended prince *James Sobieski* as a proper successor to the deposed *Augustus*: Severe and unexpected as this stroke certainly must have been; the unfortunate monarch was not discouraged; he still hoped that some favourable change of circumstances, the tyrannical spirit of *Charles*, the inconstancy of the *Poles*, his own perseverance, the valour of the *Saxons*, and the real interest of the maritime powers to check the aspiring views of his enemies, might effect a change in his affairs. He regarded the confederacy as a faction founded upon caprice, which would break and dissolve with the first rub of fortune; besides, the whole association were too inconsiderable a part of the republic, to pass decrees which should be deemed legal and decisive. They were likewise divided about a successor, some supporting the claim of *James Sobieski*, while others espoused the pretensions of prince
- g *Lubomirski*, each party being just sufficiently powerful to embarrass the competitor, without gaining the point it proposed for itself. However, effectually to remove the candidate who bid fairest for success, *Augustus* fell upon means to seize on prince *James Sobieski* in *Silesia*, whom he caused to be conducted prisoner to *Saxony*; a measure which gave birth to

loud

loud complaints against his justice, though in fact it ought to be regarded as an act of necessity and self-defence. *Constantine*, the second son of the late monarch, was likewise surrounded in the neighbourhood of *Breslau*, and confined in the citadel of *Leipsick*; while *Alexander*, the youngest, and all the enemies of *Augustus*, were appealing for redress to the emperor, in whose dominions the violence was committed. It required no very extraordinary abilities to apologise to the court of *Vienna*, as it was evident that both princes had been proposed as candidates for the crown; besides, the emperor regarded with jealousy the designs of *Charles*, though the circumstances in which he then stood would not admit of his coming to expostulations.

His treaty
with the czar.
A. D. 1704.

SUCH was the state of *Poland* and *Augustus*, when the palatine of *Culm* was sent ambassador to the czar of *Muscovy*, charged with a commission to enter upon the strictest amity with that prince, and give him a minute account of the situation of the republic. The palatine conducted the negotiation with so much address, that a treaty, offensive and defensive, was signed; all the advantages of which were on the side of *Poland*, with a view of regaining the affections of the republic. It was agreed, that no separate peace should be concluded by either of the contracting parties; that all conquests made in the *Ukraine* should belong to *Poland*; that the places in *Livonia*, already subdued by the *Russian* arms, together with what might hereafter be conquered, should be restored to the republic, without any reimbursement of the czar's expences; that this prince should support, at his own charge, twelve thousand men, to be at the devotion of *Poland*; that he should pay a subsidy of two millions of florins annually, during the war, to the republic, exclusive of his private subsidies to *Augustus*; and, lastly, that when the enemy were driven out of the territories of *Poland*, the war should then be carried, with the utmost vigour, into the *Swedish* dominions. The above articles were immediately published, to evince the good intentions of *Augustus* towards the republic, the disinterested conduct of the czar, and the happy consequences of an embassy which had been strongly opposed by a body of the nobility assembled at *Javarow*; but, by a secret agreement between the monarchs, *Augustus* promised to repay the czar's expences, as soon as he should be quietly reinstated. Besides, *Riga* and certain other places, essential to the execution of the plans formed by the sagacious *Peter*, were to be the price of his friendship to the distressed king of *Poland*. The effects produced by the publication of this treaty answered the most sanguine hope, and determined *Augustus* to return to *Poland*. He arrived at his capital in the month of *February*, and held a council of the senators, in which were annulled all the decrees of the assembly summoned by the primate at *Warsaw* the preceding year; and a declaration was published, whereby the confederates were made traitors to their king and country. This fruitless though spirited step was succeeded by a remonstrance to the diet then sitting at *Ratisbon*, in which the confederates were called rebels, and the primate was treated with very little reverence for his sacred function; but it produced nothing in the king's favour. However, this disappointment was ballanced by the fortunate accident of intercepting several letters, wrote by the primate, and the palatines in his interest, whereby a clear discovery was made of their designs, and of the dark intrigues and abominable duplicity of the prelate, which extremely enraged the whole senate.

He returns to
Poland.

His affairs
seem to revive.

THE archbishop was not to be discomfited with accidents which he regarded as trivial. Though it was apparent that he pressed the *Swedish* monarch to invade *Saxony*, he was far from blushing at the length to which he pushed his animosity against his legitimate sovereign; on the contrary, he claimed a great deal of merit from this circumstance, as he alledged it was the most efficacious and speedy method of determining the *Swedes* to quit the dominions of the republic. This defence he corroborated with a direct accusation of *Augustus*, whom he taxed with several gross violations of the liberties of *Poland*, and a design intirely to subvert the constitution, by rendering himself absolute, and the crown hereditary in his family; a charge not entirely void of foundation, as *Augustus* had certainly entertained ambitious schemes, though he had never met with the opportunity of putting them in execution. Little regard indeed was paid to the assertions of either by the few moderate persons who remained; as they were thought to be prompted by faction, dictated by prejudice, and urged by the spirit of animosity and malignity; yet the violent proceedings of the confederates gave more reputation to the cause of *Augustus*. In conjunction with the primate they sent a declaration to *Charles*, proposing a treaty: to which that prince assented, on condition that nothing should be stipulated in favour of *Augustus*, and that a new king should immediately be elected; an answer which exactly corresponded with the primate's wishes, which led him into such excesses as induced a variety of members to quit the confederacy, because they perceived that the good of the republic was not regarded, but only the gratification of the primate's ambition and resentment. "We see, said they,

^a FONT. cap. vi. PARTHEN. lib. v. tom. ii.

" that

- a " that every thing here is determined by caprice, and to serve measures very opposite to
 " the public good ; we therefore resolve to continue no longer the blind tools of faction,
 " and the vile instruments of corruption ; for which reason we publicly renounce our en-
 " gagements to this pernicious confederacy."

It was imagined that this secession would have greatly disconcerted the primate ; how-
 ever, he went on with his designs, and summoned the diet of election to meet at *Warsaw*
 on the 19th day of *June* ensuing. To the primate's writs the king opposed his *universalia*,
 requiring a diet to meet on the eighth day of the same month ; and he expected the assembly
 would be numerous, as a great many of the nobility remained firm, and several palatines
 had lately deserted the confederacy. Even the pope's nuncio came to reside with *Augustus*,

- b after having in vain exhorted the primate and his party not to promote the ambitious views
 of an heretic prince, against their religion, king, and country. Yet, although he found
 himself surrounded by friends in his own capital, the approach of general *Rensfeld* gave
 him so much disquiet, that he was forced to quit *Cracow*, and take the rout of *Sandomir*,
 the palatine of which province had always been his strenuous friend. Even here he found
 himself in danger ; he was pursued by the *Swedish* general, and his force being unequal, he
 crossed the *Vistula*, and marched along the banks of that river, as low as *Petrowina*, at
 which place he formed a bridge of boats. Here he was joined by so considerable a body of
Saxons, that he thought himself in a condition to face the *Swedes*, who were reported not
 to exceed three thousand, though in fact they amounted to ten thousand men, and were in

He is pursued
by the Swedes.

- c full march to give battle when *Augustus* found his mistake, and took measures to extricate
 himself out of the perplexity into which he was led by false intelligence. Immediately he
 crossed the river, and cut down the bridge of boats ; but the precipitation was so great,
 that some hundreds of lives perished, tho' not a blow had been exchanged with the enemy
 until the rear was almost got over, when the *Swedes* arrived soon enough to take one of the
 king's pages and a few more prisoners. The next day was spent in cannonading each
 other to little purpose across the river ; and *Rensfeld* at length perceiving that he could
 not force his passage, or bring *Augustus* to an action, drew off towards *Warsaw*, and
 encamped in the neighbourhood of that city, with a view of influencing the diet of
 election.

He declines
coming to
action.

- d THIS motion furnished *Augustus* with an opportunity of returning to *Sandomir*, where
 he had appointed the diet. From this meeting he entertained great hopes, which were
 heightened by the prospect of being joined by seven thousand *Saxons*, whom he had
 recalled from the imperial service, and ten thousand more he gave orders should be
 levied, hopes which soon proved delusive, howsoever well they seemed to be founded.

*Augustus re-
turns to San-
domir, and
holds a diet.*

- His ill-fortune prevailed, and *Augustus* became a memorable example of the vanity and
 uncertainty of all sublunary enjoyments. The vigour of his own genius sometimes raised
 him above his misfortunes only to plunge him deeper in despair. The diet which had now
 met, deliberated on the means of restoring the public tranquility ; and the first step was to
 enter into a confederacy, founded upon the resolutions of the diet of *Lublin*. It was next
 e decreed, that all that had been transacted at *Warsaw*, relative to deposing *Augustus*, should
 be declared illegal and void ; that whatever *Piaſto* or native should be elected, should be
 declared an usurper and traitor ; that the primate and bishop of *Poznań* should be declared
 authors of the conspiracy to dethrone the king, and traitors to their country ; that a month
 should be allowed to the crown-mareschal and other partisans of the revolt, to renounce the
 confederacy, return to their duty, and avoid the just punishments of their crime ; that the
 mareschal of the diet and new confederacy formed by the king should be guarantee and sponsor
 for the payment of the crown-army ; that the garrisons should henceforward receive their
 orders from him, and not from the crown-mareschal ; that all treaties with foreign powers,
 tending to make a diversion against *Sweden*, should be approved, provided however that
 f they stipulated nothing contrary to the interest of the republic, by the dismemberment of
 her provinces : and lastly it was resolved, for the more effectually carrying these schemes
 into execution, to assemble the *pospolite*.

THOUGH the proceedings at *Sandomir* gave little uneasiness to the confederates at *War-
 saw*, yet the dissensions among the members had almost dissolved the association. Loud com-
 plaints were made against the conduct of the *Swedes*, who, under the name of guardians of
 the liberties of *Poland*, plundered her children, and raised heavy contributions, equally on
 the peasants, gentry, and nobility ; even the church-lands and the clergy were not ex-
 empted from the sacrilegious ravages of those barbarous heretics ; but the primate excused
 the king of *Sweden*, by alledging that his army must have subsistence, and in the present
 g unsettled state of the republic, he was pursuing the only method which could answer that
 purpose ; namely, the quartering his troops on the lands of the enemies of *Sweden* and the
 republic. The 12th day of *July* was fixed for the new election ; and every previously
 requisite measure was taken by the diet of *Warsaw*, which opened on the 14th day of

Account of the
state of affairs
at Warsaw.

The candidates
for the crown.

June, with all the usual formalities. Fifteen palatines, the ecclesiastical and secular senators, with divers starosts and castelans, were present, and a mareschal was chosen without opposition. But this harmony was of short duration; for a great number of members insisted upon the execution of the king of Sweden's promises, and the cessation of those grievous contributions which impoverished the country, before the diet should proceed to any other business. Warm debates ensued; and, by way of moderating the heats of the contending parties, it was thought proper to adjourn for several days; a measure which highly delighted the primate, as he hoped it would pave the way for the prolongation of his own authority, and furnish him with more time to look out for such a successor to the crown as should owe his whole fortune to the primate, and consequently be restrained by such obligations as would confirm him the creature of that ambitious prelate. The candidates mentioned on this occasion were prince Ragotzi of Transylvania; the elector of Bavaria; the duke of Mantua; Lubomirski, grand-mareschal of the crown; Sapieha, the great-treasurer; Radziwil, the great-chancellor of Lithuania; and count Leczinski, palatine of Posnania. All these candidates were disagreeable to the primate, who still retained his affection for the prince of Conti, and would now again have nominated him for a competitor, but for private considerations, and because he thought that prince would not brook dependence on a subject. Prince James Sobieski's imprisonment was a great obstruction to his claim, as it was feared that his liberty would be more remote, in proportion as he approached the crown. The Swedes therefore proposed the younger brother, Alexander, who had the generosity and wisdom to refuse a dignity which of right appertained to James or Constantine, who were both older. He declared he would never profit by their misfortunes, and wear a diadem procured by their loss of liberty; a saying that evinced how deserving he was of the honour he rejected. Charles consulted the primate on the characters of the Polish candidates, and found that prelate strongly prejudiced against them all, though he could only object his youth to the palatine of Posnania. Accordingly Charles declared in favour of the latter, and all the rest of the competitors became sensible that their opposition would be fruitless. For this reason Lubomirski refused being present at the election, saying, that he did not chuse to assist in person at the funeral of his country's liberty. Three palatines, and several other nobility, pursued the same measure, and made a similar reply. The primate himself was disgusted at seeing Charles direct with so high a hand; he refused attending on the 12th, and desired that the election might be deferred for two days; but the Swedish count Horn paid no regard to his remonstrance, and went accordingly to the *szopa*, declaring that the election must be concluded that day, if he staid till midnight. He pressed the bishop of Posnania to nominate a king; and the bishop, who expected the request, and was wholly in the Swedish interest, poured forth his eloquence in persuading the assembly to proceed to business, without regard to the absent refractory members. He was opposed by the deputies of Podlachia, who continued in the *szopa* only with intention to obstruct the election by spirited protests. At first they were terrified by the concourse of Swedish officers and soldiers who surrounded count Horn; but they ventured to remonstrate upon this head, and complained of the violation of their privileges, by the undue influence exerted over their opinions and voices. Horn however persisted, the day was almost consumed in invitations to the primate and absent members to attend, and upon their refusal, the mareschal of the diet observed, that as without their concurrence it would be impossible to come to any valid resolution; the election ought to be deferred till the time proposed by the recusants.

Bold speech of
the deputy of
Podlachia.

It was the business of Sweden immediately to determine the matter; count Horn therefore requested the bishop to proceed to nomination; upon which the Podlachians again interposed, and one of their number, the deputy Icrozalski, whose name ought to be transmitted to posterity, rose up in a fury, and made a speech full of fire and spirit, to the equal astonishment of the Swedes and Poles: — "Are we assembled, said he boldly, to act in concert for the ruin of Poland, whose glory and safety depend wholly on the freedom of the people and the liberty of the constitution? Let our independence be our first care, then let us think of an election. Shall we call that resolution legitimate, which springs from fear of being hewn down by the troops of armed foreigners, who surround us, and insult the dignity of the republic by their presence! Let our laws be treated with the respect due to them, and I shall be the last to oppose the election. As I am under no engagements but those dictated by conscience and the love of my country, I will refuse my consent to no measure which proceeds from a sincere inclination to serve the republic; but even this must be done agreeable to the constitution, and without constraint. I am besides well disposed to elevate to the regal dignity a noble lord now present, who hears me speak, and who I know respects me on account of the regard I shew for Poland, though contrary to his particular interest. Let him ascend the throne agreeable to the established laws, and he will find in me a loyal, faithful subject; otherwise I profess myself

a " myself his enemy. Let us not place our timidity upon record, and transmit to our posterity the infamous submission we pay to a foreign prince. Let us dare nobly to declare
 " against all violence; let us not weaken the authority of the primate or senate, lest our
 " government should become either despotical or monarchical. If we destroy the partitions which divide the several departments of the state, the consequence will be fatal,
 " and we shall become the slaves of a tyrant, or of our own passions. Let us observe
 " the forms prescribed to this assembly, and I will give my assent to every salutary resolution. They are mistaken who imagine they shall trample upon our liberties without
 " opposition; while they persist in this opinion, I protest, as deputy of *Podlackia*, against
 " all that shall be transacted." *Icrozalski* was seconded by the other deputies of the province, and count *Horn* was considerably embarrassed with so bold and unexpected a declaration. He stormed, he threatened, he ordered the troops to reduce the *Podlackians* to reason; but nothing could shake their constancy, which rose with opposition: " Here,
 " said they, let us sacrifice our lives to the freedom of our country; we prefer death to
 " the loss of liberty." At last the bishop of *Posnania*, perceiving they could not be gained by threats or promises, called out with a loud voice, " Long live *Stanislaus Leczinski* king
 " of *Poland* elect." The nomination was echoed by the *Swedes* in the train of count *Horn*, the *Swedish* soldiers who surrounded the *szopa*, the friends of the palatine, and a few of the nobility; but the *Podlackians* entered their protest in form, and retired. Such was the election of *Stanislaus*, raised by the influence of a foreign power to the throne, without swearing to the *pacta conventa*, or passing through any of the forms which constitute a legitimate election in *Poland*. He saw the liberty of his country despised; but he was the necessary tool of *Sweden*, and probably lamented the sad situation of *Poland*, tho' he made the present circumstances subservient to his ambition; and it may be fairly alledged in his vindication, that *Charles* of *Sweden*, and not *Stanislaus*, was the author of all the unconstitutional steps taken in this extraordinary election. The *Swede* regarded the republic as a conquest, and thought he had an absolute right to dispose of the reward of his own valour; nor is it surprizing, that a prince of his disposition, born under a despotic government, as *Sweden* certainly was at that time, flushed with conquest, and the inveterate enemy of *Augustus*, should pay little regard to tedious forms, which only retarded the
 d extension of his conquests¹.

Stanislaus
elected king of
Poland.

S E C T. IX.

Containing the History of Poland, to the Restoration of Augustus.

S T A N I S L A U S L E C Z I N S K I.

c *STANISLAUS* was no sooner raised to the throne by the voice of a faction, than the primate and his party were terrified into submission by the dreadful menaces of the *Swedish* monarch. He made his homage accordingly, and congratulated him with a good grace, on the success of a measure which he had opposed with all his power; not from any respect to the constitution of the *Polish* government, but from private views. His example was followed by the mareschal of the confederacy, and the interest of the young king daily gained strength.

f *AUGUSTUS* was all this while at *Sandomir*, where he soon received the news of the election. His chagrin and disappointment were very great; for, though he was sensible of the enmity of *Sweden* and the bitterness of the confederates, he relied upon their dissensions, and was in hopes the number of candidates would prove an insurmountable obstacle to decisive resolutions. When he found his expectations disappointed, he assembled in the city of *Kamir* the same set of adherents who had formerly composed the diet of *Sandomir*, and formally proceeded to declare king *Stanislaus*, and all his party, traitors to their king and country; an impotent resolution, unsupported by an adequate military force. By this time he had sufficient cause to repent the deference which he paid to the liberties of the republic, and the perpetual dread in which he lived, of disobliging the few *Poles* who continued faithful to his service. It was this consideration which had prevented his strengthening himself with the forces of *Muscovy* and *Saxony*. A treaty had been formed with the czar, whereby a considerable number of his troops were to have entered the territories of the republic, and orders had been dispatched to make new levies in *Saxony*; but *Augustus* neglected to take the advantage which his situation allowed, and even required, because the introduction of foreign troops was disagreeable to the *Poles*. This complacency for a people, who, notwithstanding all the zeal which some of them professed

Augustus receives the news.

Situation of *Augustus*.

¹ PARTHEN. lib. v. VOLT. Mem. chap. iv. FONTAINES, cap. vi.

for his interest, were unable to secure him against the violence of the *Swedish* monarch, was now, when too late, condemned as ill-judged and unseasonable. Still, however, a great part of the nation would have declared in his favour, but for the *Swedish* detachments, which overspread the country, and kept the inhabitants in continual awe and terror. A body of nobility, who had taken arms for his support, were now routed and dispersed by the *Swedes*; and the primate with his friends, who had opposed the election of *Stanislaus*, obeyed the nod of the *Swedish* king, and paid their homage to the new sovereign. *Prussia* was compelled to yield to the laws imposed by the *Scandinavian* hero, and the magistrates and burghers of *Dantzick*, who had been strenuous sticklers for *Augustus*, were forced to bow the neck, and submit to kiss the rod of tyranny and power. Count *Steinbock* had for some time blocked up this city, and the *Dantzickers* thought themselves happy in being relieved by such easy concessions from the terrors of a hostile army, and the revival of an antient claim made by the house of *Guldenstiern*.

He seizes upon Leopold.

In the midst of these sources of despondency, *Augustus* had fortunately made himself master of the city *Leopold* by a well-concerted stratagem, by which means he was reinforced with the *Polish* garrison, who readily embraced his cause, and of a large train of artillery, of which he was in great want since the last defeat of the *Saxons*. There he remained when advice arrived that a body of sixteen thousand *Russians* and four thousand *Cossacks* had crossed the *Boristhenes*, and only waited for orders to commence hostilities against the *Swedes*. Besides, the *Saxon* levies at length arrived, by which *Augustus* found himself in a condition to make detachments to check the ravages of the enemy. As a further addition to his apparent change of fortune, prince *Wiesnowiski* united his endeavours with those of *Oginski*, to reduce *Lithuania* under his obedience, and was opposed by the *Swedish* general *Lewenhaupt* and the house of *Sapieha*, with a great vicissitude of victories and defeats. Prince *Wiesnowiski* had under him an army amounting to twelve thousand men, composed of *Saxons* and *Lithuanians*; with this force he was encamped on the banks of the *Dwina*, where he was vigorously attacked by the *Swedish* general, at the head of seven thousand men, and, after an obstinate engagement, completely defeated, with the loss of two thousand men killed in the field, a great many prisoners, twenty-eight pieces of cannon, forty pair of colours and standards, and more than half the baggage of the army; however, *Wiesnowiski* made good his retreat, and secured the scattered remains of his forces under the cannon of *Riczen*.

Several battles fought between the Swedes and Saxons.

THIS was a severe blow to *Augustus*, just as his hope began to revive; but it did not discourage *Wiesnowiski* from attacking a detachment of five thousand *Lithuanians* under the conduct of *Minski*. The onset was furious, the *Lithuanians* were defeated, and one party saved themselves by flight in *Courland*, while the other joined *Stanislaus* in *Russia*. His triumph however was of short duration; *Minski*, reinforced by a body of *Swedes*, thirsted for revenge, fell upon *Wiesnowiski* unprepared, and forced him to yield up the laurels he had so lately acquired. This advantage on the side of the *Swedes* and *Stanislaus* was soon followed by another more considerable, obtained in the neighbourhood of *Poznan*, where *Schulenberg*, with seven thousand *Saxons*, attempted to surprise three thousand *Swedes* under general *Meyerfeldt*. The *Saxon* general had laid his plan with great address, and it is probable he might have executed it to his entire satisfaction, had not his designs been betrayed to the enemy by a deserter. This determined *Meyerfeldt* to call in his detachments, and put himself in a posture of defence. The action began about day-break, *Schulenberg* attacking the advanced-guard in person, and imagining by the silence that reigned in the camp, that his schemes remained a profound secret; but what was his astonishment in approaching, to find the enemy not only drawn up in battle array, but greatly exceeding the number that had been represented! It was now too late to retreat, and he determined to rest the issue on the valour of his troops, and his own conduct. He poured in his fire, and was answered by the *Swedes*, who then rushed in, sword in hand, and put his right wing in disorder. In his turn he defeated the enemy's right and center, gaining possession of the field of battle, while the *Swedish* colonel, *Taube*, was pursuing the *Saxons* right wing into a great forest, where they had taken shelter. On this officer's return he joined *Meyerfeldt*, regained the field, drove the *Saxons* beyond the *Warta*, and obtained a clear victory, though it is ridiculously disputed by some authors. On the side of the *Saxons* perished a great number of officers; and though *Schulenburg* lost the honour of the victory, he gained the reputation of consummate prudence, and great personal valour, his defeat being entirely ascribed to the misconduct of the right wing, which suffered itself to be entirely separated from the main body, without attempting a rejunction. After all, *Augustus* suffered less by these defeats than by the loss of his troops, which being already inferior to those of the enemy, could not so well support any diminution. Yet they were of the utmost consequence in one respect, that they impressed his people with an idea that the *Swedes* were invincible, and the genuine offspring

a of those heroes, who had some years before filled all *Europe* with astonishment at the exploits they performed in *Germany*.

It was the earnest wish of *Charles* to come to a decisive action, which he sought with the utmost diligence, while *Augustus* as industriously avoided it, until he had procured such a reinforcement as might give him a chance for success. With this view he divided his army into small corps, in order that if he should sustain defeats, they might not prove decisive and fatal. He quitted *Sandomir*, with a design of drawing nearer to the *Russian* auxiliaries, who were advancing under the prince *Galliczin*, his necessities at length obliging him to surmount his fears of disobliging the *Poles*, by having recourse to foreigners. During his residence at *Jaroslaw*, the *Swedes* advanced with design to attack him before the junction; but he avoided this blow by decamping, and placing all his baggage in *Leopold*, to which city however the king of *Sweden* soon laid siege. *Augustus* not doubting but the garrison would make a vigorous resistance, embraced the opportunity of the king of *Sweden*'s absence, put himself at the head of the cavalry, and, after a rapid and very extraordinary march, attacked *Warsaw*, where he was on the point of surprising his rival *Stanislaus*, and inveterate enemy the primate. Having gained possession of the city, he immediately invested the citadel, into which count *Horn* had thrown himself with a body of *Swedes*. His garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men; but *Augustus* made his approaches with such vigour, that finding the place was not tenable, *Horn* set on foot a capitulation, and the conditions were accepted by the king of *Poland*. It was agreed that the *Swedes* should be prisoners of war, and all the stipulations regarded the deserters, and the protection of the *Swedish* prisoners from the insults of the *Poles*, *Russians*, and *Cossacks*.

The king of Sweden besieges Leopold.

Augustus takes Warsaw. Sept. 15.

AUGUSTUS had never before exhibited any remarkable instances of his military skill, at least since his elevation to the throne of *Poland*; now he was regarded as a consummate general, whose genius was depressed by a concurrence of unfortunate circumstances. Yet would it have redounded more to his honour, had he used this last advantage with greater moderation. He entered *Warsaw* as a conqueror, and determined to make the city suffer for the compelled homage done to his rival. The burghers were obliged to redeem their houses and effects at an enormous price, tho' in fact, they had shewn no partiality to *Stanislaus*; and the grand palaces belonging to the primate, *Lubomirski*, and several of the confederated noblemen, were either plundered or destroyed. The booty was immense, and the *Hungarian* wines alone, contained in the archbishop's cellars, were valued at one hundred and fifty thousand crowns. The bishop of *Poznan*, confined to his bed with sickness, was taken prisoner, sent into *Saxony*, and his house pillaged; but he was afterwards set at liberty by the intercession of the pope's nuncio, who insisted that the holy see alone could take cognizance of the crimes of so dignified a prelate.

In the midst of this triumph, the news of the surrender of *Leopold* reached *Warsaw*, and threw a sudden chill on the spirit of the royal party. *Charles* had forced the city sword in hand, put great part of the garrison to death, raised prodigious contributions on the inhabitants, and saved the place at a price almost equivalent to its whole value. This ransom was levied with the utmost rigour, and the poor inhabitants plundered of almost all their effects, because they were unable to pay in specie the sum stipulated. The booty carried off in wrought plate, cloths, silks, and other rich merchandize, was immense; but it turned out of little account to the conquerors, who were obliged to leave great quantities behind, wherever they encamped, for want of the conveniency of carriage. A report which prevailed, that *Charles* was on his return to *Warsaw*, obliged *Augustus* to quit that city, and encamp at some distance, not chusing to be inclosed within walls with a corps which entirely consisted of horse and dragoons. He was in his camp at *Wisgrad*, when advice arrived that the czar of *Muscovy* had at length reduced *Narva*, and was preparing to reinforce the detachment under *Galitzin*, which occasioned great joy; and the spirits of the royal party were likewise elevated by the junction of the *Saxons*, amounting to fifteen thousand men. This force, united with the *Russians* and *Cossacks*, who exceeded thirty thousand men, gave *Augustus* a considerable superiority in numbers, but not in strength, of which it appears he was sensible. The victory at *Narva* sufficiently evinced how little confidence he ought to repose on the *Russian* auxiliaries acting against the *Swedes*. The *Poles* in his service could not be depended on, as they seemed to fluctuate in their principles. Even the *Saxons* consisted chiefly of new levies, made in a hurry, and without selection. Scarce any of the new-raised troops had ever handled a sword or firelock; and many of them were too old, too weak, and infirm to support the fatigues of a campaign. These were the reasons which induced *Augustus* to decline a battle: his courage, however, hath been called in question, though, in our opinion, very unjustly, as it would be rashness to stand the shock of the finest veteran army in *Europe* with such forces as we have described. It was this consideration which determined *Augustus* to cross the *Narew* on the approach of the *Swedish* monarch, and encamp at *Pultusk*, in which situation he was cannonaded

Leopold surrenders to the king of Sweden.

by the enemy from the opposite side of the river. Then he marched with the main body of his army to *Rawa*, with intention to cover a detachment sent to invest *Poznań*, in hopes of getting possession of the family and treasures of his rival *Stanislaus*; but this scheme was frustrated by the foresight and vigilance of the enemy. General *Brandt*, with six thousand *Saxons*, laid siege to the place; but as *Meyersfeldt* and two thousand *Swedes* had reinforced the garrison, he made but little progress; and indeed formed little more than a blockade, as cannon were wanted to mount the batteries.

Battle of Punitz, and the celebrated retreat of Schulenberg.

DISAPPOINTED in this design, *Augustus* divided his army into several corps; the main body of the *Saxons* being led by *Schulenberg*, who shaped his course towards *Poznań*, with intention to join the detachment under general *Brandt*. He was pursued by the king of *Sweden*, who imagined, if he could defeat or disperse the *Saxons*, that all the other corps must necessarily share their fortune; and followed so close by the cavalry, that every new day produced a fresh skirmish. He had already traversed three palatinates in the face of a superior enemy, and was now arrived at *Punitz* on the frontiers of *Silesia*, where he resolved to halt, and refresh his troops, because he imagined he had considerably gained the start of the enemy. Here he was attacked by the *Swedes*, led by *Charles* and *Stanislaus*; the first, eager to gain a victory over so renowned a general as *Schulenberg*; the other, ambitious of displaying his courage, and how well he merited the honour of governing a warlike people. It was a fair trial between horse and foot, the *Saxons* being intirely composed of infantry, while the bulk of the *Swedes* consisted of cavalry; and *Schulenberg* was the first who had evinced the impossibility of breaking a rampart of screwed bayonets, judiciously disposed. We have already described the order of this battle: it is sufficient to observe in this place, that the *Swedes* made five furious assaults, and were vigorously repulsed at every charge; notwithstanding which they made two more efforts, continuing the action, until night furnished the *Saxons* with an opportunity of drawing off in good order, to prevent his being attacked next morning by the strong reinforcement which had now joined the king of *Sweden*. Though he had received five wounds in the engagement, he continued his march with the utmost diligence to the *Oder*; and was actually arrived on the banks of that river without any considerable loss, notwithstanding the *Swedish* army hung the whole way on his rear, and used every possible means of harrassing his march, and bringing him to an engagement. The greatest difficulty still remained; and as *Schulenberg* had neither pontoons nor boats, *Charles* made sure either of forcing him to fight at a disadvantage, or to surrender at discretion: but he had not yet sufficiently experienced the ability of the *Saxon*, who issued immediate orders to prepare floats; and in the mean time, gave employment to the *Swedes* by parties, which he had disposed in the surrounding houses, mills, passes, and eminences. In this manner he crossed the *Oder* in the space of three hours, at the expence of no more than fifty men, who, after a desperate action, suffered themselves to be taken prisoners for the safety of the whole army. The retreat was glorious; *Charles* spoke of it with admiration, confessed the superior address of the *Saxons*, and ever after took delight in mentioning the transaction as the finest stroke of military skill which the annals of war afford.

Palatine of Lencicia seized by the royal party.

NOTWITHSTANDING this retreat spread the fame of *Schulenburg* all over *Europe*, it produced no other advantage to *Augustus* than merely saving a part of his troops; and it evidently shewed his inferiority, at the same time that it displayed the vast capacity and extensive genius of his principal officer. The fate of other parties was different, only because they were not under the direction of such an able commander: colonel *Goltz*, with a strong detachment, escorted twelve pieces of cannon, and some baggage: he was attacked by a *Swedish* corps, and after an obstinate conflict intirely defeated, with the loss of the whole convoy. However, a gleam of success still enlivened the gloomy fortune of *Augustus*: a party of his troops having seized the palatine of *Lencicia* in the neighbourhood of *Dantzick*, and carried him prisoner to *Marienburg*, which was deemed a considerable advantage, as that nobleman was one of the most enterprising, inveterate, and active enemies of the royal interest. The primate likewise narrowly escaped sharing the same fate, by taking refuge in *Dantzick*, which produced an altercation between the king and that city. *Augustus* not only complained of the protection afforded to his enemies, but insisted that the magistrates should oblige the primate and his adherents to quit the city, pay him the sum of money they had paid to the king of *Sweden*, and surrender the original treaty between that monarch and the city of *Dantzick*; but no answer was made to this demand, the magistrates well knowing that he had neither power to enforce his menaces, nor to protect them against the *Swedes*, if they complied.

A STILL greater acquisition than the seizure of the palatine of *Lencicia* immediately succeeded the arrival of *Augustus* at *Cracow*; to which place he began his march in the beginning of *November*, at the head of his cavalry. The wife and children of *Lubomirski* had been taken prisoners in that capital, and saved from destruction by the king's generosity,

- a city, which produced such an effect upon *Lubomirski*, that he heartily repented the opposition he had given to the government of so excellent a prince, and desired nothing so earnestly as a reconciliation with *Augustus*, which was happily effected by the mediation of the pope's nuncio. He threw himself at the feet of his sovereign, and was graciously received. His whole apology consisted in exclaiming, "Forgive me, Sire, I have been deluded." He immediately strengthened the royal party with a thousand men; and had a private audience of the king, in which were concerted measures for sustaining the efforts of the enemy; and in consequence *Augustus* set out for *Saxony* to make fresh levies, and procure supplies of money for the continuance of the war. It was during his residence in his hereditary dominions that the fruitless negotiations were set on foot, respecting a
- b peace with the king of *Sweden*, and the liberties of the princes *James* and *Constantine Sobieski*. Count *Strathman*, the imperial minister, laboured diligently to procure the enlargement of the princes; and count *Horn*, a prisoner on his parole, had made several journeys to the *Swedish* camp, and back again to *Augustus*, with mutual proposals for a treaty; but neither point could be established. The princes refused their liberty on the conditions proposed; and *Charles* dictated with too high a hand to think of having his terms accepted. However, the suspense in which *Augustus* was kept by the distant prospect of peace, was the reason why he deferred ratifying the treaty with the czar, made by the palatine of *Culm*, which he knew would be an unseasonable obstruction to his pacific designs. Indeed, his irresolution in this particular reflects no great honour either upon his
- c spirit or his policy; as he submitted to real indignities, and cutting mortifications, as well as the danger of losing a faithful powerful ally, merely to avoid giving offence to the *Swedish* monarch, and a few timid republicans, who, under pretence of preserving the quiet and tranquillity of the kingdom, suffered it to become little better than a conquered province of *Sweden*. *Augustus* had ministers at all the courts of *Europe*, who found means to excite a compassion, that however was attended with no other consequence. The emperor, by means of count *Zinzendorf*, had made some overtures to *Charles*; but they proved fruitless: and as for the maritime powers, they were too intent upon the business of the *Spanish* succession to pay much regard to a dispute between two northern kings which only affected them indirectly. The pontiff, indeed, stirred up by *Lagnasco*, that able negociator and
- d faithful minister of *Augustus*, had issued briefs, expressing with what horror the papacy beheld the measures concerted by the rebel *Poles* with an heretic prince against their lawful sovereign; but the prayers and denunciations of the pontificate were equally lost amidst the din of arms; and the spirits of all men were too violently inflamed to feel the influence of arguments, enforced only by the cold respect entertained for the head of the church. The primate and the bishop of *Posnania* were cited to appear in three months before the pontifical tribunal; and the latter, who was in custody of the nuncio, was actually sent thither: but the primate shut himself up in the *Lutheran* city of *Dantzick*, which he knew would protect him against the violent intentions of pope *Clement XI*. However, he refused to anoint *Stanislaus*, or even to assist at his coronation, chusing not
- e to carry his opposition too far against the pontifical decrees. This resolution he took in consequence of briefs sent to the papal nuncio, forbidding all the *Polish* prelates, under the canonical penalties, to assist at the coronation, and much less at the consecration of the new king. One of these was affixed upon the primate's gate in the night, and this he made a sufficient excuse for not complying with the request of the *Swedish* monarch, who was by no means satisfied with the apology, and therefore ordered a number of troops to be quartered in the lands belonging to the archbishop^a.
- f ALL this while *Augustus* remained in *Saxony*, where the preparations for continuing the war proceeded slowly; and possibly with design to wait the event of the czar *Peter's* hostilities in *Livonia*, and of the pope's intercession. Certain it is, that he was now sincerely disposed to an accommodation. He had sufficiently experienced the power of the *Swedish* monarch, and the affections of the *Poles*, to know how little able he was to resist the former, or heartily to engage the latter in his interest. He now, indeed, expected great things from *Lubomirski*, who appeared zealous to repair his former errors; but the ancient animosity which subsisted between him and some others of the friends of *Augustus*, had almost been attended with fatal consequences to the whole party. The council used their utmost endeavours to reconcile them; and they, at last, succeeded so far as to moderate the resentment which they could not extinguish. He had greater reason to entertain hopes from the spirited zeal of *Smielgiski*, who had dispersed the petty diet of *Siradia*, carried off the mareschal, and tore away the *universalia* of *Stanislaus*, fixed upon the gates of
- g *Warsaw*. Had the power of this nobleman been in any degree proportioned to his zeal, courage, and activity, *Augustus* would have found in him a most valuable adherent; but

Negotiations.

The pope sides with Augustus.

A. D. 1705.

^a PARTHEN. lib. v. FONT. cap. vi. VOLT. ubi supra.

now his violent spirit served only to inflame and irritate, without mortally injuring. He traversed the country at the head of a small party of free-booters, beat up the *Swedish* quarters, kept up a perpetual alarm, ravaged the lands, and carried off the cattle of the enemy.

A neutral party starts up.

THERE was a party in the republic that professed itself neutral, and resolved not to declare in favour either of *Augustus* or *Stanislaus*. At the head of this party was the palatine of *Potoski*. "We will submit, says he, to the decision of Providence, and obey that prince whom the Almighty shall think fit to render victorious. In the mean time, it is necessary for us to prevent the kingdom from becoming a prey to foreigners." The moderation of these sentiments, and the security which they seemed to imply, ensnared great numbers. The party increased daily, submitted to a chief, and gradually declined into principles opposite to those originally professed. Finding no safety in that middle course, from which so much was expected, *Potoski* became the partizan of *Stanislaus*; and the same person who declared against foreigners degenerated into the tool of the king of *Sweden*. The primate found it necessary to fall in with the views of a party which had the credit of being deemed moderate, neutral, and true to the interest of the republic. He had equally disobliged *Augustus*, *Charles*, *Stanislaus*, and the pontiff. The king of *Sweden* was the prince whom he dreaded, and it was necessary to pave the way to an accommodation with him, lest he should be provoked to punish his obstinacy. With this view he embraced the opinions of the *neutrals*, who still maintained the reputation of patriotism, capitulated under the notion of promoting the public good, and, by reducing his demands to matters of mere ceremony, easily made his peace with *Charles* and *Stanislaus*, without appearing either refractory to the pope, or the declared enemy of *Augustus*. This, indeed, was trimming the political ballance to a nicety; but it cost the primate his reputation. Neither party regarded or esteemed him, farther than he became necessary to their own designs; and the prelate despised their opinion, except when it affected his interest. Having secured a sufficient protection against the pontifical resentment, he granted his *universalia* to summon the diet of coronation for the eleventh day of *July*; but at the same time took care that it should be thought an act of necessity by the adherents of *Augustus*.

The elector of Brandenburg proposes his mediation.

IN this train stood affairs in *Poland*, when a variety of powers, and among them the king of *Prussia*, elector of *Brandenburg*, offered their mediation to accommodate the differences between the monarchs. That prince was apprehensive lest *Stanislaus*, placed firmly upon the throne of *Poland*, might, with the assistance of *Sweden*, revive the pretensions of the republic to *Prussia*, which he had lately erected into a kingdom. His proposal was to restore *Augustus* to the *Polish* throne, and to dismember the grand duchy of *Lithuania* in favour of *Stanislaus*; a scheme which he hoped would be agreeable to *Sweden*, as it secured the tranquillity of her frontier on the side of *Livonia*. But there was not a single court interested that did not raise objections; and the elector of *Saxony*, in particular, gave in a counter-project, whereby *Stanislaus* might be satisfied at the expence of the elector of *Brandenburg*. His design was to erect the two *Prussias*, ducal and royal, into a kingdom in favour of this prince, who, after tasting the pleasures of sovereignty, could not be supposed to retire with contentment to a private station. It could not be expected that the king of *Prussia* would accede to this proposal, and therefore he declined the mediation he had lately offered, and all hopes of a compromise again vanished, which gave room for opening the petty diets, in obedience to the primate's *universalia*. The palatine of *Cracow* was the first that assembled; and here deputies were chosen to attend the diet of election strongly attached to *Stanislaus*, and injunctions given them extremely unfavourable to the cause of *Augustus*. At the petty diet of *Sandomir*, the few of this monarch's friends who were present were borne down by opposition, and forced to yield to the strong adverse tide of faction. Resolutions, similar to those formed at *Cracow*, were preparing, when the active *Smiegiski* presented himself before *Opatow*, the place where the diet assembled, at the head of two thousand *Saxon* cavalry, an equal number of the troops of the confederacy, and a thousand of his own adherents. He seized upon the mareschal and several of the principal nobility, whom he committed to prison; but this, instead of dispiriting the party of *Stanislaus*, cooled the affections of the friends of *Augustus*, who regarded the violent proceedings of *Smiegiski* as a breach of the constitution, and a violation of the rights of every individual of the republic. The diet of *Sandomir* met a second time, while *Smiegiski* was taking measures to prevent the meeting of the provincial diet of *Warsaw*, and entered upon resolutions more detrimental to *Augustus* than those originally proposed. Even the palatine of *Culm* was disgusted with the conduct of this nobleman, whose credit he probably envied: he drew off from his attachment to *Augustus*, and suddenly forfeited all the reputation which he had acquired by his loyalty and faithful services. In a word, every thing concurred to render the expected diet of coronation as favourable to *Stanislaus* as could be wished.

a wished, when the motions of the *Russian* armies threatened to disconcert all the measures of the *Swedish* party, and to drive *Charles* with his whole army out of the territories of the republic.

THE duchy of *Courland* was at this time invaded by an army of twenty thousand *Russians* under the conduct of *Czeremetof*. *Mazeppa*, general of the *Cossacks*, afterwards the ally of the king of *Sweden*, was bringing up forty thousand of his troops; and the czar in person was preparing to enter *Lithuania*, at the head of a very numerous army. United with the *Saxons* and *Poles* in the interest of *Augustus*, these forces appeared sufficient to crush the *Swedes*, were victory to be determined by numbers; but the intrepidity of the latter disconcerted every scheme laid by the friends of the deposed monarch. *Czeremetof's* intention

Motions of the
Russians.

b was to intercept a body of troops under general *Lewenhaupt*, reduce *Courland*, and then lay siege to *Riga*, or blockade that city, just as circumstances directed. The plan was well laid; but the *Swede*, apprized of the design, recalled his detachments, marched with the utmost silence and rapidity towards *Mittau*, to which city the *Russians* were laying siege, and proposed attacking them in their lines; but the enemy had retired to their camp at *Nepten*. As he was now supported only by his cavalry, and had failed in the attempt to

The Russians
defeated.

c surprize the enemy, he marched to *Gernavert-Holf* to join his infantry; by which means his whole force exceeded eight thousand veterans, the flower of the *Swedish* army, who were left to guard the frontiers against the incursions of the *Russians* and *Cossacks*. Here he drew up in order of battle, in an advantageous situation, expecting he should be at-

d tacked, in which he was not disappointed. The *Russian* general advanced, and, ordering his cavalry to dismount, began a furious attack, sword in hand, upon the left wing, which being likewise flanked by the extension of the *Russian* line, was put in some disorder. Victory was on the point of declaring for *Czeremetof*, when the courage and well-disciplined valour of the *Swedish* forces tore it from him, fixed fortune on their own side, broke in upon the *Russian* first and second lines with astonishing fury, made terrible slaughter, gave the left wing leisure to rally, then formed into one body, and presented a solid impenetrable front to the *Russian* cavalry, that had orders to attack in the rear. This was one of the finest manœuvres ever performed in the heat of a battle: it raised the reputation of *Lewenhaupt*, and obliged all men to acknowledge, that the ability of the general,

e rather than the superior valour of the *Swedes*, occasioned the defeat of the *Russians*, who fought with unparalleled fury, and obstinately persisted in perishing, after all hopes of victory had been lost. Besides the fine disposition of the *Swedes*, the wounds received by both the *Russian* generals, *Czeremetof* and *Baver*, contributed greatly to the defeat: they were carried off the field, and no other officer was capable of discharging the whole duty of commander. After all, the victory was bloody: it cost the *Swedes* the lives of a multitude of brave officers and soldiers; and, instead of remaining in the field *Lewenhaupt* was forced to retire under the cannon of *Riga*. Upon the whole, this was the most obstinate action ever fought between the *Swedes* and *Russians*: it continued for the whole day, and, by its effects, fully evinced, that the latter wanted nothing but experience to become

f soldiers. This gave a check to the *Russians*, and dissipated those fears which had prevented the meeting of the diet. A few members, indeed obeyed the *universalia*; but the bulk pleaded their apprehension of falling into the hands of the *Russians* and *Saxons*. The former were now incapable of advancing; and it remained only to guard against the parties under *Schulenburg*, *Wiesnowiski*, and the active *Smiełgiski*: for which purpose two thousand *Swedes* were assembled in the neighbourhood of *Warsaw*; a force too slender to oppose the troops now collected by the *Saxon* general, whose army exceeded nine thousand men. The *Swedes* disputed the passage of the *Vistula* near *Zacrotzin*; but were too weak to make any effectual resistance: they were driven before the *Saxons*, and *Schulenburg* advanced within half a league of *Warsaw*, where he halted. On the thirty-first of *July* he advanced in order of battle towards the city, and was attacked a second time by the *Swedes*, who, upon receiving a slender reinforcement, determined to perish, or save *Warsaw*, and open a way to the sitting of the diet. Their chief strength was directed against the *Polish* wing, which gave way, and drew along with it the center, composed of *Saxons*. *Schulenburg* exerted his utmost ability in rallying his troops; but a panic had spread over the whole army, the rout became general, and this officer, who, with a handful of men, had foiled the utmost efforts of the king of *Sweden*, backed by an army flushed with victory, was now defeated by an inconsiderable corps of *Swedes*, commanded by an officer of no distinction.

g THE dispersion of *Schulenburg's* army removed all the fears of the deputies of the diet, who now came in crowds to *Warsaw*. By the sixth day of *August* the diet proceeded to business, and *Charles* and *Stanislaus* both attended in person. The mareschal ordered the act of

The Saxons
are dispersed.

Stanislaus is
crowned.

confederacy to be read, which had been prepared in the private conferences; and it was signed and confirmed by all the deputies, to the following purpose: "That king *Augustus* should be declared fallen from his regal estate and dignity, for having repeatedly violated the laws and constitution of the *Polish* government; that the confederacy of *Sandomir* should be declared illegal, and all the acts formed in that assembly, with their consequences, void and of no effect; that all the subjects of the republic should be discharged from their fealty to *Augustus*, and absolved the oaths of allegiance taken to his person; and lastly, that the election of *Stanislaus* should be confirmed, and the usual oaths made to him of allegiance, fidelity, and zeal." The next object was the discussion of a treaty set on foot with *Sweden*, in which no progress was made because it was objected, that a full and compleat diet was necessary to represent the body of the republic; though this very objection implied the illegality of all the other proceedings of the assembly. In effect, the diet broke up without finishing the business proposed; and the thirtieth of *September* was appointed for another meeting of the nuncios, to prepare the ceremony of the king's coronation. As the primate was confined by sickness to his bed, the archbishop of *Leopold* supplied his absence, and opened the diet with a speech, in which he thanked the members for the zeal they expressed for the liberties of the constitution. Next was renewed the negociation with *Sweden*; and a sketch of a treaty being read, the assembly proceeded to draw up the articles of the *pacta conventa*, to be proposed to *Stanislaus* the evening preceding his coronation. As nothing unreasonable was found in this convention, the terms were accepted, and sworn to with the usual formality; and on the third day of *October* the ceremony of coronation was performed with great solemnity. It is true that some of the customary forms were dispensed with in the proceedings of the diet; but this omission was justified by the necessity of affairs. For instance, the primate ought, by the laws of the land, to have consecrated the king; but he was confined with an ailment that terminated with his death a few days after, and the archbishop of *Leopold* was vested with all his authority; though some writers are of opinion, that he assumed this power without liberty from the primate, who, upon the whole, was averse to the consecration. In this case it would be difficult to determine how far the coronation of *Stanislaus* was legitimate. The laws required that this ceremony should be performed by the primate: the elected king has no power to bestow dignities before his coronation: it therefore follows, that neither he nor the republic could vest the archbishop of *Leopold* with this authority; and indeed this appears to be a defect in the *Polish* constitution, productive of many inconveniences. For, should the primate die during the inter-regnum, or before the coronation, there seems to be no means of legally establishing the election; but this is a point which we shall leave to be discussed by political casuists. With respect to the disposal of the archbishopric, and the primatical dignity, both *Augustus* and *Stanislaus* claimed this power, as well as the regal dignity, each conferring them upon their own particular favourites. As to *Augustus*, he bestowed the dignity of primate, and the annexed archdiocese of *Gnesna*, upon the bishop of *Cujavia*, conferring the vacant see of that prelate on the referendary of *Lithuania*.

This prince arrived at *Grodno* from *Saxony* in the month of *November*, and was received by several senators and noblemen of the first distinction; in favour of whom he constituted a new order, called the *White Eagle*, the installation being performed with all the magnificence that circumstances would admit. From hence he went to meet the czar, with whom he had an interview; at which all former treaties were renewed, and reciprocal marks of esteem and friendship were exchanged. *Peter* had just conquered the duchy of *Courland*; the citadel, garrisoned by a body of *Swedes*, having capitulated, after sustaining an assault for several days. He had projected a scheme for investing *Riga*; but the situation of *Poland* obliged him to alter his intention, and give orders for the *Russian* army to file off to the frontiers of *Lithuania*. *Mazeppa* had directions to follow with forty thousand *Cossacks*, with whom *Charles* and *Stanislaus* were supposed at that time to be in a secret treaty. As to the *Poles* in the service of *Augustus*, they were divided into a number of different parties, each of which pursued a particular object. *Smiegiski* with his forces laid siege to *Marienburg*, and stormed the place on the first day of *October*, putting the whole *Swedish* garrison to the sword, and plundering the city. This advantage was ballanced by an equivalent piece of good fortune on the side of the enemy: the palatine of *Kiow*, having fallen upon the diocese of *Warmia*, defeated a body of *Saxons*, and took four hundred prisoners, most of whom enlisted under the banners of *Stanislaus*, to avoid the rigour of imprisonment. Divers other skirmishes passed; but the only exploit worth recording was performed by *Mazeppa*, who, at the head of his *Cossacks*, forced the *Swedish* garrison in *Zamosse*, and then secured the place by a strong body of *Russians*.

Council at
Grodno.

In the mean while, *Augustus* summoned a great council to meet at *Grodno* in the month of *November*. It was composed of bishops, palatines, several nobility of distinction, and divers great officers of the crown. It was opened by the vice-chancellor, who submitted a variety

- a variety of points, respecting the state of affairs, to the deliberation of the assembly; recapitulated the principal occurrences of the reign of *Augustus*; and concluded with a warm panegyric on the policy, courage, patriotism, and other virtues of that monarch. The means for subsisting and reinforcing the army were particularly proposed; after which the mareschal of the confederacy represented, that as the treaties with the czar were of the last importance, it was necessary the palatine of *Culm*, who was the chief agent; should lay his negotiation before the council. We have already observed, that this nobleman expressed his distaste of the measures pursued by the party of *Augustus*, particularly the violences committed by *Smiełgiski*; and he now gave further indications of this disposition, by refusing to consent to the mareschal's proposal; insisting, that a general diet alone possessed the right of demanding the report required. However, he condescended to lay before the council some of the most material articles of the treaty; such as the czar's consent to restore the *Ukraine* to the republic; to assist him with troops and money during the continuance of the war; to grant toleration of conscience to the *Roman Catholics* dispersed in the several provinces of the *Russian* empire; and to surrender all the conquests of the next campaign to the republic, provided that a *Russian* commandant should be allowed to reside in all the places subdued by the combined arms. Upon this the *Russian* commissaries were admitted to clear up some necessary preliminaries to the ratification. The council demanded the immediate restitution of the *Ukraine*, the conquests in *Livonia*, and security for the payment of the crown-army: to which the deputies replied, that the czar consented to the first without restriction, and would admit *Polish* troops into the *Livonian* conquests; but that he had given no instructions upon the third head, therefore the means of paying the crown-forces must be submitted to his pleasure. Here this matter rested, the commissioners declaring their inability to proceed, without an extension of their instructions. Upon this observation the council proceeded to other business, continuing to act as the body representative of the republic. The motion was made to draw up an instrument, ratifying all the acts passed during the king's absence by the confederacy, abrogating all treaties, public acts, and transactions of the opposite faction, and specifying the penalties incurred by adhering to the laws made by the usurper and his contumacious adherents. The instrument contained eleven articles, one of which related to the payment of the army, and the administration of the treasury; another settled the public taxes and imposts; a third regulated the coinage, in such a manner as to facilitate commerce, and prove subservient to the conveniency of the poor; and, indeed, the methods proposed on this head were prudent, politic, and public-spirited, had the situation of the public admitted of their being enforced. A variety of other particulars, tending to promote the interest and establish the tranquility of *Poland*, were specified in this decree; after which the assembly broke up about the middle of *December*.

- WHILE *Augustus* held the council at *Grodno*, the opposite faction assembled at *Warsaw*, and were taking measures diametrically opposite. The treaty with *Sweden* was the main object: the council had delivered several sketches of the principal articles; but the *Swedish* commissioners always found something to add, or to amend. At last it was signed at *Blenia*, containing, in substance, a confirmation of the treaty of *Oliva*, except in some particulars specified in the treaty; a general amnesty to those who accepted of the gracious pardon offered by the king and republic, in three months; an agreement that no truce, armistice, or peace should take place with *Augustus*, except by joint consent, and on condition of his renouncing the crown of *Poland*, and indemnifying *Sweden* and the republic in the expences of the war; that all declarations, statutes, acts, and decrees, passed by *Augustus* and his adherents, should be void and of no effect; that no king of *Poland* should henceforward contract engagements either with foreign princes in his own person, or in behalf of the state, without the participation and concurrence of the republic. All alliances contracted by the republic, prejudicial to *Sweden*, were declared void: both states agreed in continuing the war against the czar of *Muscovy*, until full restitution was made of his conquests in each, and ample reparation of the injuries sustained by both kingdoms. No peace, convention, or agreement with that prince should be binding, that had not the consent of both nations: the king of *Sweden* stipulated to keep in arms until he had fully re-established the tranquility of the republic. The conquests made by his arms were to be restored to *Poland*, upon reimbursement of his expences. The *Swedes* were permitted to keep garrisons in all such places as they now or should hereafter conquer, during the course of the war: they should likewise be at liberty to recruit their forces in the provinces belonging to the republic: all the ports of the republic were to be open to the *Swedish* shipping: the family of *Sapieha* was to be restored to all its dignities: in a word, the whole tenor of the treaty tended to promote the interest of *Sweden*, in consideration of the assistance furnished by that kingdom to oppose *Augustus*. Nothing could be more dissonant than the spirit of the decrees passed at the two councils, and of the treaties

Council at
Warsaw.

Treaty with
Sweden.

treaties formed with the czar of *Muscovy* by the assembly at *Grodno*, and with *Charles XII.* by that at *Warsaw*. The friends of *Augustus* were sensible of this striking difference, and they invidiously took all opportunities of making the comparison. *Stanislaus* had the odium thrown upon him, than which nothing could be more unjust: they were laws established by a victorious prince, in a country which he held as a conquest, and governed as a province. *Charles* dictated to the assembly at *Warsaw*; and the king of *Poland* as well as the nobility gave their assent, merely because they wanted the power to maintain an opposition. His *Swedish* majesty was the whole support of the faction; and to have disobliged him, would have plunged the republic in worse circumstances than those she was desirous of avoiding. Though a toleration of religion was granted by the treaty of *Warsaw* to all Protestants within the dominions of the republic, the assembly sent it to *Rome* for the approbation of the pontiff, expatiating at the same time on the great care taken to admit of nothing prejudicial to the Catholic religion. However, the pope was highly displeased not only with this particular, but with the consecration of *Stanislaus*, contrary to his mandate; and the party of *Augustus* did not fail to take advantage of so popular a handle for clamour, invidiously publishing the article stipulated with the czar in behalf of the *Roman Catholics* of the *Russian* empire.

A. D. 1706.
The armies put
in motion.

In this manner was the winter consumed. The spirit of party, which the severity of the climate prevented from breaking out in hostilities, vented itself in the most rancorous and bitter revilings; and the most heinous crimes that malice could invent, were reciprocally charged upon each faction. The return of spring produced a revival of military operations, and by the latter end of *January* the troops on both sides were in motion. By the disposition of the winter quarters, *Charles* of *Sweden* was surrounded by *Russians*, *Saxons*, *Cossacks*, and the *Poles* in the service of *Augustus*. He knew his danger, and determined not to wait the junction of the enemies scattered forces. Accordingly he began his march towards the river *Bog*; drove the *Russians*, after a sharp action, from a bridge and post they possessed on this river; penetrated, amidst the rigour of a severe frost, to *Pultowsk*; defeated a body of the czar's troops in the neighbourhood of that place; and detached *Renschild* to oppose the *Saxons* and *Russians* in motion on the side of *Silesia*, while another detachment was directed to amuse the *Cossack* general towards the frontiers of *Volinia*. At the head of the main army *Charles* in person entered *Lithuania*, in hopes of surprizing *Augustus*; but in this expectation he was disappointed by the precaution of that monarch, who had cantoned thirteen *Saxon* regiments, and near an equal number of *Poles*, in such a manner that they could afford each other support, and be assembled upon very short notice. To this circumspection he now owed his safety; the march of the *Swedish* army was rapid, and the designs of *Charles* executed with great secrecy; but *Augustus*, having received advice that he was in motion, judged where the storm would fall, sent his baggage and military chest to a strong fortress in *Prussia*; and retired with the greater part of the forces towards *Warsaw*. The convoy, however, was met by a straggling party of *Swedes*; the detachment that escorted it was defeated, and the military chest and baggage plundered: but *Charles* was astonished, on his arrival at *Grodno*, to hear that *Augustus* was in the heart of *Poland*. Yet the expedition was not entirely useless to the *Swedish* monarch: he detached colonel *Ducker* in pursuit of three thousand *Russians*, who, retiring under the cannon of *Witau*, were at last forced to throw themselves into the town, which the *Swedes* pushed so vigorously, that they gained possession of the place, and of one hundred and fifty pieces of heavy cannon.

Augustus lays
a plan for dis-
persing part of
the *Swedish*
army.

It was not the sole design of *Augustus* to avoid an action with the king of *Sweden*, by his rapid march to *Warsaw*: he had another object in view, and the plan was so well concerted, that it could only have failed through the cowardice of his troops, and that fatality which attended all his projects. He proposed to enclose *Renschild* between him and the troops expected from *Saxony*, by which he depended on an easy victory, which would have deprived the king of *Sweden* of near half his army, and given an immediate turn to the face of affairs. The *Saxons* were conducted by *Schulenburg*: the whole army, in march from the electorate, amounted to sixteen thousand men; but unfortunately not a third were disciplined soldiers. Near four thousand were *Russians*; almost two thousand were *French*, *Swiss*, and *Bavarians*; and about three thousand five hundred men were newly enlisted in the electoral dominions. These were by no means troops to oppose to the *Swedish* veterans, led by so experienced a general as *Renschild*; but *Augustus* relied upon his superiority, his vigilance, and the known approved ability of *Schulenburg*, who, though almost always defeated, was daily increasing in reputation. This general crossed the *Oder* in three columns; upon which the *Swede* advanced with his whole army towards *Frauenstadt* to obstruct him, and give battle, if the opportunity offered. The situation of the roads was such, that *Schulenburg* could not avoid an action; and, indeed, he had the express orders of *Augustus* to come to an engagement, that prince relying more than

a he ought upon the courage of his troops, and the infallibility of the plan formed of attacking *Renschild* in the rear with the forces under his own command, upon the supposition that the *Saxons* could advance faster than upon trial was found practicable. In the neighbourhood of *Frauenstadt* the two armies were in fight; and *Schulenburg* drew up in a manner that was greatly admired by the *Swede*, and celebrated by all the great officers of *Europe*; but his troops would not execute the order he issued, or follow the plan he concerted. On the first attack they broke their ranks, and fell in confusion. On the left, a whole battalion of *Russians* deserted their post, before they had sustained the first fire, and only the troops on the right performed any part of their duty. Here the battle raged with obstinacy, but it was not possible for a few regiments long to withstand the whole weight of the *Swedish* army. They were attacked in front, flank, and rear, reduced to an inconsiderable number, and then totally defeated. Never had the genius of *Schulenburg* shone brighter than in this unfortunate action: he was every where present, admonishing, praying, menacing, and fighting; but finding his endeavours vain to recal the fugitives, he applied his whole attention to the brave regiments who stood their ground. These he modelled into a thousand different shapes and situations, altering their disposition just as their numbers happened to be reduced, according to the vigour with which the enemy pressed, the nature of the ground, or the advantage which the opportunity of the instant yielded. Nothing escaped his penetrating eye; and the ability of this handful of men, accustomed to the orders of their general, was very extraordinary. Every evolution of the parade was performed with the utmost composure, while a perpetual fire was kept in platoons, or otherwise, as the occasion required. At length they sunk under numbers and fatigue: a fruitless effort was made to cut a way through the main body of the *Swedes*; but this attempt failing, every man trusted to his good fortune and agility. Seven thousand men were killed in the field and pursuit, near as many were taken prisoners, and of *Schulenburg's* whole army only the shattered remains of four old regiments, and the body of four thousand *Russians* that fled in the beginning of the battle, remained. Such was the issue of a plan, upon which *Augustus* relied so much; a plan that miscarried through the cowardice of the troops, and the impossibility of timing things so exactly as that two distant armies should encounter an enemy at an appointed time and place, without allowing for those accidents which necessarily attend great bodies of men upon a long march.

Schulenburg is defeated.

In fact, *Augustus* had not yet stirred from the castle of *Warsaw* when the news arrived of the defeat, which overwhelmed the court in despair. Even the soul of *Augustus*, accustomed to struggle with adversity, could hardly support this fresh stroke of misfortune. Immediately he summoned a great council, where it was resolved he should quit *Warsaw*, and advance to *Lowitz* with the troops brought from *Lithuania*. Here he was joined by some *German* regiments; and, collecting his utmost force, advanced to give *Renschild* battle; after he had lost the opportunity; but *Schulenburg* prevented his following a resolution that would seem to be dictated by despair. This general had joined the king at *Pilka* with a few battalions, which he had formed out of the remains of his army; and so fully demonstrated the superiority of the *Swedish* forces in courage and discipline, together with the fatal consequences of a defeat, and the inutility of a victory in the present circumstances, that *Augustus* approved his advice, sent him to make new levies in *Saxony*, to proceed according to martial law against all who had misbehaved in the late action, and set out himself for *Cracow*. A council was called, and *Augustus* was taking the most vigorous measures, when the king of *Sweden*, tired of running over *Poland*, and conquering provinces for *Stanislaus* that revolted next day, formed the resolution of effectually crushing his enemy by seizing upon the electorate of *Saxony*, from whence the means of supporting the war had hitherto been drawn. The protection which the diet of the empire offered to *Saxony* had no effect on *Charles*: he knew that the resolutions of a body so vast, composed of a variety of discordant members, must necessarily be slow; and imagined, with great reason, that he might accomplish all his purposes before the princes of the *Germanic* body could come to any resolution. Taking possession of *Saxony* was laying the ax to the root, entirely disarming his enemy, and filling his own coffers with the treasures of an electorate, which, though grievously oppressed by a tedious war, still afforded invaluable spoils to a conqueror. This resolution he pursued, and thereby plunged *Augustus* in greater perplexity than he had hitherto experienced. Relief was cut off at the source; and, as if this were insufficient to fill up the measure of the deposed monarch's misfortunes, he found himself deserted by those *Poles* in whose fidelity he placed the utmost confidence. Thus he was on the point of losing not only a crown, which he obtained through seas of trouble, blood, and treasure, but was actually stripped of his paternal dominions, already exhausted and impoverished in supporting the ambition of the sovereign, and raising him to a dignity that could never reflect a single ray of honour or advantage upon the electorate.

Augustus is reduced to great necessity.

CHARLES, not satisfied with raising a private nobleman to succeed the monarch he had dethroned in *Poland*, entertained likewise some thoughts of making a new elector, and placing the hereditary prince of *Saxony* on the electoral throne of his father. It was this, and the insupportable contributions levied by the *Swedes* upon his unfortunate subjects, that reduced *Augustus* at length to have recourse to the clemency of his enemy, writing with his own hand a letter to *Charles*, in which he requested a cessation of hostilities, that a christian and equitable peace might be established. We have seen the steps by which this negotiation was conducted. Sufficient it is to observe in this place, that the *Saxon* ministers, secretly charged with the commission, had discretionary powers; and that either dread of the ferocious *Swede*, or the influence of his money, were supposed to have powerfully operated on their minds, and shook their fidelity to *Augustus*. *Imhoff* and *Pfingsten* found *Charles* at *Alt Ransstadt*; and signed such a peace as they durst not acknowledge to their sovereign. They filled up one of the blanks signed by *Augustus* with such articles as the king of *Sweden* thought proper to dictate; and it was given out, that count *Piper* shewed the *Saxon* envoys such original papers as left them no room to doubt that their master was betrayed: but the world in general believed this was a contrivance to palliate their own conduct, by shewing the necessity they were under of signing any conditions. Be this as it may, certain it is, that *Augustus* was under the necessity of ratifying the treaty, even after obtaining a victory, which, by the malignity of his fortune, could prove of no service to his affairs. The *Russians* were his only support, and his army being now united with that of prince *Menzikoff*, he dreaded the resentment of the czar, in case the treaty with *Charles* should transpire. A very peculiar perplexity arose from *Menzikoff's* pressing instances to come to an engagement with the *Swedish* general *Meyerfeldt*. *Augustus* was sensible, that, if he complied, *Charles* would deem it an infraction of the treaty, revenge it upon *Saxony*, and perhaps carry his resentment to the last extremities. On the other hand, his refusal would create suspicions in the *Muscovite* general, and perhaps endanger the person of *Augustus*. Both the *Swedish* monarch and the *Russian* general were fierce, haughty, untractable, and impatient: the least suspicion on either side might prove fatal to himself or his subjects. *Augustus*, therefore, from motives of self preservation, suffered himself to be drawn into the battle of *Kalisch* by the pressing instances of *Menzikoff*, and rather to run the hazard of having *Saxony* made the scene of the *Swede's* revenge, than his person to be seized by the suspicious *Muscovite*. *Meyerfeldt* was defeated; and *Augustus*, after having the honour to drive his rival *Stanislaus* out of the field, and taking the *Swedish* general prisoner, was forced to apologize in the most abject manner to *Charles*. In vain did he practise every expedient to avoid ratifying the shameful treaty, by which he consented to renounce a crown; fruitless were his endeavours to soften the severity, and move the inflexibility of the headstrong *Swede*: after entering *Warsaw* in triumph, after assisting at *Te Deum* and public rejoicings for his victory, he was forced to repair to *Saxony*, to resign his diadem, and sustain divers mortifications from his inveterate enemy. Here it was that he put the last hand to a treaty, which we shall here present to the reader at more length than he has seen it in our *History of Sweden*.

Augustus, with the assistance of prince Menzikoff, gains a victory and is forced to renounce the crown of Poland.

Treaty of Alt-Ransstadt.

THE treaty of *Alt-Ransstadt* imported, that a perpetual peace and amity should subsist between *Charles* king of *Sweden*, *Stanislaus* king of *Poland*, and *Augustus* king-elect of *Saxony*, and their several states and dominions: that oblivion and compensation should take place on all sides: that *Augustus* should renounce all his rights to the crown and dominions of *Poland*; still, however, retaining the appellation of king, but without either the title or arms of *Poland*: that the king-elect should notify his abdication by a formal diploma, absolve the *Poles* from the oath taken to his person, and in the most explicit terms acknowledge *Stanislaus* the legitimate sovereign of the republic; promising at the same time, in the most solemn terms, never to set on foot any intrigues, or countenance the disobedience or rebellion of his subjects against that monarch: that he should renounce all alliances contrary to the interest of *Sweden*, especially that with *Muscovy*, and recall all the *Saxon* troops in the *Russian* service: that he should cancel all decrees, treaties, and public contracts or declarations, made by his party in the name of the republic, if they were found contrary to the import and spirit of the present treaty: that *Stanislaus* should have power either to confirm or revoke the dignities granted by *Augustus* since the year one thousand seven hundred and four: that *Augustus* should, immediately after the ratification, restore the crown jewels, and archives of the kingdom, which were carried into *Saxony*: that the princes *James* and *Constantine Sobieski* should be set at liberty, the elector clearing off immediately the sum of money due to the former: that all *Poles* and *Lithuanians* detained prisoners by *Augustus*, should be set at liberty, without ransom; and that the elector should use his influence with the pontiff to procure the enlargement of the bishop of *Poznan*: that the *Swedish* and *Saxon* prisoners should be mutually released, without ransom, except those who had contracted debts; who, in that case, were to be detained

- a detained until the creditors were satisfied: that all traitors and deserters from *Sweden*, protected in *Saxony*, should be delivered up to his *Swedish* majesty, particularly *John Reinold Patkul*: that all the *Russians* in *Saxony* should be surrendered prisoners of war to his *Swedish* majesty: that all the cannon and military trophies taken from the *Swedes* should be restored: that the sentence passed against colonel *Gortz*, now in the service of the king of *Sweden*, should be annulled: that the *Swedish* army should have quarters in the electorate: that all the towns and castles held by *Augustus* in *Poland*, should be surrendered to commissaries appointed by king *Stanislaus*: that the towns of *Leipsick* and *Wirtemberg* should, in a similar manner, be evacuated by the *Swedish* garrisons: that a cessation of hostilities in *Saxony* should commence from the signing of the treaty, and in *Poland* three weeks after:
- b that the king of *Sweden* and the king-elect, as members of the *Germanic* body, should act jointly for the conservation of religion, as established by the treaties of *Munster* and *Osnaburg*: that no change of religion should be admitted in *Saxony* or *Lusatia*; and that the *Roman Catholics* should be denied churches, schools, academies, colleges, and monasteries within these several districts. The kings of *Sweden* and *Poland* engaged to support *Augustus*, should he be attacked by the czar on account of the present treaty; and they promised likewise to provide for his interest in any peace which they might happen to make with *Muscovy*. Lastly, it was stipulated, that the ratifications should be exchanged in six weeks.

- c THOSE who favour the character of *Augustus*, affirm that he was deluded into this monstrous treaty by the artifice of *Pfingsten*, who had concealed particulars from him until his arrival in *Saxony*; and that, once being in the power of the *Swedish* monarch, he could refuse nothing that was proposed, without subjecting his person and dominions to the vengeance of an incensed barbarian. Even the character of *Charles* had been misrepresented to him; and, instead of that complacency and affability which he was made to expect, *Augustus* found him proud, fierce, obdurate, and inflexible. An interview passed between the monarchs at *Guttersdorf*, that proved extremely mortifying to *Augustus*. Here the ratifications were exchanged, and *Charles* assumed such an air of superiority as was scarce supportable by a prince of spirit. Nor did the humiliating conditions of the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt* sufficiently gratify the insolence of *Charles*: he soon after required that
- d *Augustus* should write, with his own hand, a letter of congratulation to *Stanislaus* upon his accession to the throne of *Poland*. How could he refuse, in his unfortunate circumstances? He complied, and by the stile of his epistle, evinced his regret, and the violence offered to his inclinations. Only the plea of necessity can exculpate him for his condescension; and even that may be deemed insufficient to rescue his character from the imputation of pusillanimity. He had formally renounced a crown that had cost him so dear; he had abandoned the interest of his only ally, broke all his engagements, even surrendered the minister of his friend, to suffer the most ignominious and excruciating punishment; and now, in compliance to the author of all these blemishes on his reputation, he wrote a letter of compliment to the usurper of his regal dignity and dominions, at the same time notifying the ratification of that disgraceful treaty, by which he established *Stanislaus* upon his own throne (A).
- e

Augustus has an interview with the king of Sweden.

- f AFTER a few insincere compliments had passed by letters, the princes had an interview, which indeed afforded great matter of triumph to *Charles*, to see his court honoured with the presence of two great monarchs, dependent on his smiles and frowns, whom he could render happy or wretched at pleasure. Several difficulties arose about the execution of the treaty, and *Charles* offered to refer all difficulties to be adjusted by commissaries. Accordingly a negotiation was set on foot, and the *Swedes* insisted upon the rigorous performance of every single article, while the *Saxons* enforced every argument of reason and passion to procure a mitigation. What respected the crown-jewels and archives gave the most trouble. The *Swedish* commissaries insisted upon immediate restitution; and the *Saxons*

(A) As this letter is curious, we shall gratify the reader with it at full length.

"Sire and Brother,

"If we have not answered your majesty's letter sooner, it was because we thought the occasion unseasonable for entering upon an epistolary correspondence: however, to satisfy the king of *Sweden*, and that he may not think us difficult in complying with his demands, we give you joy upon your accession to the crown; and we hope that your majesty will find the subjects of your kingdom more faithful and obedient than those we left there. The whole world will agree with us in this particular, that, for all our favours, we have had no return but ingratitude; and that most of the persons on whom we

"have most liberally shed our bounty, have been industrious only in forming cabals against us, with the view of promoting our ruin. We heartily wish your majesty may not be exposed to similar events, recommending you to the Divine Protection. — Given at Dresden this eighth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and seven.

"Sire and brother,

"Your good brother and neighbour,

"*Augustus R.*"

It would seem, from this letter, that *Stanislaus* had wrote to *Augustus*, signifying his accession; and this latter prince's acknowledgment that he returned an answer only in obedience to the king of *Sweden*, is no argument of his fortitude.

pleaded

pleaded that *Stanislaus* must first be acknowledged by the whole nation, lest, if he should happen to be deposed, *Augustus* might then be accountable to the republic. There was a strong appearance of equity in the allegation; nevertheless, the *Saxons* were forced to give it up, and comply to a tittle with the demands of the *Swedes*.

To the restitution of the jewels, *Charles* now added another demand, which was likewise granted. An instrument of his abdication, and the act of pardon for all who had taken up arms against him, were required; and the unfortunate prince yielded this point, as he had done every other. Accordingly they were published in the several palatinates, from a presumption that such a measure would induce the nobility the more readily to acknowledge *Stanislaus*; yet did it serve no other purpose than that of augmenting the confusion of the republic, occasioned by the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, and the departure of *Augustus* from *Poland*. Those who were still attached to his fortune could not resolve how to act; his solemn abdication left them no pretence for continuing the war, and their submission to *Stanislaus* would probably be attended with the loss of those employments bestowed on them by *Augustus*. The only remaining resource was the czar, who offered them his protection, and was now entering upon the most vigorous preparations for invading *Poland*, and disputing the conquests of *Charles* and election of *Stanislaus*. *Peter* had remonstrated, in the most lively terms, against the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*: every court in *Europe* was filled with his complaints against *Augustus*; and indeed the maritime powers not only expressed their surprize at the treaty, but their uneasiness at the consequences of it, and of *Charles's* long residence in *Saxony*, which they apprehended might threaten a storm to the empire. When the czar, however, saw a copy of the treaty, his resentment was disarmed, and the same breast that lately glowed with indignation now melted into compassion. He not only forgave *Augustus* the breach of his engagements, which was already sufficiently punished, but determined to pour in his vengeance on *Charles*, as the author of the infidelity of his ally, and to make all possible advantage of the divided sentiments and irresolution of the *Polish* nation. It could not escape *Peter's* sagacity that he would be hard pressed by *Charles*, as soon as he had settled his affairs in *Germany*; but he relied greatly upon the disposition of the republic, her resentment of the arbitrary manner in which the *Swedes* had dictated, her indignation at seeing her country ruined, impoverished, and enslaved by a foreign power, and the interest which such a variety of individuals had to oppose *Stanislaus*; a king not established by the states, or tied down by the laws of the constitution; but settled upon the throne, and governing rather as the viceroy of *Sweden* than the sovereign of *Poland*. Besides, he was encouraged by certain neighbouring powers, who promised him assistance as soon as their peculiar circumstances would admit. It was upon this foundation that he made vast preparations during the whole winter.

The czar's sentiments of the treaty.

A. D. 1707.

MENZIKOFF had the command of the *Russian* army and auxiliaries in *Poland* since the departure of *Augustus* to *Saxony*. By his prudence and activity he had assembled a very considerable force, and now was taking measures in conjunction with the primate, lately bishop of *Cujavia*, to alienate the minds of the *Polish* nation from the new sovereign. The primate-archbishop owed his elevation to *Augustus*, and he was confirmed in the dignity by the pontiff; but as the archbishopric of *Gnesna* was likewise claimed by an adherent of *Stanislaus*, his power rested solely upon the success of *Augustus*; and he resolved to exert his utmost authority in maintaining that prince upon a throne which he had solemnly renounced. *Menzikoff* was sensible that his master was equally interested in disputing the validity of the treaty of *Ranstadt*, and he closed in with the primate in concerting measures which set that treaty at nought, and might be the means of restoring *Augustus*. The primate published his writs for convoking a general council of the senators at *Leopold*, and the appearance of nobility at this assembly greatly exceeded expectation. The result was to renew and confirm the association formed at *Sandomir*, and to pass the subsequent resolutions: that the primate should publish his *universalia* for a general diet at *Lublin* in the month of *May* following; that the petty diets should also be summoned with the accustomed formality; that all persons engaged in the opposite party should be exhorted to return to their duty, and to unite for the common defence; that circular letters should be dispatched to the neighbouring powers, to acquaint them with the rights and liberties of the republic, to request they would only acknowledge that sovereign who should be raised to the supreme dignity by the voice of the people; and that they would not bestow the title of king upon any one who had usurped that authority, or been violently thrust into it by a foreign power.

A council held at Leopold.

SUCH resolutions evinced that *Augustus* was not wholly destitute of friends in *Poland*; but they tended nothing to the advancement of his interest: on the contrary, they suggested to the party of *Stanislaus* the necessity of uniting more closely; and the czar had too much penetration not to be offended at proceedings so vain, ostentatious, and frivolous. He perceived the impossibility of holding a diet, as had been resolved by the council;

- a council; and should it meet, no other purpose could be answered by it than deferring military operations, which must at last cut the knot of controversy, too hard to be untied by all the refinement and art of policy. Already several palatines declared, that it was not practicable to form any salutary unanimous laws, while the kingdom was in a ferment of intestine commotion; and the party, in general, demanded the subsidies which the czar had given them reason to expect; a demand which he answered by desiring that the troops to be furnished as an equivalent might be raised. As the return of *Charles* and *Stanislaus* from *Saxony* would effect an entire change in the face of affairs, he laboured to accelerate the measures of the *Poles*, and in some respect acted independent of the republic, disposing his forces in such a manner as to hold *Poland* and *Lithuania* in a kind of friendly subjection.
- b Large detachments of *Russians* entered *Prussia*, with intention of dislodging the *Swedes* from *Thorn*, and divers other places which they possessed in that province. It was likewise concerted that the czar's troops should invade *Pomerania*; but the king of *Prussia*'s refusal to grant a passage broke the project. *Peter*'s great favourite prince *Menzikoff*, though active and vigilant in promoting the czar's interest, had however the misfortune to alienate the minds of several of the adherents of *Augustus*, by a supercilious haughty carriage. *Smielgiski* in particular, the bravest nobleman of the party, expressed the keenest resentment at some indignities which he sustained. He had been so fortunate as to seize upon the palatine of *Kiow* and his whole family, of which success he gave the *Russian* immediate notice; but *Menzikoff*, instead of thanking him for his diligence, claimed the honour to himself of sending the prisoners to the czar, and arrogantly ordered *Smielgiski* to surrender them to him without delay, which so irritated the spirited starost, that he immediately set the palatine at liberty, seized all the *Russians* in his little corps, acknowledged *Stanislaus*, and became the avowed enemy of the *Russians*, and of *Augustus*. He besides exerted such vigilance in calling in his detachments and levying new forces, that he saw himself in a condition to keep the field without any dread of *Menzikoff*'s resentment. The czar lamented the loss; he was sensible to what cause it ought to be ascribed; he endeavoured to moderate the pride of his favourite, and in the mean time varnished over the transaction by imputing it to the fickleness and perfidy of *Smielgiski*: however, the example of this starost would seem to have made a deep impression on the minds of several of the *Polish* nobility, who either actually received affronts from *Menzikoff*, or made that a pretence for sharing the favours of *Stanislaus* and the king of *Sweden*. Prince *Wiesnowski* had hitherto supported the cause of *Augustus*, and fought at the head of an army composed equally of *Poles* and *Russians*. Now he served under *Menzikoff*, and it is probable that his pride was hurt by his subordinate station. Accordingly he struck up an agreement with the *Swedes*, had the promise of being raised to the dignity of grand-general of *Lithuania* after *Sapieha*, and joined *Lewenhaupt* with all the troops under his command. Several other noblemen at the same time changed their principles, and *Sinielski* in particular, sword-bearer of *Lithuania*, deserted the *Russians*, and carried off with him a large sum of money, intended for the payment of the army.
- c SUCH were the difficulties which the czar of *Muscovy* had to encounter in his scheme of restoring *Augustus* to the throne of *Poland*. It is the opinion of some writers that, foreseeing the impossibility of giving effectual assistance to this unfortunate prince, and not at all disposed to acknowledge *Stanislaus*, his desire was that a king should be elected with whom he might concert measures with less trouble than with a council disagreeing with him and with each other. This they saw he laboured to bring about with the diet now assembled at *Lublin*; but nothing could be obtained of the deputies besides complaints, which they were directed to make from the palatinates and towns groaning under the load of oppression sustained from all parties; but chiefly from the *Russian* army, and especially the *Calmucks* and other irregulars. The czar's commissioners, and it is reported himself in disguise, endeavoured to give the *Poles* all possible satisfaction on this head; but such a variety of embarrassments arose, that the diet was frequently on the point of breaking up without coming to a single resolution. In the end however it was agreed, that an inter-regnum should be published, although *Augustus* had not regularly notified his abdication to the republic. The public declaration of a vacancy necessarily produced candidates; four appeared, but as their ambition proved unsuccessful, they were scarce ever heard of as competitors for the crown after their first nomination. Indeed, it would appear from the long letters which the czar sent to the queen of *Great Britain* and the states-general, that he was extremely serious in the design of procuring a new election, and full of indignation against *Augustus*, who he complained had sacrificed him to the common enemy, and given up his envoy *Patkul*, contrary to the most acknowledged laws of nations; but the sudden change of circumstances left him no opportunity of pursuing the plan he had laid down of equally punishing the arrogance of *Charles*, and the pusillanimity of *Augustus*.
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Smielgiski and others deserted the party of Augustus.

A. D. 1708. ALL this while *Poland* was a scene of the most deplorable distress, the *Russians* levying a most exorbitant contributions on the adherents of *Stanislaus* and the *Swedish* faction, while they retaliated upon the nobility and gentry in the interest of the czar. The former set fire to the city of *Lissa*, in the palatinate of *Posnania*, one of the finest towns in *Poland*, which had frequently redeemed itself from this treatment, and being at last quite exhausted and impoverished, was laid in ashes. *Peter* treated *Poland* as a conquered country, and displayed his taste at the expence of justice and the *Polish* nobility, whose wrought plate, pictures, statues, and other valuable effects and curiosities he ordered without scruple to be sent to embellish his capital. The return however of *Stanislaus* from *Saxony* gave a check to the ravages of the *Russians*, which the czar was told by some of his *Polish* friends would inevitably alienate the minds of the people, and constrain them even against their inclination and interest to join the *Swedes*. He was still more disconcerted with the arrival of the king of *Sweden*, who had rendered himself so terrible to the *Russians*, that his presence alone struck more consternation than a whole army. The designs carrying on by the czar and confederates were broke and disconcerted; irresolution and distrust insinuated themselves into their assemblies; nothing was transacted, and the czar was forced to collect his scattered troops, to retire *Warsaw*, and keep the *Vistula* between him and the enemy. *Siniowski* offered to join him with the confederate army; but the czar refused the aid of auxiliaries, whose fidelity he distrusted, and would not even admit the *Poles* to take post in the rear of his troops, lest they should follow the example of *Smielgiski* and *Wiesnowski*, upon some critical occasion. But as if the misfortunes of *Poland* were not compleat with the ravages of two hostile armies, a pestilential disease and famine appeared in the capital, and several of the great cities, sweeping off incredible multitudes of the poor, who were found to be more susceptible of the contagion, in consequence of their nature of living. Pressed by hunger, whole families subsisted upon the putrid flesh of quadrupeds that perished through want of forage. The calamity was dreadful, and raged with extreme fury during the heat of summer, gradually yielding to the approach of the cold season, before which it at length entirely vanished.

Battle of Holowitz.

It was in the month of *November* that *Charles*, at the head of the *Swedish* forces, began his march towards the frontiers of *Poland*. Every movement of his forces evinced how dreadful he appeared to the *Russians*, who retired in just the same proportion he advanced. They abandoned their posts in *Lithuania*, while he advanced to *Grodno*. The troops assembled about that city could not be encouraged by the czar's presence to stand their ground: he had come from *Warsaw* to persuade them to dispute the enemy's approach; but he was now forced to share in the disgrace of a precipitate flight, without exchanging a single blow. They filed off in columns, and great numbers of stragglers fell into the hands of the *Swedes*, before the *Russian* army reached *Mobilow* on the *Boristhenes*, where it intrenched in a situation thought inaccessible; but nothing could resist the *Swedish* army, refreshed and vigorous with long ease, flushed with victory, enriched with the treasures of *Saxony*, and headed by a prince deemed invincible. *Charles* crossed the *Boristhenes* at a place called *Holowitz*, and immediately attacked the *Russian* intrenchments, where he was opposed by the generals *Czeremetoff* and *Menzikoff* in person, with several battalions and the bulk of the *Russian* cavalry. They sustained the shock with unexpected firmness, and the engagement lasted for the space of four hours with unparalleled fury. At length the *Russian* front line was broke, upon which *Czeremetoff* drew off his forces to the great intrenchment in the rear, after having near four thousand men killed on the field of battle, and near an equal number wounded and taken prisoners; an advantage which the *Swedes* purchased with the price of much bloodshed. About midnight he decamped silently, abandoning *Mobilow*, a place of considerable strength, rather than running the hazard of exposing the army under his command, and made not the smallest halt to refresh the troops until he arrived within fourteen leagues of *Smolensko*. Here it was that the czar joined his army, while *Charles* pursued, determining to push his way to the capital of *Russia*, and dictate there as he had done at *Cracow* and *Dresden*; a pleasing dream and flattering illusion which soon vanished, and from the summit of prosperity plunged him headlong to the very abyss of misfortune.

THE resolution which *Charles* had formed of penetrating into *Russia* was no way favourable to the peculiar circumstances of *Stanislaus*. He had delivered him from the main army of the *Russians*, but still there remained a sufficient strength to exercise the utmost courage and ability of the new monarch. *Siniowski*, inflexible to all the proposals that had been made, and unshaken by the suspicions of his fidelity entertained by the czar, was at the head of a body of confederate forces. This chief rather rejoiced at the defeat of the *Russians*, as it occasioned the removal of the *Swedes*; all he wanted was to gain time, which would necessarily acquire strength. He had taken up his quarters in *Sandomir*, while *Stanislaus* was busied in *Lithuania*; several overtures of agreement were made to him by Mr.

a Mr. Bonat the French minister; but they were shifted off, in expectation that some sudden turn of fortune would enable him to stipulate better conditions. He was too much a politician not to discover that the victories gained by the Swedish monarch would prove his destruction; and that the repeated losses of the czar, which he could so easily repair, would in the issue teach him to beat his conquerors, after they were reduced by fatigue, famine, and perpetual skirmishing. For these reasons he kept aloof, and received from time to time such intelligence from the czar, as confirmed him in his opinion. Of this nature was the news of the defeat at *Lefno*, which the Russians magnified greatly beyond truth, while the Swedes denied that it was of half the consequence which it really proved.

b WHEN Charles had resolved to enter the Ukraine, he sent orders to general *Lewenhaupt*, at that time in *Livonia*, to join him with a convoy of cloaths, provision, and ammunition for the army. *Lewenhaupt* made ample provision of these necessities, and advanced with fifteen thousand men to the neighbourhood of the palatinate of *Smolensko*, when he was unexpectedly attacked by the czar at the village *Lefno*. The action was obstinate and bloody, terminating at length to the advantage of the Russians, who had such a superiority in numbers as rendered it impossible for the enemy to resist. However *Lewenhaupt* made good his retreat, and joined the king in his camp; notwithstanding Peter very politicly boasted as if he had obtained a complete victory, in order to inspire his Polish allies with courage, and to efface gradually those dreadful notions which his soldiers entertained of the valour and strength of the Swedes. The truth is, this affair ought more than c ever to have confirmed the Russians in their opinion: *Lewenhaupt* had for three successive days resisted the whole strength of the czar, and at length joined the Swedish army unconquered, after having slain thirty thousand of his enemies; but it was enough for Peter that he had destroyed the fruits of the expedition, deprived the Swedish army of the cloaths and other necessities, of which they were in the utmost want, and reduced the invincible king to the very brink of destruction, without hazarding a general action, in which he knew he must be worsted, until the strength and vigour of the enemy were broke with fatigue, hunger, cold, and disease. It was not long after this action with *Lewenhaupt* that the famous battle of *Pultowa* happened; an event which we have already explicitly d Poland. King of Sweden defeated.

S E C T. X.

Containing the History of Poland, to the Death of Augustus.

AUGUSTUS and STANISLAUS.

AUGUSTUS always regarded the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt* as a compulsive act, that was no longer binding than while the king of Sweden could enforce the observance. Augustus and Stanislaus. These were sentiments which the czar assiduously cherished; for which purpose he sent envoys secretly to *Dresden*, to concert the plan of a treaty with the deposed king, and proper measures for his re-ascending the throne of Poland. *Siniowski* was privy to the intrigue, and promised to assist the scheme that was laid, with the whole force of the confederate army; but Augustus, rendered wary by sad experience, and instructed by misfortune, embraced with the utmost caution measures which might endanger him beyond remedy, should the fortune of the Swedish monarch prevail in Muscovy as it had in Poland and Saxony. The arrival of his Danish majesty at the court of *Dresden*, had already suggested to the public the idea that some very extraordinary projects were in agitation. The aspect of affairs in Poland began to change every day, and the confederate army under *Siniowski* was now reinforced by twenty thousand Russians, who soon after defeated a body of six thousand Lithuanians, commanded by the young prince *Sapieha*, with the loss of seven hundred men slain in the field, and a considerable number of prisoners. The event of the battle of *Pultowa* intirely turned the scale of fortune, and fully determined Augustus openly to avow his intention of breaking the treaty of *Ranstadt*, and re-ascending the throne of Poland, which it was plain Stanislaus would be in no condition to dispute. To him the czar first notified that signal victory, by which he fully revenged himself on the Swedish monarch, now a fugitive in the Turkish dominions. While his troops were in pursuit of the remains of the Swedish army, he invited Augustus to renew the very same treaty that had been broke by the engagements which the Polish monarch contracted at *Alt-Ranstadt*. g He promised now to assist him against all his enemies, if he would enter the territories of the republic, and place himself at the head of the confederacy; and Augustus, who only waited for the happy occasion, readily embraced the proposal, and immediately entered upon preparations for his return. He began with sounding the opinions of the neighbouring.

bouring princes with respect to his design of re-ascending the throne of *Poland*. His ambassadors were sent to thank the maritime powers for their constant refusal to acknowledge *Stanislaus*; but there were not wanting persons who earnestly exhorted him to lay aside all ambitious views, by which he had been so extraordinary a sufferer, and content himself with the enjoyment of his hereditary dominions, which he now happily possessed undisturbed. But revenge co-operated with ambition in determining *Augustus* to reject advice which he thought favoured more of cowardice than of political prudence. He therefore pursued his own inclinations, and published a manifesto in justification of his conduct. In this piece he enumerated all the transactions since the commencement of the war, painted in the most odious light the arbitrary oppressive conduct of the king of *Sweden*, reasoned upon the nullity of the election of *Stanislaus*, vindicated himself for a breach of the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, which he declared to be the most violent restraint ever laid upon any prince, and into which he had been betrayed by his own servants; he declared his intention of re-establishing himself on the throne of *Poland*; and concluded with addressing himself to all the Christian kings, electors, princes, and states, requesting their assistance, as they regarded justice, order, religion, and the most solemn engagements.

A. D. 1709.
Manifesto published by Augustus.

THE world was by no means surprized at the publication of this manifesto; it was generally expected that *Augustus* would pay no regard to the treaty with *Sweden* should he ever have it in his power to attempt the recovery of his crown; yet the impressions which it made were as various as the prejudices and interests of the individuals whom it concerned. Those who lamented the misfortunes of this prince, and were melted into compassion while he was exposed to the insults of the king of *Sweden*, now changed the object, poured out their tears for the gallant *Charles*, and exclaimed against *Augustus* as ungrateful and perfidious, because he broke the shameful bondage to which he had been forced to submit. Many cried out against the king for making use of so thin a varnish as the allegation that his agents had exceeded their instructions. His committing a blank paper signed into their hands, to be filled up as the king of *Sweden* directed, was a confession that the envoy could not exceed his commission, and that the very worst which could happen, was expected: besides, it was impossible, they affirmed, that persons accustomed to transact business of state, could either be deceived or intimidated into measures contrary to their inclinations. Their degradation and imprisonment, with the cruel sentence of traitors passed on *Pfingsten* and *Imhoff*, after the publication of the manifesto, were regarded as strokes of policy, and sacrifices to the honour of the prince, rather than proofs of the guilt of the commissioners entrusted with the treaty. They insisted that the act of ratification was sufficient for their justification; but they did not reflect that this very act was fraudulently obtained, as *Pfingsten* neither durst mention it to his master in the transports of his anger, nor return without it to the king of *Sweden*. They argued, that the letter which *Charles* forced him to write to *Stanislaus*, was a sufficient discharge to the *Poles* of their allegiance; as if an act extorted by violence could be of equal force with one voluntarily granted. Upon the whole, it scarce occurred to any of the politicians who assumed to themselves the province of deciding the equity of this affair, that the king-elect was actually discharged from all his engagements by repeated breach of articles committed by his *Swedish* majesty. To this the advocates for *Augustus* add, that the laws of nations suppose that when a victorious power abuses his superiority by prescribing cruel and unjust conditions to the conquered, the engagements shall subsist no longer than while the prevailing power maintains its superiority. The moment the balance is altered, the other will naturally resume his equality, like a substance specifically lighter than water, which floats on the surface the moment the power is removed that kept it under. The terrible manner in which the king of *Sweden* treated the electorate of *Saxony* is a presumption that he did not expect *Augustus* would long adhere to his engagements, and he therefore deprived him of all resources by draining his hereditary dominions.

WITHOUT regard to the different opinions of mankind, *Augustus* set out for *Lusatia* immediately after the publication of his manifesto, and reviewed a body of thirteen thousand men, chiefly cavalry, of the troops of the electorate. Here several of the *Polish* nobility came to invite him to return to the dominions of the republic, and accordingly he began his march on the twentieth of *August* through the duchy of *Silesia*. His approach was sufficient to dissipate that dream of grandeur in which *Stanislaus* had been wrapped ever since the departure of *Augustus* from *Cracow*. He now saw himself abandoned upon all hands, his protector a fugitive, and his rival supported by the most powerful monarch of the North. Filled with apprehension, he wrote to the emperor, the maritime powers, and the guarantees of the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*; but they scarce deigned an answer. Upon this he published his *universalia*, explaining the motives that induced him to ascend the throne, declaring that as he had taken the diadem with a view to the preservation

a preservation of liberty, he was now ready to renounce it, could that sacrifice any way promote the tranquillity and peace of his country. This was a generous declaration, tho' few people believed it was sincere. It was now impossible to maintain himself in the throne; and even his hope of escaping imprisonment depended wholly upon the body of *Poles* under *Potiski*, and the *Swedish* army commanded by general *Krassaw*, under whose protection *Stanislaus* now placed himself. This general commanded an army of ten thousand men, all experienced and inured soldiers; he could depend on their valour, were matters to be determined by a single pitched battle; but he saw himself gradually hemmed in by the *Russians*, the *Poles*, and the *Saxons*. *Krassaw* demanded a passage from the court of *Berlin* into *Swedish Pomerania*, and was denied: however, the necessity of removing his present situation obliged him to break through ceremonies, pass through the *Prussian* dominions, and arrive with *Stanislaus* at *Stettin*, after having observed such strict discipline in his march, that his *Prussian* majesty had no cause of complaint. Great numbers of carriages were filled with plate, which the *Swedes* carried off from the *Polish* churches, to supply the deficiency in the exorbitant contributions imposed. The unhappy country bled equally under the cruel ravages of those who called themselves friends, and openly confessed their enmity. Even her own children fattened upon the spoils of the republic, every one striving to save something out of the general shipwreck, and to convert a public calamity to private emolument.

The Swedes and Stanislaus retire to Pomerania.

c *AUGUSTUS* had no sooner received advice of the retreat of the *Swedes*, than he was certain that the opposition in *Poland* must be inconsiderable; but he dreaded lest the *Swedish* general should make an irruption into the electorate. *Potoski* indeed, who continued in *Poland* at the head of a body of the forces of the country, threw out some menaces against *Saxony*; to prevent, therefore, a measure that might be attended with the worst consequences, *Augustus* set on foot a neutrality for the *German* dominions of all parties; and as this appeared equally to the advantage of the *Swedes* and *Saxons*, both readily agreed to a negotiation. General *Krassaw* was sensible that the empire would oppose a farther attempt on *Saxony*; he knew that the emperor was greatly provoked at *Charles* for the indifference with which he regarded the imperial dignity; and he besides thought that an irruption into the king's *German* dominions would be furnishing a dangerous example for the invasion of the *Swedish* provinces in the empire, considering the variety of powers who were ready to catch at the smallest handle, and turn the slightest pretext to the gratification of their ambition or revenge. There was hardly a state in *Europe* that did not dread the fierce disposition of *Charles*; most of them had received some haughty message, or been treated with a mortifying contempt. For these reasons *Krassaw* gladly consented to the neutrality which the courts of *Vienna*, *London*, and the states-general offered to guarantee: however, he still reserved a liberty of retracting, in case the treaty proved disagreeable to the king then an exile in *Turkey*; and this proviso soon appeared to be necessary, as *Charles* rejected the treaty with as much contempt as if he had still fought at the head of a victorious army, instead of being a dependent for daily subsistence on the generosity of a barbarous prince and people.

Treaty of neutrality for the German provinces.

f *STANISLAUS* had now exactly changed situations with *Augustus*. He saw no probability of retaining the regal dignity, and he earnestly wished to see the repose of his country once more restored. It was from this consideration that he had made some overtures towards an abdication, which occasioned *Charles* in his exile to answer coldly, when it was mentioned to him.—“If *Stanislaus* will not be king, I will bestow the crown elsewhere.” He was ignorant at that time of the storm that was gathering against *Sweden*, and regarded the return of *Augustus* to *Poland* as a matter of very little consequence. To all this *Stanislaus* was an eye-witness: he saw the czar filing off troops to attack *Livonia*, the king of *Denmark* ready to fall upon *Schonen*, while *Augustus*, at the head of a numerous army composed of *Poles*, *Saxons*, and *Muscovites*, was reducing all the palatinates of the republic. The palatines of *Mazovia* and *Lublin* had taken the benefit of the amnesty which the king granted on his return; and *Stanislaus* himself advised the great men, who were willing to stand to the last by him, to save the remainder of their fortunes by a timely acknowledgment of their error and submission to superior power. Many followed his advice; the court of *Augustus* was crowded with pretended penitents, and a few only had the generosity to face adversity, and prefer poverty with *Stanislaus*, to wealth with a prince whom they had opposed out of principle.

g ABOUT this time *Augustus* and the czar had an interview, and the *Poles* thought this a proper opportunity to request that he would withdraw his armies from a country so exhausted that it could scarce maintain the natural inhabitants. They also desired that the *Polish* prisoners in his hands might be surrendered to them, particularly the under-general of *Lithuania*; but the czar, who did not care to give an absolute denial, found means to prevaricate, because he apprehended the return of the *Swedish* army should *Poland* be left destitute

Interview between Augustus and the czar Peter.

destitute of forces. As to the prisoners, he said, that instead of releasing them he had a right to demand from the republic several noblemen whom he accused as deserters to *Stanislaus*, though, on finding a change in that prince's circumstances, they returned to their duty, or rather to what they perceived to be their interest. *Wiesnowski* and *Smielgiski* were the principal objects of the czar's resentment; they had embraced the party of *Stanislaus* out of hatred to the *Russians*, and being taken prisoners by the czar, they expected the most severe treatment which an indignant barbarian could invent; while on the other hand *Poniatowski* and the palatine of *Kiow* stuck fast by the fortune of *Stanislaus*, accompanied him in his exile, and preferred death and banishment to submission and the disgrace of abandoning their principles.

The pope absolves Augustus from the engagements contracted by the treaty with Charles.

As the court of *Augustus* was filled with senators, it was thought proper to hold a council, and notify to the public the king's return, and to exhort all men to pay the usual obedience to the sovereign. Application was likewise made to the court of *Rome*, to release the king from the obligations contracted by the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*; a few of the more tender consciences might be hurt with seeing him re-assume, without scruple, that diadem which he had solemnly renounced, and confirmed by the most sacred obligations to another. The pontiff's absolving power would apply remedies to be found neither in policy nor human reason; the nuncio granted the absolution required, and all good Catholics were then unanimous that the oaths taken by *Augustus* were of no signification. This was followed by writs issued for holding a grand council on the fourth of *February*, previous to which the king made a visit to *Warsaw*, and then to *Dresden*. He returned to the electorate, and the arrival of the king of *Prussia* at *Leipsick*, exercised the wits of politicians. The two kings had an interview, and it was generally believed that a plan was concerted not very favourable to *Sweden*, now the prey of every neighbouring power that harboured the seeds of ambition, of resentment, or of avarice. *Augustus* returned to *Warsaw* two days before the meeting of the great council, and was received with the warmest congratulations of the nobility. He was earnest to have his alliance with the czar approved, and the treaty confirmed by the republic. This affair was proposed to the great council; the senators ranged themselves on the side of the court, and professed themselves at the king's devotion; but others of the nobility made vigorous opposition, and every day brought fresh impediments. The points proposed by the senators were the following; that a general pardon should be granted, except to the *Dantzickers*, whose obstinacy deserved punishment; that the war against *Sweden* should be prosecuted, as the only means of establishing a solid peace; that the republic should levy a formidable army, and provide the ways and means of subsistence; that the czar should be required to maintain strict discipline, to pay the subsidies due, and to evacuate all the places belonging to the republic; that the treaty with his czarish majesty should be confirmed by the council; and that provision should be made for the security of the barrier towns, particularly the fortresses of *La Trinité* and *Kaminiec*.

Great council assembled.
A. D. 1710.

HOWEVER reasonable these proposals might appear, scarce a single article escaped severe strictures from the opposite party. The debates grew warm, and some nuncios were wound up to so extraordinary a pitch of passion, that declaring the throne vacant they demanded a new election. At last, after the most violent contentions, and some bloodshed, the resolutions of the assembly took a turn favourable to *Augustus*, and concluded with the subsequent decrees: that the treaty concluded with the *Russians*, should be ratified by the council; that the army should be established on the footing proposed by the king and senate; that the public revenues should be levied by the great-treasurer of the crown, and the army paid out of the money so collected; that the disputes relative to *Dantzick* and *Thorn* should be referred to commissioners; that the tax laid upon mills should be levied to discharge the debt due to the court of *Berlin*, in ransom of *Elbing*; that a sum of money should be issued out of the treasury, in reward of the faithful services of count *Dinboff*, and other persons specified in the resolution of the council; and that ambassadors should be sent to the czar, the Grand Seignior, and the cham of *Tartary*.

In this manner ended disputes which had threatened the revival of civil commotions, now happily quieted; but things did not altogether answer the expectation of *Bussenburg*, deputy of *Dantzick*. He had long applied in vain for an audience of the king: at last he obtained his request, was admitted into the royal presence, and sharply reproached with treason committed by his countrymen, first, in surrendering the king's effects, deposited with them in trust, to the *Swedes*; next, in rudely and insolently shutting their gates in the face of their sovereign when he claimed their assistance; and, lastly, in refusing to acknowledge him after he was re-established on the throne by the voice of the nation. *Augustus* refused to give the deputy any satisfaction with respect to his demands, and referred him to the resolutions of the grand council. When the commissioners met on the affair

of

a of *Dantzick*, the king demanded five hundred thousand crowns, to indemnify his effects surrendered to the *Swedes*; nor would he mitigate the punishment incurred by felony; which he left intirely to the discretion of the commissioners. The *Dantzickers* offered to the amount of four hundred thousand florins; but this the king refused, insisted upon the full value, and threatened to demand it at the head of an army. These menaces set the burghers on making preparations for their defence; some hundreds of soldiers were levied, as if that force were sufficient to protect a large city against the united strength of *Poland* and *Saxony*: happily however for them, certain powers interposed in their behalf, out of respect to whom *Augustus* sunk in his pretensions, compromised the affair, and accepted for payment a custom on certain merchandize for a limited term, which was deemed equivalent to the effects.

Disputes with
Dantzick.

b By this time the king of *Denmark* had openly declared against *Sweden*, and actually made an irruption into *Schonen*, where his troops were defeated by the *Swedish* general *Steinbock*. The czar, informed of this advantage gained by his enemies, entered into treaty with his *Danish* majesty, whereby he engaged to make a diversion in *Finland*. By these means it was that *Peter* got possession of *Wiburg* and *Riga*, places of the utmost consequence to the execution of his vast commercial projects. As if the combination against the fugitive *Charles* was not yet sufficiently strong, *Augustus* laboured to detach the grand vizier from his interest; but his utmost endeavours proved fruitless; the royal exile kept up a strong interest at the *Porte*, and, by means of some faithful agents, effected revolutions in the *Turkish* ministry, as if he had actually directed the helm of government. This point failing, he contrived other measures for accomplishing the same purposes, namely, that of ruining *Sweden*, and obliging *Stanislaus* to renounce the crown of *Poland* by a formal instrument. That prince depended so implicitly upon the sword of the *Swedish* monarch, that he would not venture to abdicate a throne which he had no chance of ever again filling, though his single concession would have procured him very advantageous conditions from *Augustus*, who earnestly desired to be restored to his dignity without disputes, claims, or pretensions from competitors, who might always have it in their power to disturb his government. The palatine of *Poznania*, as *Augustus* affected to call *Stanislaus*, had still a party that obstinately combated fortune, and adhered to his fate, though without a prospect of being able to render him essential service. The palatine of *Kiow* over-ran several provinces at the head of a little army, composed of six thousand *Poles*, devoted to his interest, and strongly attached to the fortunes of *Charles* and *Stanislaus*. He lately published a manifesto, in which he threatened *Saxony* with an invasion; but just as he was taking measures to strike some very signal blow, he was surprized by the *Russian* general *Goltz*, and, after a desperate action, defeated with the loss of two thousand men, killed or taken prisoners. With the remainder he crossed that ridge of mountains called *Czupach*, which divides *Poland* from *Hungary*, and there joined *Ragotzi*, general of the malcontents, by which he involved his *Swedish* majesty in fresh difficulties with the court of *Vienna*.

Schemes of
Augustus.

A. D. 1711.
The palatine of
Kiow defeated

c This was a fortunate incident to *Augustus*, which he endeavoured to improve to the utmost. *Pomerania* had hitherto escaped the ravages of war, under sanctuary of the neutrality signed in the year 1709; but *Charles* had refused to ratify the treaty; and this furnished the northern powers with a fair occasion of falling upon his *German* provinces. *Augustus* undertook to drive the *Swedes* out of *Swedish Pomerania*, in self-defence, as he pretended; and for this purpose he besought the assistance of his allies. Accordingly that province was invaded by twenty-five thousand *Danes*, ten thousand *Saxons*, and six thousand *Russians*, who, after some other conquests of less consequence, fell upon *Stralsund*. *Wismar* was at the same time blocked up; but such was the ardor of the confederates to enter upon the enterprize, that the necessaries for accomplishing it were neglected. Cannon for battering in breach were entirely forgot; the king of *Denmark* demanded a supply from *Rostock*, and met with a repulse. In a word, so badly was the scheme conducted, that it miscarried, and the princes returned in disgrace to their several dominions.

The dishonour with which the *Pomeranian* expedition was attended, had almost been succeeded by a total change of fortune, the return of *Charles XII.* to his own dominions, and the restoration of *Stanislaus*. The czar, with his whole army, was surrounded by the *Turks* on the banks of the *Pruth*, and reduced to the last extremity, when, by dint of address and well-applied sums of money, he purchased a peace of the vizier, that saved his army; and prevented *Augustus*, in all probability, from being a second time driven from the throne of *Poland*. By this treaty the czar engaged not to interfere with the affairs of the republic: but as soon as he escaped the danger, he easily suggested means to elude his promises, and still kept an army on foot in *Poland*, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the people, who were quite exhausted. At a diet assembled at *Warsaw*, it was proposed, that the king should make the most pressing instances to the czar to withdraw

A. D. 1712.
April 5.
Complaints against the
Russians.

withdraw his forces out of all the towns and garrisons of the republic, and entirely evacuate the *Polish* territories, as the enemy were sufficiently crushed, and there remained not a shadow of reason for continuing any longer to oppress a nation which had for so many years groaned under servitude, and had not yet recovered any of those almost fatal wounds received in the violent struggle for liberty. After warm debates, this point was carried; and it was resolved, that a deputation should be sent to the czar, but not until the opposite party had established certain opinions, which they deemed equally necessary to the public tranquility and happiness. The czar received the deputation; he promised all that was required; every one expected to see the territories of the republic entirely cleared of foreigners; but *Peter* still contrived pretexts for delaying the execution of his promises,

A. D. 1713.
A general diet.

THIS year likewise a general diet assembled at *Warsaw*, to deliberate upon a variety of points of the last consequence to the good of the kingdom. Among others there was one that in a particular manner engaged the public attention. It regarded the reduction of the troops, and the authority of the generals, who had of late years assumed more power than properly belonged to their commissions. A deputy of *Sandomir* had the courage to ask for what purpose, and with whose instructions, the palatines of *Podolia* and *Beliz* were sent to the *Turkish* frontier, as it was reported they were to meet commissaries, from the *Porte*. The same deputy also demanded to know by whose authority the *Saxon* soldiers had been incorporated with the *Polish* regiments; insisting, that the authors should be called to account, and desiring to be informed in what manner the king proposed to employ his troops now that the peace of the republic was happily restored. These questions, though proposed only by a single voice, were soon echoed back by the whole assembly. Almost all the deputies demanded of the grand-mareschal to communicate those queries to the king, and report to the diet the answer he should receive. The mareschal obeyed; *Augustus* was alarmed; but he did not venture to give an absolute denial to the assembly. He told them that he had the diet's authority to send the two palatines to confer with the *Turkish* deputies; that their instructions were secret, as they certainly ought upon a subject of so delicate a nature and high importance; and that as to the other two points, he would give ample satisfaction, as soon as the deputies thought proper to unite with the senate. Otherwise it would not be proper to acquaint the whole world with the most secret transactions of the cabinet, by exposing them in a public assembly, as their success depended chiefly upon their privacy. However agreeable to good sense and true policy the king's answer appeared to the more moderate, it served no other purpose than that of encreasing the dissensions, and blowing hotter the spirit of discord, at a time when there was reason to believe that the *Turks* were assembling a great army upon the frontiers of *Poland*.

Conspiracy against Augustus.

THOUGH *Augustus* was fortunate enough to break the storm impending from that quarter, and to disarm the *Turkish* wrath, by the force of money judiciously applied; yet he could not reduce his own subjects to a conformity with his measures, nor to an affection for his person and government. Every thing consistent with his safety he performed, to acquire popularity; nevertheless, there were some considerable members of the republic suspected of regarding *Augustus* as an usurper, whom it would be justifiable to take off by means the most odious and base. He was called a tyrant, and to deliver one's country from a monster must be commendable, however dark and treacherous the instrument might be reputed. The palatine *Jablonowski* was supposed, in consequence of some inadvertent words dropped, to have been at the bottom of the conspiracy; and to have contrived a plan for assassinating his sovereign, under pretence of entertaining him magnificently at his castle. It is probable, however, that the aspersions thrown upon the character of this palatine are without foundation; but it is certain that *Augustus* met with strong opposition from divers noblemen, who not only acknowledged his legal title to the crown, but were sincerely attached to his person. They murmured against the *Saxons* and *Russians*, who, after the campaign in *Pomerania*, took up their quarters in the northern parts of *Poland* and *Lithuania*. These troops likewise raised small contributions, which had nearly been attended with the most fatal consequences, as they were the occasion of reviving a spirit of disaffection that had only been lately subdued. While the king was at *Dresden*, the whole *Polish* nation was uttering the bitterest complaints, which at length reached his ears by means of the primate, who wrote an account of the situation of affairs, and strongly recommended the withdrawing his *Saxon* forces, without which it was to be feared the despair of the *Poles* might induce them to form resolutions fatal to the public tranquility. In general the nobility seemed desirous of assembling a diet on horseback.

AUGUSTUS had repaired to *Dresden* for the security of his person; he had pardoned two of his greatest enemies, and even affected to disbelieve the conspiracy which was said to be on foot: he had withdrawn thirteen regiments of his hereditary forces out of the dominions

2 dominions of the republic, and he had remitted a third of the taxes imposed for the support of the army: he was therefore greatly irritated that so many considerable sacrifices answered no other purposes, than rendering the people more difficult, and exciting fresh symptoms of jealousy and distrust. For this reason he positively denied a diet on horseback, which would only be giving rebellion the colour of a legal proceeding. This intimation he gave to the primate in answer to his letter; and in consequence count *Denhoff*, and some deputies from *Poland* and *Lithuania*, were sent to *Dresden* with instructions to insist upon the king's return to his *Polish* dominions, to issue writs for holding the diet, and to dismiss all the *Saxon* forces. So bold a deputation, and the refusal of the primate, and some of the nobility, to attend a council that he summoned at *Reydzin*, obliged *Augustus* to think of returning to *Warsaw*. Before his arrival at that city, some of the nobility of *Sandomir*, *Lublin*, and *Volhinia*, had actually begun to mount, declaring a disposition to dispute the royal authority; upon which the king resolved to lay aside gentle measures, and told them in a firm tone, that he would treat as rebels and traitors all those who should appear without the authority rendered necessary by the nature of the constitution. To enforce this declaration, he recalled the *Saxons* who had been dismissed, shewed the *Poles* that not want of spirit, but the desire of cherishing peace, had made him so pliant to all their demands: and now demonstrated by one extraordinary effort of spirit, that he would maintain the prerogatives of the crown, without desire of retrenching the rights of the people.

c At this time both *Charles* and *Stanislaus* were prisoners in the *Turkish* dominions. The latter, after repeated fruitless efforts to defend the *Swedish* conquests, began to think seriously of abdicating the throne; and not having been able to procure the king of *Sweden*'s consent by letter, he set out for the residence of that prince at *Bender*, in hopes of prevailing upon him in a personal interview, when he could explain himself more explicitly. Ignorant of the disgrace into which *Charles* was fallen with the *Porte*, he assumed the dress and title of a *Swedish* colonel, and as such was arrested and conducted to *Bender*, just as his benefactor was removing to *Adrianople*. It was on this occasion that *Charles* bestowed upon him the duchy of *Deux Ponts*, for which *Stanislaus* set out on the fourth of *July*, where he determined to live in a private capacity upon the revenues of his new acquired territories, which amounted to seventy thousand crowns^a.

Provision
made for
Stanislaus.
A. D. 1714.

CHARLES no sooner returned to his own dominions than he began to make vast preparations for carrying on the war against all his enemies, which furnished *Augustus* with a seasonable pretext for retaining the *Saxon* forces in *Poland*. He had assembled a council of the senate, and obtained their approbation, to prevent the *Swedish* army from re-entering the kingdom, though it was universally believed that *Charles* must have kept on the defensive in *Pomerania*. By this means he procured respect to his government, kept the turbulent *Poles* in awe, and enjoyed more tranquillity and ease than he had known since his first accession. Yet his repose was by no means undisturbed with little differences excited by that spirit of freedom which always distinguished the republic. Repeated attempts were made to keep the regal power within limits, and secure the liberties of the people. A confederacy was planned by the palatines of *Cracow*, *Siradia*, and *Sandomir*, who promised each other assistance, and entered upon engagements to mount on horseback, to prevent *Augustus* from establishing a despotic government. Similar motions appeared in *Lithuania*, and the discontented senate were contriving the very same projects. Great numbers of the nobility had assembled tumultuously at *Wilna*, and entered upon an association to oppose the levying of farther contributions. However the approach of a body of *Russians* kept the assembly in awe, and obliged the association to accept of the conditions offered from the court by the bishop of *Cujaiva*.

f THE tranquillity restored was but of short duration; *Augustus* set out for *Saxony*, and his absence encouraged the malcontents to renew their intrigues. A new confederacy was set on foot; several new levies were made and joined by the crown-army, under pretence of defending the public liberty. At the head of the insurrection was the palatine of *Sandomir*, who immediately entered upon measures for driving the *Saxons* out of the *Polish* dominions. Divers engagements were fought with various fortune, but in general with disadvantage to the confederates, though the *Saxon* general *Bauditz*, apprehensive of the consequences, endeavoured to effect a suspension of arms, which was frustrated by the ardor of the enemy. They suddenly attacked the suburbs of *Warsaw* in the night, but were happily repulsed before they had done any considerable damage. This check it might be imagined would incline them to the accommodation proposed; but it served only to irritate their spirits and push them to extremities. They plundered and reduced

A. D. 1715.
New confederacy formed.

^a VOLT. Hist. p. 146.

to ashes a multitude of villages, and overspread the face of the country with the mangled a bodies of butchered Saxons. The scene was horrible, and disgraceful to a people who acknowledge the truth of the doctrines of Christianity, and a religion filled with sentiments of benevolence and philanthropy. Every where might be seen the vestiges of barbarous rage and ungoverned fury, which rendered the Poles insensible to the calamities of their country, provided they could involve the detested Saxons in the general devastation. Fortunately their rage was unsuccessful, as it was ill conducted; in most encounters they were worsted; their repeated losses broke their spirit, softened their hearts, and opened their eyes to the approaching ruin. They sent a trumpet to count Fleming, and now solicited the armistice they had lately rejected, about which he artfully raised difficulties without extinguishing hope; he at last granted a conference, and in the mean time found b means to surprise the fortress of Zamosze, and the marshal of the confederacy. The space of two years was taken up in this unsettled state of affairs; no confidence could be placed in truces, and the party dreaded being massacred in their quarters, while they were screened by the most solemn faith of treaties^b.

Disturbances
in Lithuania.

In the duchy of Lithuania peace and tranquility had reigned, until a few of the nobility, swayed by the example of the Poles, raised commotions, from which they hoped to obtain personal advantages. In the year 1715, a body of nobility assembled at Wilna, and proposed that a diet should be held; a point easily obtained, and attended with all the expected consequences, the deputies having to a man declared their resolution of joining the Polish confederacy. Accordingly they obliged themselves by oath, to demand from c Augustus the departure of the Saxon troops; satisfaction for the damages they occasioned; the cessation of contributions; the evacuation of all the places in their possession; restitution of all the cannon they had taken away, and of the estates of the princess of Newburg; the release of all persons in confinement, together with the liberty of holding a general diet. This event would have occasioned the renewal of hostilities more bloody than the former, had not the czar Peter interposed, and approached the frontiers with a formidable army, which terrified the malcontents into the resolution of desiring that their differences might be amicably compromised. This request produced the conferences at Lublin, where a suspension of arms was formally accepted by both parties: nevertheless, the agreement would appear only a stratagem laid by each to gain some advantages. No sooner had d the king performed his engagements than the confederates surprized Posenania, and took the city by storm, where, not satisfied with the blood of their fellow-citizens, spilt in the heat of combat, they wantonly massacred in cold blood a great number of the inhabitants, whose lifeless carcases they mangled with more than savage cruelty. Augustus was violently incensed at this perfidy; he published bitter declarations, determined on the most vigorous measures, calling upon the czar to assist him in bringing to reason his rebellious subjects, which induced that monarch to advance a body of Muscovites into the heart of Poland. Here they had frequent skirmishes with the confederates, and obtained so many trivial victories, as obliged the discontented Poles again to renew the negotiations which they had so frequently and so imprudently broken. Conferences were appointed, and preliminaries adjusted, in effecting which the chief obstacle was not the dissolution of the confederacy, e but the time when this illegal association should be dissolved. The confederates insisted they should hold themselves united until the meeting of the diet; while the king was equally resolute that his Saxons should not evacuate Poland before the separation of the confederate army. After tedious warm disputes, a medium of agreement was happily suggested; and it was concluded that all confederacies should be abolished, cancelled, and annulled; that a diet of pacification should be held forthwith; that a certain number of standing forces should be maintained for the king's defence, to prevent the necessity of keeping foreigners in pay; that the number of those troops should be fixed and invariable; f and that all persons who should bear arms, without the king's permission, should be deemed enemies to the public tranquility. An amnesty ensued, that was followed by an exchange of ratifications; to which succeeded a diet of pacification, and the departure of the Saxons from the territories of the republic. Thus ended the civil divisions of Poland, maintained almost without interruption since the death of Sobieski, to the utter extinction of order, peace, felicity, industry, arts, science, and every blessing of repose and good government.

End of the civil
divisions.

Dispute with
the magistrates
of Thorn.

THROUGH the course of several succeeding years nothing memorable occurs in the Polish annals; and the first transaction worth relating happened in 1724, when an affair of seemingly trifling consequence had almost involved the republic in fresh contentions. A tumult fell out in the city of Thorn, in Prussia, the effects of which might have proved g dreadful, as it became a matter of public consideration, and the origin of disputes with

^b PARTHEN. tom. ii.

a the Protestant powers of *Europe*. We shall trace the affair to its first beginning, for the satisfaction of the reader. It is well known that *Thorn* is chiefly inhabited by Protestants, though it likewise contains a great number of *Roman Catholics*. On the 16th of *July*, the latter made a procession of the Host in the church-yard of the abbey of the *Benedictines*, which drew a concourse of the *Lutheran* children, who had never beheld so solemn a spectacle. As the procession passed, a Jesuit scholar insisted that the spectators should kneel; which being refused, a squabble ensued that soon became general and bloody; nor could it be decided before the arrival of a party of soldiers, who seized the author of the riot, and carried him prisoner to the guard. The society of Jesuits took the alarm at the confinement of a member of their body; they demanded his liberty; and, incensed that b any demur should be made in granting them satisfaction, insulted the burghers, excited a second tumult, shed more blood, obliged the guard again to turn out, by whom they were dispersed, after the ringleader had been seized. Even this could not quiet the fraternity; the principal of the Jesuits sent his complaints to the president of the city, demanded reparation of the injury, and was in some measure gratified by the release of the student made prisoner in the first riot; but as the civil magistrate deferred the discharge of the second prisoner until he had conferred with the principal, the students re-assembled, armed themselves with sabres, fell upon the *Lutheran* burghers, wounded several persons, and carried off a *German* student prisoner to their college; a violence that obliged the civil magistrate to march a body of soldiers against them, by whom they were defeated, c after a sharp conflict. Recrimination succeeded; the principal and president produced their mutual accusations. The former demanded satisfaction; and the latter insisted upon the release of the *German* scholar, giving at the same time orders that the burghers should stand to their arms, in case of a fresh attack; a precaution that soon proved necessary: for while he was conferring with the rector, the Jesuit scholars and the populace came to blows, and the fray might have been bloody, had not the town-guard seasonably interposed. It was thought the discharge of the prisoners would have quieted the minds of both parties; but the effect was directly contrary. The students, enraged at the concessions made by their principal, fell upon the mob with swords, clubs, stones, and even fire-arms, which gave such provocation, that, forcing open the college-gates, the populace d rushed into their chambers, broke and destroyed all that came in their way, marched off with immense booty, which they burnt in a great fire kindled in the market-place.

SUCH was the account of this affair transmitted to the court of *Warsaw*, differing in many particulars from the relation published by the Jesuits, but the most authentic, as appears from many circumstances, which at this distance of time it would be unnecessary to examine. It is acknowledged by the fraternity, that their student began the quarrel; but they insisted that the *Lutherans* carried their vengeance far beyond the provocation, and seemed averse to all pacific means of decision. Be this as it may, it was a circumstance of another nature, though absolutely contradicted by the senate of *Thorn*, that determined the opinion of the judges. Scarce was the tumult appeased, when the college e filled all *Poland* with their complaints, loudly demanding justice for the crime of violating the Majesty of Heaven in the persons of the society of *Jesus*; representing, that no punishments were sufficiently rigorous to expiate the abominations committed; and exclaiming, that the senate ought to be changed, and the *Lutherans* deprived of the free exercise of their religion. "Have they not, said they, defiled the altars of the blessed virgin? "Have they not hewn them in pieces with prophane hatchets, and trampled under foot "the images of the venerable saints? They have impiously pierced them with swords, "and thrown them into fires kindled in the open streets, after having suffered the most "shocking indignities from a base rabble, saying to the virgin *Mary*, while she was consuming in the flames—*Unhappy Virgin, save thyself, since thy votaries affirm that thou f "hast the power of delivering mortals.*"

A PEOPLE so zealous for the honour of their religion, so attached to forms, and bigotted in superstition, were almost necessarily filled with indignation at clamours so vehemently raised and artfully sustained. Without consulting the truth of the charge, the whole nation caught fire; every individual demanded exemplary punishment of the offenders; and, as it was then upon the eve of a general diet, the nuncios were instructed to treat that affair with the utmost severity. It was even made a preliminary condition, that the diet should enter upon no other business, until a suitable satisfaction was granted to the Jesuits; which induced the court to dispatch commissioners to examine evidences, and enquire into the fact, on the spot where it was committed: they were chosen from g the principal nobility and dignified clergy; all the world being astonished to see the republic take such concern in an affair of so seemingly trifling import. Considering the riot in its proper light, judgment belonged to the supreme court of the province, and not to a foreign tribunal: however, the king and diet thought otherwise. The commission was opened

Punishment inflicted on the magistrates.

opened with great solemnity, witnesses were examined with an air of candour, and the proceedings went on for some time with great shew of equity; but the bishop of *Cujavia* and prince *Lubomirski* soon evinced their inveterate enmity to the city of *Thorn* and the Protestant religion. Their violent prejudices drove away several of their colleagues, whose moderation obstructed their designs; and this court of justice degenerated into a cabal and faction of murderers, armed with legal authority. Every evidence in favour of the poor *Lutherans* was rejected; while persons destitute of character, and the very dregs of humanity were admitted as sufficient testimony of their guilt. Divers citizens were committed to loathsome dungeons, notwithstanding they had clearly proved an *alibi* at the time of the riot, which alone sufficiently displays the iniquity of this tribunal. The whole republic seemed bent on humbling the pride of a flourishing heretical city; and to such a length was partiality carried, that the deputies of the diet decreed the cognizance of this affair should be referred to all the different orders of the kingdom. a

It was now chiefly apprehended lest the Protestant powers would interpose in behalf of the oppressed citizens, to prevent which the process was hurried over; and in less than six weeks the fate of a wealthy city, a free government, independent magistrates and citizens, always strenuous in the defence of religion and liberty, was decided by an irrevocable decree. The president *Reusner* and the vice-president *Zernick* were capitally condemned, for not having opposed the tumult, as their offices required. Their estates were confiscated, and the city was obliged to indemnify all the losses sustained by the Jesuits. Besides, seven principal citizens were beheaded, near double the number were banished, and great numbers confined in prison for the space of six years. Three gentlemen, accused of uttering blasphemies against the virgin *Mary*, and of throwing her image into the fire, were punished with the loss of their right arms. In a word, the severity of the republic raised horror in the breasts of all men, who lamented the cruel effects of blind superstition, and the depravity of human nature. b

As a further atonement to the blessed virgin, her altars were enriched with the spoils of the plundered citizens; and the church of *St. Mary*, that belonged to the Protestants, was adjudged to the college, with all its rich plate and valuable library. The Protestant ministers were stigmatized with infamy; all the papers published in their defence were burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and a restraint was laid on the printing-house, whereby all works were required to be licensed by the bishop. We may conceive the general opinion entertained of this detestable inquisition by the conduct of the pope's nuncio, who interceded for the unhappy Protestants, though he could not be supposed careless of the interests of the Catholic religion, and wrote in their behalf to the rector of the college, in the strongest and most pathetic terms, but without effect. What he foresaw soon came to pass; all the Protestant princes took the alarm at the signal sounded by his *Prussian* majesty, complaining loudly of the infraction of the treaty of *Oliva*, and the contempt expressed by the *Polish* nation for their intercession: they demanded redress for the *Lutheran* subjects of *Poland*, and restitution of the civil and religious privileges of which *Thorn* had lately been unjustly deprived. The crowns of *Great Britain* and *Sweden* interceded as guarantees of the peace of *Oliva*: the affair was drawn into a negotiation, and some bad consequences were prevented; but the Protestants had not that justice done them, which, from the nature of the treaty and the power of the Protestant interest, they had just reason to expect. c

Augustus is involved in difficulties about the succession of Courland.

For the space of two years the public repose continued undisturbed, when another troublesome affair occurred, which we think it necessary to relate in detail, as it may hereafter be revived. Certain disputes arose about the succession of the duchy of *Courland*, anciently a part of *Livonia*, and held by the family of *Keller* since the year 1561, as a fief of the crown of *Poland*. *William* duke of *Courland*, married to the princess *Anne* of *Russia*, niece to the czar *Peter*, died without issue, by which the duchy descended of right to his uncle *Ferdinand*. As the claim of this prince was not supported by power, the duchess seized it by force, and obliged the duke to retire to *Dantzick*, where he lived in an obscurity ill-suited to his birth. As early as the year 1719, it was proposed by the king of *Prussia* to give the eventual investiture of *Courland* to the margrave of *Brandenburg-Swiedt*, upon condition that he undertook to discharge all the debts upon the duchy; a proposal the more reasonable, said that monarch, as the court of *Warsaw* had formed the same project in favour of the prince of *Saxe-Weissenfels*, without any stipulation in favour of the duchy or the creditors. However, this was not the intention of the nobility of *Poland*, who wished to unite *Courland* with the other dominions of the republic, and incorporate them inseparably. Nothing could be more disagreeable to the grandees than a scheme which seemed to threaten their independency. The king of *Prussia's* project was approved d

^c PARTHEN. tom. ii. Present State of Europe, p. 98.

by

- a by the czar of *Muscovy*; but the *Poles* resented it so warmly, that the eventual investiture was dropped until the year 1726; when the regency of *Courland*, fearing the ambition of the republic, suddenly published writs in the name of the duke for assembling a diet, to deliberate upon measures for perpetuating the liberty of the duchy in its present form of ducal government; specifying in these writs, that the palatine of *Wilna*, as great-general of *Lithuania*, had promised them all manner of assistance. These publications gave the alarm to duke *Ferdinand*, who protested against them, prohibiting the nobility from taking any resolutions in an affair of such consequence, or to assemble at the day appointed. His remonstrances produced no effect: the nobility met, and in a full assembly three candidates were proposed, each of them of acknowledged merit. These were the duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, prince *Menzikoff*, and count *Maurice* of *Saxony*, the natural son of king *Augustus*, afterwards celebrated as a hero by the name of mareschal *Saxe*. The voices were unanimous in favour of this prince, who was accordingly elected to succeed at the death of duke *Ferdinand*. This election raised a great ferment in *Poland*. *Augustus* privately espoused the interest of his son, which, in this instance, proved diametrically opposite to the inclinations of his subjects. The *Poles* were fully persuaded, that *Augustus* made policy subservient to paternal affection; and had sacrificed the rights of a whole nation, of which he was sovereign, to gratify the passion of raising his family. Nothing less would satisfy them than his publicly declaring against count *Maurice*, and renouncing his interest; which satisfaction he soon gave in the most solemn manner, declaring that he would afford no countenance to an election that was deemed an invasion of the rights of the republic. But the *Poles* required a farther sacrifice, insisting upon an act to annul what had been transacted by the states of *Courland*. This likewise he granted, from an apprehension of again involving himself in disputes, by which, experience taught him, he could be no gainer; and he besides included an order, whereby the mareschal of the diet and several senators of the duchy of *Courland* were enjoined to appear in six weeks at *Warsaw*, to answer for their conduct.

A. D. 1726.

- d THE court of *Russia* had also taken part in this affair; and the czarina had gone so far as not only to discountenance the marriage that was proposed between count *Maurice* and the duchess dowager, and the election of that prince, but even to point out the succession that would be agreeable to her; to enforce which intimation, a body of her forces had orders to file off towards the frontiers of *Courland*. This conduct in a princess strictly allied with *Poland*, gave umbrage to the *Poles*; and, in consequence, *Augustus* remonstrated in the strongest terms to the court of *Moscow*, requesting that her czarish majesty would publicly disapprove the conduct of *Menzikoff* and *Dolbourski*, who were supposed to aspire at the sovereignty of the duchy. A diet met at *Grodno*, where this affair was taken into consideration; and the ministers of *Great Britain*, *France*, *Russia*, *Prussia*, and the United Provinces attended, as if the disposal of some mighty kingdom, not of a petty duchy, were the object of negotiation. The deputies demanded, that *Augustus* should revoke the count's eventual election, and exert his authority with his son to oblige him to evacuate *Courland*, to appear before the diet, and surrender the patent of his election; requiring also, that the regency should be severely punished, and an act prepared to incorporate the duchy with the body of the republic; with each of which demands the king complied, to prevent suspicion; voluntarily declaring, that the establishment of his son was but a secondary consideration to the interest of his *Polish* subjects. What influence he used with count *Maurice* is not certain: it is, however, acknowledged on all hands, that the prince refused appearing before the diet, or delivering up the patent of his election, upon which account he was put under the ban of *Poland*; and commissioners were appointed to inquire into the authors of summoning the states of *Courland* to the late election, and manage the affairs of the duchy.

- f No *Polish* diet had ever exerted so bold a spirit as this: some of the first crown heads in *Europe* were affronted, because it was conceived their letters to the republic were not couched in terms sufficiently respectful. In particular a letter sent by the king of *Great Britain* was read in the assembly, publicly condemned, his ministers denied audience, and a resolution formed not to receive any other ambassador from that monarch. His *Prussian* majesty, and other guarantees of the treaty of *Oliva*, were treated with the same haughtiness; and even the pontiff himself felt the effects of this sudden emotion of patriotism, which seemed to warm the breast of every member of the republic. The nuncio *Santerin* had not only attempted to enlarge the prerogative of the holy see in ecclesiastical affairs but he busied himself in politics, and became so odious, that the *Poles* resolved to break their chains, and accordingly wrote to the pope to recal his nuncio. By order of the senate, the regent of the crown shut up the nunciature, and forbid that tribunal to sit henceforward, or exert any jurisdiction, without the permission of the republic.

A. D. 1727.
Meeting and
spirited con-
duct of the
diet.

BESIDES these resolutions the diet took others, which in some measure altered the nature of the constitution. One very salutary decree respected the sitting of diets for a certain number of weeks. Manifold were the inconveniences resulting from this ordinance, and the assembly determined to apply proper remedies. It was therefore decreed, that henceforth the diet should not be restricted to a day; that the abuses which had crept into the courts of judicature should be reformed; that commissioners should treat with the foreign ministers; and that a grant should be made to the king, and his successors, of the lands purchased by *Augustus* for the building a palace.

SCARCE had the diet broke up when a deputy arrived from the duchy of *Courland*, to demand, in the name of the states, that the commission issued by the republic should not be repugnant to their privileges, endanger their form of government, or make any alteration in the late eventual election; and the senate referred him to the marshal of the crown; who was charged with the constitutions of the diet. A conference ensued; but as it produced nothing, the commissioners for the affair of *Courland* took every requisite measure for establishing the interests of the republic. Duke *Ferdinand* was invited to meet them at *Mittau*, and a body of *Polish* and *Lithuanian* forces had orders to move towards the frontiers of *Courland*. The juncture now was critical. Count *Maurice* had wrote a letter to his father king *Augustus*, declaring the invincible necessity which he was under of disobeying his majesty's orders, or being guilty of a breach of honour and gratitude. "I hold, said he, a distinguished employment in the armies of the most Christian King, where fear will admit of no disguise, nor treachery of interpretation; and should I be able to surmount all these essential considerations, yet I shall never be able to avoid the reproach of my own conscience, were any motives capable of inducing me to deviate from the direct paths of honour and virtue. I have nothing so profoundly at heart as an intire resignation to your majesty's will; but reputation is accountable only to itself: I alone must answer for blemishes in my character; and, were I capable of renouncing this principle, I should no longer be worthy of your favour. Neither caprice nor levity engaged me to consent to my election: it was that generous ambition which animates every worthy mind; and I was unanimously chosen by the body of that illustrious nobility, who have signalized themselves for ages by their attachment to *Poland*, who have contributed to the glory and interests of the republic, who have an equal right to freedom with her, and who neither intend, demand, or aspire to any thing farther than the defence of their natural privileges, and persisting in that fidelity which reflects honour on the memory of their ancestors, and from which, unless compelled, they will never depart."

THE manly, generous, and spirited manner of *Maurice* raised his reputation, and convinced the whole world, that he was deserving of the honour to which he had lately been raised by the judicious suffrages of the *Courlanders*. Yet could not this extraordinary proof of his merit oblige the *Poles* to alter their sentiments, or depart from their interests. This prince had soon after a conference with the vice-chancellor of the *Polish* crown, in which he explained himself in such a manner as rendered it obvious, that he would never renounce the *Courlanders*; but the conduct of the regency obliged him to alter his measure. The court of *Russia* had threatened them, if they persisted in the eventual election; and an army of *Muscovites*, under prince *Menzikoff*, was now on the borders of the duchy, which obliged *Maurice* to fortify himself in the isle of *Usmitz*, where in vain he invited the *Courlanders* to join him; but they were over-awed: he was attacked by the *Russians*, and, after a defence that evinced his courage and martial abilities, forced to retire.

THE affair of *Courland*, the czarina's designs to secure that duchy for *Menzikoff*, the threatened invasion of the *Tartars*, the meditated revolt of the *Cossacks*, and the suspicion that *Augustus* was taking measures to secure the succession of the crown to the electoral prince, all contributed to raise a ferment in the republic, which was considerably augmented by the king's illness. A disorder had appeared the preceding year in his foot, which threatened a mortification: his physicians were forced to have recourse to amputation, and, with the loss of his great toe, they apparently restored his health; insomuch that he was able to perform a journey to *Saxony*, where he now relapsed with redoubled danger. *Augustus* laboured by every possible method to calm the minds of his subjects; but to little purpose. The nobility took fire at some instances of paternal regard which he had shewn the electoral prince; and seemed intirely to forget, that, except in the election of the reigning monarch, the crown had gone in a direct line from father to son for many centuries, though it was still deemed elective. He proposed holding a diet this year at *Grodno*, but was prevented by the progress of his disease; and it was supposed that he had paved the way for the eventual election of the prince royal. As soon as his health permitted, he published his *universalia* for

The republic
jealous of the
king.

A. D. 1729.

a for another diet; but by this time faction rose so high, that no assembly could be held: upon which *Augustus* retired greatly dissatisfied to his electoral dominions; and the *Lithuanians* published a protest against his departure without the consent of the senate, and before he had redressed a variety of grievances, proposed to him in a strong remonstrance. To remove their discontents, he convoked a diet the ensuing year; but such was the temper of the deputies, that it broke up in disorder, before any resolutions had been prepared. Without being discouraged by this disappointment, he pursued the same course in the year 1732, and with no better effect (A). Once more he ventured to resume his purpose, and issued writs for the meeting of the diet in the month of *January*, 1733; and every thing promised a prosperous issue, when, getting out of his coach, *Augustus* hurt his foot, set the old wound a-bleeding, and was immediately seized with a fever. There remained, however, great hopes of recovery until the 29th, when a new symptom appeared, which boded the worst consequences. The whole leg appeared mortified, and this was attended with an acute pain in his head, and increase of the fever, which ending in death on the 31st of *January*, while the diet was sitting.

Death and
character of
Augustus.
A. D. 1733.

Thus ended the life of a monarch, whose virtues, vices, and fortune were very extraordinary. Good sense, politeness, courage, and surprizing bodily strength, were opposed to incontinence, inconstancy, imprudent ambition, and a disregard of the most solemn engagements. *Augustus* was the most despotic monarch (as far as the nature of his situation would admit), agreeable friend, capricious lover, unfaithful husband, generous master, that had ever swayed the *Polish* sceptre; and fortune repaid him with the same usage he had shewn his mistresses. Now at the height of power, and next moment plunged in the deepest abyss of distress, he consumed a long reign in contending with a prince his superior in strength and military address, and in wrangling with his own subjects. In a word, he obtained an elective crown by dint of intrigue and corruption; he lost it through ambition and mistaken policy; he saw it placed on the head of a private nobleman by the hand of an inflexible conqueror, who also stripped him of his hereditary dominions; and he at length recovered both his crown and dominions by one of those extraordinary turns of fortune for which his life was remarkable.

Our readers have repeatedly seen how the death of *Augustus* gave birth to a bloody war between the houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*: however, as this incident has rather been mentioned than explained, we shall in this place enter more deeply into the politics of the several courts concerned, in order to convey as clear an idea as our materials will admit of the present situation of the *Polish* republic. The suspicions entertained by the emperor *Charles VI.* that *Augustus* had entered upon stricter engagements with the court of *Versailles* than were consistent with friendly intentions towards the Pragmatic Sanction, occasioned a coldness between the courts of *Vienna* and *Warsaw*, just before the death of the *Polish* monarch. In consequence several steps were taken by the imperial minister to traverse the king's design of securing the succession in his own family; but with such caution and privacy, that the emperor's sentiments were rather suspected than discovered.

e The death of *Augustus* wrought a sudden change. The electoral prince, now a candidate for the crown of *Poland*, was very well disposed with respect to the emperor's favourite point, by which means he gained the interest and countenance, not only of the court of *Vienna*, but of that of *Petersburg* also. His competitor was *Stanislaus*, the same prince who had torn the diadem from the temples of *Augustus*, supported by the king of *France* his son in law, an amiable character, and the affections of a great number of palatines, won either by the gold of *France*, the eloquence of the marquis *de Monti*, or the engaging manners of *Stanislaus*. *De Monti* had the address to engage the primate in his interest; and the weight of this prelate's dignity, together with his vast abilities, soon formed a very powerful faction, which in the result produced a double election. *Stanislaus* once

His son elected
king of Po-
land.

(A) We cannot help remarking, that this year was rendered memorable by two extraordinary events, which at that time engrossed all conversation. The first was a sentence passed on one *Dargelles*, a *Frenchman*, major of the royal regiment of crown-guards in *Poland*, who had suddenly disappeared with several sums of public money, taking with him a common prostitute, and leaving behind a wife and numerous family. Not satisfied with these crimes, he had the insolence to publish bitter libels and satires upon several of the first nobility of the kingdom: he retired to *Florence*, and the senate applied to the most Christian king, that he would take measures for delivering up to punishment a wretch undeserving of the protection of any state. *Levris* exerted himself, the criminal was seized, sent under a strong guard to *Poland*, and con-

demned by a great council of war to have his sword broke over his head, and the pieces thrown in his face; to receive a box on the ear from the executioner; to have his right hand cut off, and afterwards to be hanged; the last part of which sentence the king was pleased to change into perpetual imprisonment at *Dantzick*, on application made by his family.

This scene of disgrace, and rigorous but just punishment, was followed by another of a more calamitous nature. The young prince *Sapieha*, only son to the palatine of *Podlachia*, a youth of promising genius, tired with the rigorous treatment of a severe tyrannical tutor, laid violent hands upon himself, and in a fit of despair put an end to a miserable life by a pistol: though some ascribe his death to accident.

more

A. D. 1737.
*Conclusion of
 the history of
 Poland.*

more assumed the monarch, and was hurled down from the sovereign dignity with the same precipitation as before. Immediately after his election he repaired to *Warsaw*, and was there received and treated with all the regal honours; a flattering prospect, that soon vanished before the power of the *Russians*. He was driven out of *Poland* by the celebrated count *Munich*, forced to take shelter in *Dantzick*, closely besieged in that city, reduced to the last extremity, and, after running the utmost hazards and sustaining a variety of hardships, at length he made his escape with infinite difficulty to the dominions of his *Prussian* majesty, from whom he received the protection due to his quality and misfortunes. By this means the electoral prince acquired the peaceable possession of the sovereign dignity of *Poland*; and at the close of the war no other provision was made for the fugitive *Stanislaus*, than that he should enjoy the possession of the duchy of *Lorraine*, and retain the empty title of king of *Poland*. The conduct of his *Polish* majesty, in the war that ensued about the imperial succession, is too well known and recent to be particularized: sufficient it is, that this prince has now seen his electoral dominions become the prey of an aspiring neighbouring prince, in two successive ruptures between the head and members of the *Germanic* body, while the republic hath been forced to sit a tame spectatress of the indignities put on her sovereign. At present her conduct is rather cautious than politic: fear of the *Russians* obliges her to oppose the scheme the czarina has formed of gaining a footing in the empire, by which means the *Polish* provinces will be more than ever exposed to the ravages and ambitious purposes of that growing, formidable, and vast empire.

END of the HISTORY of POLAND.

The HISTORY of LITHUANIA.

S E C T. I.

Containing a more explicit Account of the present State of the Great Duchy of Lithuania than is to be found in the Polish History.

a **W**HEN we reflect how long it was before the light of science could penetrate through those thick mists of ignorance which overspread *Prussia, Poland, Lithuania, and Russia*, we shall find more reason to wonder that any traces of the ancient history of the nations inhabiting those countries should remain, than that the context should be broken, the relation imperfect, and the concise tradition extremely unsatisfactory. Notwithstanding their origin may be deduced from the same common stem with the *Danes* and *Swedes*, and they live under the influence of similar climates, they differ considerably in genius, temper, and disposition. No curiosity to know what was transacted by their ancestors appears to have taken possession of the breasts of the *Lithuanians*, while the *Danes* were eternally singing the noble achievements of their heroic forefathers in sublime poetical compositions, the very nature of which imprinted them deeply on the memory, and transmitted them almost as securely from one generation to another, as if the use of letters had been known. Whoever is acquainted with the genius of their language, must know that it is scarce possible to substitute one word for another, without destroying that harmony of numbers which is inseparable from the sense. Bards were maintained by the great to recite those compositions; and though they were blended with much fable and absurdity, yet the art of criticism was still able to extract truth sufficient to convey a tolerably distinct idea of the wars, customs, religion and policy of the nation. With the *Poles*, and especially the *Lithuanians*, it was otherwise. They were plunged in the deepest ignorance and barbarism as late as the year 1386, when their great-duke *Jagello* embraced the Christian faith on being elected king of *Poland*, and in a progress which he made through *Lithuania*, introduced the arts and such of the sciences as were known among his new subjects^a. It was some time after this period that letters were brought into the great duchy; and the *Latin* tongue began to be cultivated with the same assiduity as in *Poland*; yet far from making any efforts in polite learning, the *Lithuanians* contented themselves with applying their knowledge of the *Roman* language to theological disquisitions, and that species of metaphysical jargon, which in those days might be deemed the epidemical distemper of *Europe*. The people had no turn for poetry, and that branch was neglected; they scarce knew any thing by oral tradition of their ancestors, and the basis of history was wanting. Accordingly we find that all the labour of learned diligent modern writers has scarce been able to compile naked annals, or to form a series of the princes who successively governed this country, with a few particulars of the wars, revolutions, and conquests. *Alexander Guagnini* is the only writer with whom we are acquainted, that even merits the name of an annalist; and how imperfect and concise he is, will appear from the ensuing narrative, which is chiefly deduced from his account, amended and enlarged by observations extracted from *Stella, Cromer, Hartnoch*, and other writers, contained in that useful collection of the learned *Pistorius*.

e THE etymology of *Lithuania*, called *Litwa* by the natives, is equally uncertain and conjectural with the history of the duchy. *Hartnoch* deduces the name from *Lituo*, a prince of the *Alani*, who settled in this country and obtained the sovereignty. Hence he gave it the appellation of *Lituo Alania*, whence, by an easy transition it came to be called *Lithuania*, or *Litwa* simply. The etymon proposed by *Guagnini* is much more strained and unnatural: he alleges that *Palemon*, an *Italian* nobleman, driven from his native land by the tyranny of the prince, arrived, after a tedious navigation, upon the coast of the *Baltic*, took up his residence in this country, obtained the sovereignty, and gave it the appellation of *La Italia*, which, by mixing with the vernacular idiom, degenerated in course of time into *Lithuania*. In proof that such a voyage and family existed, we find no stronger argument than that the *Sclavonic*, or vernacular tongue of this country, is blended

Etymology of Lithuania.

^a CROMER, STELLA, &c. apud Pistor.

with a variety of *Latin* words; and that the names of the noble families are in general *Italian*, while those of the vulgar are intirely *Sclavonian*. The strength of this argument, and the probability of the above conjectures, we shall submit to the examination of our curious readers, and proceed to a description of the country^b.

Geography and
commodities of
Lithuania.

IN the history of *Poland* we gave such a general account as we thought necessary to elucidate the narrative; we shall now be more particular, in order to make the public better acquainted with a country almost intirely unknown to the southern and western nations of *Europe*. The duchy of *Lithuania* is of vast extent, being bordered by *Russia* and *Livonia* on the North; on the East by *Volbinia* and *Russia Rubra*; on the South and West by *Upper Poland*, *Podlachia*, *Ducal Prussia* and *Samogitia*. It is watered by several fine rivers, of which the chief are the *Nieper*, *Dwina*, *Niemen*, and *Przypiec*, and covered by vast forests, most of which are divided by large, fertile, and beautiful lawns, extremely well cultivated. Since the reign of the first *Sigismund* the country has been exceedingly improved, by cutting down the woods and pursuing agriculture with more skill and diligence than had ever been exerted before that period. The pasture of *Lithuania* is fine; and the fleeces yielded by the sheep so exquisite, that in this consists one of the most valuable commodities of the country. The lakes and rivers are well stocked with fish; the woods abound with bears, wolves, wild boars, deer, buffaloes, and game of every kind: in a word, the necessities of life are in great plenty, yet the people are poor and wretched for want of a well-directed industry. Money is scarce beyond conception, because the inhabitants have no idea of commerce; and the *Lithuanians* may be said to starve amidst abundance, merely because the nobility are proud, and the peasants lazy, ignorant, and oppressed, like their neighbours in *Poland*. Were it not for the aversion to trade, which the *Lithuanians* express, a prodigious traffic might be driven in corn, beet, hides, wool, honey, pot-ashes, wood-ashes, and other commodities, whence the country might be enriched, and the people sufficiently supplied with all the superfluities that by other nations are universally deemed essential to happiness.

Vassalage of
the inferior
nobility.

THE same kind of vassalages and servitude prevails here as in *Poland*; the peasants are the slaves of the nobility, and the latter so numerous that the whole duchy, were it equally parcelled, would be insufficient to support their dignity. On the contrary, the lands are in the hands of a few grandees, whose revenues are truly princely, while the inferior nobility, equally poor and despicable, are forced to enter in the capacity of pages, bailiffs, valets, stewards, and treasurers, into the service of the more wealthy; yet they maintain their titles, oppress the peasants, and become insolent and rapacious, in proportion to their indigence. Several of the rich and powerful nobility retain above an hundred gentlemen and noblemen of high quality, by way of pageantry; they are profuse, vain, and ostentatious, squandering their vast revenues in a barbarous magnificence, that favours neither of taste nor sentiment; and indeed such is the general defect in the œconomy of the great, that property would be continually shifting, were it not that they engross all the lucrative employments and places in the disposal of the sovereign.

Lithuania in-
dependent on
Poland.

LITHUANIA, united in a political view under one head with the *Polish* republic, nevertheless preserves its own distinct privileges, laws, civil and military officers, and an army separate from that of *Poland*, commanded by a general independent on the grand-general of the republic; a circumstance frequently attended with inconvenience, and fatal to the measures planned by the administration: yet is this a prerogative which the *Lithuanians* cannot be expected to surrender, as independency in this and other particulars was the express condition of the union, equally advantageous in all other respects to both nations, especially since that coequation established in 1413, with respect to public offices and the protection of liberty. The same religion is professed in both countries, the Catholic faith being established by law, though a variety of schismatics are tolerated and even protected by the laws. The duchy swarms with *Jews*, *Socinians*, *Lutherans*, and *Calvinists*; but of all dissenters the *Greeks* meet with the most encouragement from the government, which civility may possibly be ascribed to the dread the *Lithuanians* are under of the power of *Russia*, where this mode of religion is established.

The people en-
joy several cus-
toms in com-
mon with the
Russians.

FOR centuries back the *Muscovites* have been regarded as the inveterate enemies of *Lithuania*; and we have seen repeated instances of their terrible incursions and ravages, in course of the preceding history; yet are many of the customs and manners of both nations extremely similar. The peasants plough, sow, feed, and dress in nearly the same manner; both are extravagantly fond of spirituous liquors, and each preserve some remains of the antient idolatry, notwithstanding Christianity hath been long embraced. *Hauteville* informs us, that as late as the year 1697, great numbers of the *Lithuanian* peasants used to sacrifice, at a certain time of the year, to an imaginary deity, whom they called *Ziemi-*

^b HART. tom. i. p. 2. GUAG. apud Pistot. tom. ii. p. 381.

a *mien ck*: and it is well known, that at this day they maintain, with great care, a species of serpents in their houses, which they worship as domestic tutelary deities, at the same time they make profession of the light of the Gospel. Already we have shewn that this people were followers of the doctrines of *Zoroaster*; and we are told that their veneration for fire is not yet laid aside; however, the accounts we have of the speculative opinions, as well as the practice of the *Lithuanians*, are so imperfect and unsatisfactory, that we must drop the subject, chusing rather to appear deficient than fabulous.

We shall now give a short description of the principal cities of this duchy, from whence an idea of the power, wealth, and present state of *Lithuania* may be collected. The first in dignity, opulence, and extent, is *Wilna*, *Vilna*, or *Wilda*, the capital of the duchy, b situated on the banks of the *Wilia*, near the confluence of this river and the *Wilika*, and built like antient *Rome*, on several little eminences (A). The antient palace of the dukes is in this city; it was magnificent, but now is become ruinous, being converted into an arsenal and court of justice. As late as the reign of *Sobieſki*, *Wilna* was in a flourishing condition, being adorned with the ducal palace, kept in great order and fortified by two strong castles. Still it is decorated by a rich and beautiful church, built in the year 1586, in which stands a silver shrine, said to weigh above thirty quintals. The populousness and great extent of *Wilna* may be judged from the number of its churches, which exceed forty, whereof only two are allowed for Protestants. Considering how often this city has been the scene of desolation, it is surprising it should retain any part of its antient magnificence. In c 1610 it was laid waste by the *Russians*. In less than fifty years after it met with the same fate, before it had recovered strength and vigour. In 1737 it was destroyed by fire; and in 1748 there happened a dreadful conflagration, whereby thirteen churches, the *Jewish* synagogue, twenty-five palaces, and four hundred and sixty-nine stone buildings, near two hundred shops, and a great number of private houses, were laid in ashes. About thirteen years since, the city was again set on fire by lightning, which consumed several churches, eight palaces, the council-house, and near three hundred stone edifices, besides an infinity of wood houses, the common method of building in *Lithuania*. The great church sustained considerable damage; the chapel of St. *Casimir* was destroyed, which loss alone was estimated at several millions of the money of the country. *Wilna* has a college endowed with a variety d of privileges. This seminary was founded in 1570, by bishop *Szuszkowski*, confirmed nine years after by king *Stephen*, and erected into an university by *Gregory XIII.* at the request of the bishop of *Wilna*, the founder. There are seven professors of theology, seven of polite learning, or *humanity*, and four of philosophy; but this branch of science hath made scarce any progress, the old *Aristotelian* philosophy being still taught in the schools, as more consonant to the absurd scheme of divinity, which to this day keeps its ground in *Poland* and *Lithuania*.

Description of
Wilna.

In the palatinate of *Troki* stands the city of that name, called in *Latin*, *Trocum*. This city is large, populous, built with wood, and fortified by two castles, and a strong wall, which is now falling into ruin. Before the palace at *Wilna* was built, the ducal residence e was at *Troki*; but the city and palace were destroyed by fire in the year 1390, and again demolished by the *Russians* in 1655. Notwithstanding *Troki* is deemed the capital of the palatinate, it is greatly inferior in bulk, beauty, opulence, and number of inhabitants, to *Grodno*, the alternate residence of the united diets of *Poland* and *Lithuania*. This city f stands on the river *Niemen*; is defended by an old castle, deep moat, and strong fortifications, now mouldering into decay. The greatest ornaments of the city are a beautiful bridge, laid over the river by *Sigismund III.* the finest piece of architecture in the *Polish* dominions, and an elegant palace built by the present king of *Poland*, at an immense expence. The palaces belonging to the families of *Sapieha* and *Radziwil* are likewise very superb structures: to which we may add the *Jesuits* church, and a few other public and private edifices. In *Grodno* the fraternity of *Jesus* have a college for the instruction of youth, which is in considerable reputation, many of the nobility, both of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, sending their children to receive the first principles of education, under the tuition of a society celebrated for their skill in the arts and sciences. In 1753 almost the whole city was consumed by fire; but it has been since rebuilt, and restored to its former grandeur.

Troki.

Grodno.

BRESSIA, *Brecia*, *Bristia*, or *Brezsk*, is a large wooden city, built on the borders of *Lithuania*, standing on the river *Bog*, and the capital of a palatinate of its own name. Here is the most numerous society of *Jews* in *Europe*, and a kind of an academy of Rabbinical erudition, to which the *Jews* of *Italy* and the *German* provinces not only resort, *Brescia*.

(A) This city is also called *Vilenski* by the natives, and *Die Wilde* by the *Germans*; but the most common name is *Wilna*, to which we have adhered in the course of our narrative (1).

(1) *Connor*, tom. i. lett. vi.

but

but study and pass through certain learned degrees. At a small distance from the city stands a royal palace of good architecture, but neglected by the reigning family. In the same palatinate stands *Biala*, once famous for its university, and now remarkable only upon account of a fine palace belonging to the house of *Radzivil*.

Mscislaw. *MSCISLAW*, the capital of a palatinate of that name, in the province of *Lithuanian Russia*, built of wood, defended by a strong castle, and generally well garrisoned on account of its vicinity to the frontiers of *Muscovy*.

Novogrodec. *NOVOGRODEC*, also the capital of a palatinate in the same province, is a large town, built with the same materials as the former, and antiently the patrimony of the second sons of the sovereigns of the Great Duchy.

Witiefbo. The next city which deserves any note is *Witiefbo*, or *Vitesbo*. It is situated on the banks of the river *Dwina*, is defended by two strong castles, and carries on a considerable trade with *Riga*, and other places in *Livonia*. In *Guagnini's* time there was constantly a garrison of two thousand men kept here; and he acquaints us, that he himself commanded one of the companies, consisting of five hundred soldiers.

Minski. *MINSKI* is the metropolitan of a palatinate of the same name, in the above province. The city is large and strong, being inclosed by a double wall, a deep ditch, and other fortifications, which, however, could now make but a slight resistance against the improvements in the methods of attack.

Polockz. THE last city we shall mention is *Polockz*, the capital of the palatinate of this name, in *Black Russia*, a part of *Lithuanian Russia*. It stands on the *Dwina*, is well fortified with two strong castles, and is the residence of a bishop. The inhabitants carry on a considerable trade, and money is in great abundance in this city, on account of the provincial diets and courts of judicature, which are held in this place. In *Polockz* the Jesuits have a college, and the *Greeks* an academy, for the study of philosophy. We thought it necessary to give the reader this short account of a country so little known in the western parts of *Europe*; but to enter upon a minute topographical description of every town and district would be foreign to our design, and equally destitute of amusement and instruction.

S E C T. II.

Containing the History of the Great Dukes of Lithuania, until the Union of the Duchy with Poland, in the Reign of Jagello.

IT is probable that the *Lithuanians* have the same common origin with the *Poles*, and all the northern nations. Writers, indeed pretend to ascertain the particular name by which they were anciently distinguished, and call them the *Gepidae*, a branch of that vast army of *Cimbri* who over-ran *Italy* in the consulship of *Caius Marius*, and were defeated and driven back; with the loss of forty thousand men, by that hero. About the fifth century the inhabitants of the duchy had the name of *Lithuanians*, according to *Erasmus Stella*, from *Litalanus*, son of *Venedictus*, king of *Prussia*, their conqueror. None of the circumstances of this affair are recorded, though *Stella's* conjectures have an air of probability, and, if not true, must be allowed at least to be ingenious. For a great number of years they were subject to the *Russians*, a people then immersed in the grossest idolatry and most pitiable ignorance: the manners of both were nearly the same, and consequently we cannot expect a single ray of light to direct our inquiries into this period of obscurity. Whether the *Lithuanians* were governed during their subjection by a *Russian* lieutenant, or whether they had their own princes, and only paid tribute to the conquerors, is what we cannot determine: history only mentions, that *Mendolphus*, or *Mendog*, *Witenus*, and *Gediminus*, were the first *Lithuanians* who made any attempts to break the shackles in which the people were held, and to claim independency. Those heroes kindled up the sparks of liberty, which had long been smothered under the most tyrannical servitude; and notwithstanding the total ignorance of the *Lithuanians* in the art of war, their broken and oppressed spirit, and that pusillanimity which ever accompanies slavery, they so animated them by their eloquence and example, that a general revolt appeared, and divers obstinate battles were fought with the *Russians*. Practice soon made the *Lithuanians* soldiers: they were brave and hardy by nature, and wanted only military skill, and proof that their conquerors were not invincible, to acquire freedom and reputation. We shall have occasion to relate their transactions, when we come to the reign of those princes.

WHATEVER obscurity there may appear to us in the history of *Lithuania*, in the period preceding the reign of *Mendog*, the celebrated *Alexander Guagnini* hath ventured to deduce a series of princes from the *Italian* refugee *Palæmon*, though we cannot discover upon what authority. We have already mentioned the conjecture of this writer respecting the

- a name of the country; that it was called *La Italia* by *Palemon*, who, on account of his superior knowledge in the civilized arts, and perhaps in war, was raised to the supreme authority; in which, after his decease, he was succeeded by his three grandsons, *Borcus*, *Cunossus*, and *Spera*, among whom he made an equal partition of his dominions.

B O R C U S, C U N O S S U S, and S P E R A.

- THE large territory of *Samogitia* was assigned to *Borcus*, of whom *Guagnini* relates nothing, besides his having built a strong castle for his residence, on the river *Juria*, at its confluence with the *Niemen*, which he called after his own name and that of the river on which it was situated. At this day there is an old castle on the same spot, called *Jurborgh*.
b We have no account whether he survived his second brother *Cunossus*, or whether he submitted to the *Russian* yoke: we are only told, that *Cunossus* extended his dominions a different way, and built the castle called *Cunossow*, of which we have had occasion to speak in the preceding History of *Poland*. Whether it was by force of arms, by treaty, or by intrigue, that this prince extended his influence, we are left to conjecture. As for *Guagnini*, he only says, that, upon the death of the two brothers, *Borcus* and *Spera*, their dominions were seized by *Cunossus*, annexed to his own, and transmitted to his two sons *Kyernus* and *Gybutus*.

K Y E R N U S and G Y B U T U S.

- c THE latter of these princes had *Samogitia*, and the great duchy of *Lithuania* was given to the former, who erected the castle of *Kyernow*, and there fixed his residence. The *Russians*, and even the *Lithuanians*, ascribe the name of the country to this prince, who formed it from *littus* and *tuba*; or from *lituus*, a hunting-horn, because it afforded great variety of all kinds of game, and that *Kyernus* delighted in field-diversions. At his death, he left his dominions to his son *Zivibund*, while *Gybutus* governed *Samogitia* with great reputation. It would appear, that either the *Prussians* had not yet established themselves in *Lithuania* or *Samogitia*, or that the brothers were too spirited to submit tamely; for we are told, that after several conflicts, and one complete victory gained over those barbarians, they penetrated into the frontiers of *Muscovy*, laid all waste before them, and were returning with an immense booty, when they received advice that the *Livonians* had entered and destroyed *Samogitia*. These invaders had quitted the country, loaded with plunder, before the return of the princes; upon which they immediately resolved to take their revenge, entered the province of *Livonia*, and pillaged, burnt, and destroyed all that came in their way. Such was the barbarous method of carrying on war in those times!

Z I V I B U N D U S and M U N T W I L.

- THESE princes succeeded to the dominions of their fathers, either by election or hereditary claim; for no author hath remarked the exact period when the *Lithuanian* became a mixed government, and a compound of monarchy and democracy, at which time it is probable the ducal crown was made elective. *Muntwil* survived his elevation but a few months, and at his death he left his dominions to his son *Vikunt*; or rather, according to *Guagnini*, had interest enough with his subjects to procure the continuance of the supreme dignity in his family: from whence we may infer that it was elective, and that the people claimed the privilege of chusing their own sovereigns. *Zivibund* lived upon terms of amity with his nephew, with design to engage him in the projects he had formed against *Russia*, a country which at this time was dreadfully ravaged by the *Tartars*. So favourable an occasion of increasing his wealth and glory could not escape the politic active prince. He detached an army, under the command of *Erdzivil*, son to *Vikunt*, towards the frontiers; and, by the valour of that young prince, reduced the city, castle, and surrounding country of *Novogrodec*, which he erected into a separate and independent duchy. This laid the foundation of further conquests, and enabled *Zivibund* to extend his dominions far beyond his first design. Advancing towards the river *Niemen*, he conquered all the adjacent territory, and built the strong castle of *Grodno*, in a place almost impregnable by nature. These advantages served only to spur on his ambition to still greater undertakings. Accordingly he descended into *Podlachia*, and easily gained possession of *Brezcia*, *Mielnic*, *Drochisca*, and other towns and cities that had been desolated by the *Tartars*, and at last of the whole province, which he annexed to *Lithuania* and the duchy of *Novogrodec*; assigning, however, large parcels of land, and bestowing certain honours and privileges, upon all the soldiers and officers who had distinguished themselves in the expedition, which they afterwards held on the footing of military tenures. To this day divers noble families in that country bear the names of those heroes who had been honoured with these marks of sovereign esteem. It is probable that young *Erdzivil* was

all this while at the head of the forces; for we now find him augmenting his troops, marching against the *Tartars*, and defeating their king *Kurdassus*, in a bloody pitched battle, fought at the town of *Mezera*, near the river *Okuniokya*. He is indeed mentioned by our author as prince of *Lithuania*; and it is possible he might have succeeded to that dignity on the death of *Zivibund*, his valour and other heroic qualities having rendered him extremely popular; yet is there no express detail of his government, though *Guagnini* intimates that he reigned, when he says that he was succeeded by his two sons,

M I N G A I L U S and A L G I M U N T U S.

MINGAILUS and *Algimuntus* were the children of *Erdzivil*. The latter had *Samogitia* for his portion, and the former *Lithuania*; a duchy which we see was always assigned to the elder brother as the most valuable, and in some measure the paternal part of the *Lithuanian* dominions; for though, among the northern nations, the power of election was vested in the people, yet there are but comparatively few instances where primogeniture hath been set aside, except for incapacity to govern, or some fault of disposition. We know nothing of the government of *Algimuntus*, and little more of that of *Mingailus*, than that he trod in the system laid down by his father, of extending his authority at the expence of the inveterate enemy of his duchy, the *Russians*. After a variety of skirmishes, attended with various fortune, he came at length to a general action with the enemy near *Grodzeckz*, a *Russian* fortress, which he destroyed; and after victory had been long disputed with great obstinacy, and several thousands on both sides were slain, fortune declared for *Mingailus*, the *Russians* were totally defeated, the city *Polocz* was taken, the province of that name reduced, and the government of the reigning prince rendered as absolute as that of his father over the territory of *Novogrodec*. Having by these means secured and extended his dominions, exalted his character, and impressed the neighbouring princes with awe and respect for his person, he yielded up his last breath, and left his dominions to his two sons in the same equal manner that had been practised by all the former princes of *Lithuania*.

S K I R M U N T or S K I E R M U N, and G I N V I L.

THE first of these princes, who was also the elder brother, was duke of *Lithuania* and *Novogrodec*; while the younger, in consequence of his father's will, entered into the possession of *Polocz*, which he formed into a duchy. *Skirmunt* was mild, timid, and inactive, contenting himself with the quiet enjoyment of his own dominions, without seeking to enlarge them, or encroach on the property of his neighbours; in which consisted almost the whole virtue of the barbarous princes of that military age, when valour was deemed superior to all other qualities, and justice in a sovereign was thought a plea for pusillanimity. Nothing is recorded besides of this duke.—His brother was of a disposition the very reverse of what we have described: lively, impetuous, and ambitious, he adopted the maxims pursued by his father and grand-father; regarded the *Russian* dominions as legal plunder; and though there subsisted no other cause of difference than the ancient animosity of the two nations, he entered upon a war, and by his success gained the reputation of a hero. *Ginvil* was the first of the *Lithuanian* race of princes who embraced Christianity. He was converted by his wife, a lady of *German* extraction, was baptized by the name of *Ginvil*, and died a sincere believer, leaving the duchy of *Polocz* to his son *Boris*, who also succeeded to his uncle's dominions, *Skirmunt* having left no male issue.

B O R I S.

No sooner were the last obsequies performed to the memory of *Ginvil* than *Boris* took into his hands the reins of authority, and soon gave convincing proofs of his dexterity and capacity. He did not enter upon open hostilities with any of his neighbours; but the formidable army which he maintained, and the excellent œconomy observable through every department of the state, impressed the powers most disposed to a rupture with such an idea of *Boris*, that fear obliged them to drop their resentment and ambitious designs. Having, by mere dint of good policy, secured the peace of his dominions, he applied himself to beautify and adorn the country with several magnificent buildings, among the principal of which might be reckoned the church of *St. Sophia*, a beautiful edifice built with bricks. To this prince the town and castle of *Borissow* owe their origin, as well as several cities, churches, and public buildings; from whence we may infer, that, bred up in the Christian faith by his parents, he was desirous of extending the blessings of the Gospel (A).

(A) It will admit of no doubt that *Boris* was a Christian, if what *Guagnini* alledges be credited, viz. that he built a monastery, and fine church, to the Lord *Jesus Christ*, which he endowed with certain privileges.

This at the same time implies, that he was not duke of *Lithuania*; for *Jagello* is said to be the first convert to Christianity in that duchy (1).

(1) Vide *Crom. tom. i. apud Pist.*

- a After all, it is doubtful whether this prince was actually sovereign of *Lithuania*, or whether he succeeded to *Polocz* only. Some writers alledge, that *Mingailus* left a son, who governed in *Lithuania* during the period we have recited in the two last reigns; but as it would be impossible, at this distance of time, and with the scanty materials which the annals of this country afford, to correct any errors that may have crept into the succession, we shall pursue the order observed by *Guagnini*, and relate all that we know of the dukes of the new duchy *Polocz*, as there appears a probability that they might also have been dukes of *Lithuania*.

B A S I L I U S R A C H W O L D.

- b THE next prince of *Polocz*, and probably of *Lithuania*, was *Basilus Rachwold*, the son of *Boris*, celebrated for the humanity of his disposition, and the sound policy that reigned through his whole government. No particulars of this reign are transmitted to posterity, farther than that it was happy and pacific. *Basilus*, dying at an advanced age, left his dominions to his son *Hebus* and his daughter *Poroskavia*.

H E B U S and P O R O S K A V I A.

- c THE dominions of *Basilus* were divided between *Hebus* and his sister; but we are strangers to the provinces assigned to each; nor do we know any thing more of the prince than that he died soon after his accession, and left *Poroskavia* sole sovereign. This lady was a devotee: at first she was a bigot to the church of *Greece*, and employed her whole time in the ceremonies enjoined by that religion. Towards the close of life she was converted to the Catholic faith, and soon became the weak tool of priestcraft, superstition, and hypocrisy, carrying her enthusiasm so far as to desert her people for the sake of kissing the toe of *St. Peter's* representative, and offering up her devotions before certain relics at *Rome*, where she died.

S K I R M U N T II.

- d It is next to impossible to determine whether this prince was the son of *Poroskavia*, or only the next of kin to the ducal crown. *Guagnini*, indeed, speaks of him as if he were the son of *Mingailus*, the elder son of *Erdzivil*, who, according to some writers, succeeded to the ducal throne of *Zivibund*. But it appears, from some expressions in the *Polish* writers, that there was at least the space of fourscore years between *Zivibund* and *Poroskavia*; whence we conjecture that *Boris*, *Basilus*, and *Hebus* were actually sovereigns of *Lithuania* as well as of *Polocz*, though they took up their residence in the latter duchy; and that the *Skirmunt* whose reign we are now about to relate, was either the son of *Poroskavia*, or a prince of the blood, raised at her death to the supreme dignity by the suffrages of the people. The four last-mentioned princes take up a shorter period than the single reign of *Skirmunt*, according to *Guagnini*; and yet he confesses that *Basilus* reigned a great number of years, and died at a very advanced age; by which means he renders the *Lithuanian* chronology so perplexed, that there is no possibility of reconciling it with the *Polish*, except by supposing that two princes of the same name wore the ducal crown at different and distant intervals. We must acknowledge, however, that, after all our labour, we have not been able to fix the precise time when each duke flourished; but we may form a general estimate of the chronology of the *Lithuanian* princes, by tracing them back from *Jagello*, or even from some of his predecessors; because the æra of his accession to the crown of *Poland* is determined, and some of the transactions of the preceding reigns happen to coincide with the relations of the *Polish* writers. *Skirmunt II.* was constantly engaged in war with the *Russians*, and generally victorious. He gave their general *Miceslaus*, whom some call duke of *Russia*, a decisive overthrow in the neighbourhood of *Pinska*; then stormed, sacked, and destroyed that city, and reduced *Terowia*. Afterwards he defeated *Balaklaius*, prince of the *Tartars*, who had made incursions into his conquests in *Russia*; and, after taking several thousand prisoners, obliged him to retreat with great precipitation. He next carried fire and sword into the very bowels of the *Muscovite* empire, because the prince of *Russia*, in conjunction with the *Tartars*, had endeavoured to revenge the late disgraces by an attack on *Lithuania*. Notwithstanding these repeated victories, the duchy was still regarded as a province, and the dukes acknowledged the sovereignty of the great duke of *Russia*, at the same time they were engaged in open hostilities with his great vassals and the governors of provinces, who sometimes threw off their allegiance to the sovereign. This would seem to be the case in the present instance; for though we are told that the *Lithuanians* and *Russians* were perpetually at war, yet it is confessed that *Mendog* was the first who broke the chains of the *Lithuanians*, and rendered the duchy independent on the *Russian* empire. *Skirmunt* now met a body of *Muscovites* in

in the open field, and, after defeating them with prodigious slaughter, subdued the cities and provinces of *Mozera*, *Czernichovia*, and *Carazovia*, which he annexed to his own dominions, and left to his three sons, to be held of the ducal crown of *Lithuania*, that went to his uncle *Kukovitus*. a

K U K O V I T U S.

THIS reign exhibits a strong presumption that the *Lithuanian* crown was elective; for we see the three sons of the late sovereign set aside to make way for the uncle, though no reason is assigned for this proceeding by any historian. *Kukovitus* pursued different maxims from those adopted by his nephew; and, either out of policy, or from a pacific disposition, struck up a treaty with the *Russians*, which he preserved inviolably through a long series of years to the end of his life. At his decease his dominions devolved to his son-in-law, b

G I E D R E S S U S,

who had married his only daughter and sole heiress *Paiata*. He was a prince of extraordinary ability and valour; yet he found it adviseable to preserve the public tranquillity, and live upon terms of friendship with the *Russians*, whom he detested as the inveterate enemies of his country. To this system he closely adhered during the course of a long reign, by which means he rendered the inhabitants of *Lithuania* and *Samogitia* more happy than under any former prince. Impartial posterity will admire the virtue of a sovereign who is capable of sacrificing his inclinations and ambition to the real interest of his people. c

R I N G O L T.

ON the death of *Giedressus*, *Ringolt*, his only son, stepped into the ducal throne with the unanimous consent of the whole nation, who had discovered in his youth all the qualities of a hero, which however the maxims of his father's government had prevented his exerting. To the sound judgment of the parent, he joined all that fire and vigour of genius which prompt the soul to action and enterprize. He was sensible he might preserve his dominions in peace and security by following the steps marked out by his predecessor; but he likewise knew that the civil divisions in *Russia* afforded an opportunity of extending his authority, and perhaps of recovering national liberty, and abolishing that shameful and grating tribute paid to the grand-duke of *Muscovy*. This last was a policy more consonant to his inclinations, and that activity of mind of which he was possessed. He therefore began to augment his forces and garrisons, and made all the necessary preparations for coming to an open rupture; and, the first year after his accession, he refused paying the usual homage to a prince who considered himself as his sovereign. *Ringolt's* spirited conduct incensed the great-duke of *Russia*, and determined him not only to levy the tribute, but to invade *Lithuania*, and strip the young prince of all his dominions. Accordingly he assembled a prodigious army, composed of *Russians* and *Tartars*, marched towards the frontiers of the duchy, and advanced to *Mobelna*, where he was met, with far inferior forces, by *Ringolt*, who nevertheless joined battle without reluctance. The engagement was bloody: numbers were opposed to courage, and victory for a long while fluctuated from one side to another. At length, *Ringolt*, supported by a body of chosen troops, broke in upon the *Tartars*, and defeated them with terrible carnage. Their confusion produced disorder among the *Russians*, which was improved by the skill and intrepidity of the *Lithuanian* duke, who, dropping the pursuit of the fugitive *Tartars*, fell upon the rear of the *Russians* with his select corps, and without considerable loss obtained a complete victory. In this engagement were slain three generals of the first distinction in the *Russian* army, and the czar escaped being taken prisoner with the utmost difficulty. In a word, it was the most glorious and decisive advantage ever obtained by the *Lithuanians* against an enemy: it opened the way to conquest, and laid the foundation of that liberty that was so bravely recovered by *Mendog*, the son and successor of the intrepid *Ringolt*. After this victory, the prince crowned his reputation by a variety of acts of clemency and public spirit; but we are not informed whether he pursued his blow, enlarged his dominions, or abolished the tribute, agreeable to his first resolution. We may infer, that he still consented to acknowledge the sovereignty of *Muscovy*, as *Mendog*, *Vitenus*, and *Gediminus*, are called the first princes who restored and fully established the independency of *Lithuania*. d e f

M E N D O G.

A. D. 1245. FULL of years and glory *Ringolt* died, and left the duchy of *Lithuania*, and vast territory of *Samogitia*, to his son *Mendog*, with the full consent and approbation of his subjects. The young prince inherited all the good qualities of his glorious ancestors: he had been taught g

a taught the arts of war and peace under the immediate instruction of a father, who was the best statesman and soldier in his dominions. His genius was quick, penetrating, and lively: and his capacity vast and extensive. He entered upon the government with advantages which no former prince ever enjoyed: the revenues were in the best order, the army completely flushed with victory, and the people extremely attached to his person; consequently he was enabled to enter upon still greater designs than *Ringolt's* situation would permit. His first expeditions were against the knights of the *Teutonic* Order residing in *Prussia*, who, by dint of valour and intrigue, had gained possession of a vast tract of country, were daily augmenting their territories, and were now become formidable to *Poland*, and all the neighbouring states and kingdoms. It was policy, rather than
b any particular injury, that impelled *Mendog* to this enterprize. He perceived that the most rational means of establishing the security of his own dominions was to attack an ambitious fraternity, who would certainly invade *Lithuania* as soon as a fair opportunity offered, and they believed themselves sufficiently powerful. With this view he advanced at the head of a numerous army towards *Prussia*, and penetrated into the bowels of the country before the knights had prepared the means of resistance. Here he reduced a great variety of towns, and obtained such important advantages, that the fraternity made all the concessions required, and gave full security that they would make no attempts to disturb the peace either of *Lithuania* or *Samogitia*.

HAVING fully accomplished his designs on this side, *Mendog* turned his arms against
c the petty sovereigns of *Smolensko* and *Volhinia*, whom he soon reduced to a state of dependence and fealty upon the crown of *Lithuania*. This drew him into a war with *Boleslaus the Chaste*, king of *Poland*, who claimed *Smolensko* and *Volhinia* as provinces of the republic, which he was bound by the *pacta conventa* to protect and deliver down to his successor. It is probable too, that *Boleslaus* had taken part with the *Teutonic* knights, who had been greatly assisting to him in the recovery of his right against the children of *Conrade* and *Henry the Bearded*, as well as in driving the *Tartars* out of *Poland*. Be this as it may, certain it is, that *Mendog*, or *Mindacus*, entered the dominions of the republic, where he committed terrible ravages, almost without opposition, as the whole country was at that time divided into civil factions. The *Polish* writers however alledge, that he was at length met
d and defeated by the republican army, though nothing to this purpose appears in the *Lithuanian* annals. The truth is, that each nation endeavours to magnify victories, and conceal defeats, with as much industry as if the fortune of a war, carried on above five centuries since, could any way affect the reputation of the present generation. If we are to be determined by probability, the advantage was on the side of *Mendog*. He was possessed of great military talents; he was supported by a numerous army flushed with conquest; he fought a divided oppressed enemy; and he no sooner rid himself of this enterprize, than he entered upon another still more dangerous: but we can decide nothing with certainty, where the different relations are so contradictory.

MENDOG terminating the *Polish* war, as we conjecture to his satisfaction, employed
e his arms in the next place against *Daniel* duke of *Russia*, or emperor of *Muscovy*, over whom he obtained many signal victories, in despite of the superiority of that powerful antagonist. We imagine the *Poles* were, at this time, in alliance with the *Russians*; for *Guagnini* alledges, that the *Lithuanians* destroyed whole armies of Christians, although we imagine the doctrine of the gospel was not then publicly received in *Muscovy*; and indeed it would seem from this expression, that *Mendog* himself had abjured the truths which had been adopted by some of his ancestors. This is farther confirmed by an express declaration that he had been converted to Christianity by the *Teutonic* knights, in acknowledgment of which service he made over all his dominions to the order, by an irrevocable decree, at the persuasion of *Henry de Saltza*, or as he is frequently called *Herman a Salsen*, the fourth
f grand-master. This fit of gratitude was but of short duration: *Mendog* began to reflect upon the despicable figure he should make after he was divested of his dignity and dominions, which he now regarded as more than an equivalent for the new lights he had received. He repented of the exchange; and notwithstanding ambassadors had been dispatched to *Rome* to procure the pontiff's ratification, he determined to retract, and not only denied admission to the pope's nuncio into the duchy, but refused surrendering any part of his dominions to the knights, and returned, with his whole people, to the antient idolatry of the country. *Mendog* was too sagacious not to penetrate into the designs of the holy see, and that aspiring order, who, under pretence of giving salvation to the heathen world, were extending their own influence and power; but he first suffered himself to be
g invested with the badges of regal dignity by the pope, before he declared his intentions. When he had gained this point he threw off all disguise, and the knights found it advisable not to pursue the dictates of resentment. On the contrary, they clapped up a treaty with him, and entered into an alliance against the duke of *Mazovia*, whose territories now

became the object of *Mendog's* ambition. This country he invaded with a powerful army, and carried all before him by fire and sword; but some advantage which the knights had taken in his absence, obliged him to return before he had completed his design, and enter upon a fresh war with the *Teutonic* order. He attacked *Prussia* without the formality of remonstrance or declaration, laid an infinity of cities, towns, and villages in ashes, slew all the Christians that came in his way, without distinction, and rendered the whole a most pitious spectacle of cruelty and barbarity. In the winter he returned with vast spoil into *Lithuania*, fully proposing to renew his profitable incursions the succeeding season. The spring accordingly no sooner arrived than he began his third expedition against the knights, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, after the grandmasters of *Livonia* and *Prussia* had perished in the field. He next laid siege to *Car-*
sowin and *Heizburg*, both which places he reduced by famine, after an obstinate re-
sistance, which encouraged him to invest *Königsberg*, where he was repulsed with great slaughter.

ON his return to *Livonia*, *Mendog* applied assiduously to repair his losses, and put the army and treasury in the best condition possible; after effecting which he formed a new project against *Mazovia*, and entered into an alliance with *Swarno* prince of *Russia*. Collecting a vast army he made a sudden irruption into the duchy, laid half *Mazovia* in ashes, and, by the celerity of his motions, found means to surprise duke *Zemovitus* in his palace of *Jaslow*, together with his son *Conrade*. The duke, attempting to make some resistance, was slain by the hand of *Swarno*, who cut off his head at one blow; but *Conrade*
was saved by the generosity of *Mendog*, and set at liberty the following year, at a moderate ransom. There now remained nothing to oppose him; the *Lithuanians* ravaged all
Mazovia and *Cujaiva* at pleasure; he burnt the towns, desolated the country, and carried off the men, cattle, and other booty, in what numbers and abundance *Mendog* thought proper. As if his resentment and cruel disposition had not been yet fully satiated, he returned as soon as the rigour of the season would permit; but finding his expectations of plunder disappointed he fell upon some lands belonging to the archbishop of *Gnesna*, reduced and pillaged his towns, and carried off immense booty; for in those days almost half the wealth of the republic was in the hands of ecclesiastics. He scarce met with any opposition in these barbarous incursions; and it doth not appear that the *Poles* at all interested themselves in revenging the injury done to the first prelate of the republic, probably because the civil commotions which had for so many years distracted the kingdom, were not yet subsided. Whether it was that *Boleslaus* had not gained possession of all the provinces belonging to the republic, particularly of *Mazovia*; or that he preferred sitting a tame spectator of the ruin of part of his dominions, to entering upon a war which might endanger the whole: certain it is, that neither the *Polish* nor *Lithuanian* writers take notice of any mutual hostilities between the two nations until the death of *Mendog* and the *Polish* monarch, when the great alliance was formed between the *Russians*, *Tartars*, and *Lithuanians* for the destruction of the republic, in the reign of *Lechus VII.* surnamed *the Black*. The military operations were wholly on the side of the *Lithuanians*, who enriched themselves almost without resistance, by robbing and despoiling all their Christian neighbours. *Mendog* grew more inveterate against them, after he had abjured their faith, and seemed to regard them as a set of impostors, who gained present advantages from the credulous, for vain promises of future felicity. It pleased God at last to remove this scourge of piety and religion, by the hands of his own children. His grand-son *Stroinat*, and his son-in-law *Dounant*, ambitious of sharing his dominions and regal dignity, entered into a conspiracy against his life, and assassinated him while he was asleep in his palace, in the year 1263.

S T R O I N A T.

DEATH had no sooner sealed the eyes of the dreaded *Mendog*, than his grand-son seized upon his dominions; but we do not find that he assumed the regal dignity. *Lithuania* and *Samogitia* fell to his share; while the partner of his crime was forced to content himself with the small territory of *Cosian*, where he built the castle and palace of *Uscian*. The success consequent on the first villainy committed by *Stroinat*, impelled him to deeds equally atrocious and cruel with the murder of his grand-father and sovereign. He now polluted his hands with the blood of his legitimate brother *Forcivil*, duke of *Polocz*, whose dominions he seized, adding one crime to another, until he became the detestation and horror of all his subjects. Several conspiracies were formed to depose or assassinate him; but that just retribution was reserved for *Wicfalk*, the son of the late king *Mendog*, then a monk in the *Russian* dominions. This young prince, fired with the ambition of revenging his father's death, and relieving his oppressed country, that lay expiring under the most cruel stripes of tyranny, privately quitted the habit, came in disguise to the court of *Stroinat*, formed a considerable faction,

a faction, and put the tyrant to death; upon which he stepped into his throne, with the unanimous consent of the people.

W O I S A L K.

THOUGH *Woisalk* had led for some years the life of a recluse, and had, during his youth, discovered no sparks of ambition, yet he no sooner ascended the throne, than it became apparent that the warlike genius of his ancestors was not extinguished in him. He contented himself with the title of duke of *Lithuania*, not chusing, though he acknowledged the supremacy of the holy see, to own obligations to the pontiff for his confirmation. Some writers, indeed, insinuate that he renounced Christianity upon his accession; and possibly this might have been made a condition of his elevation, by an ignorant people, immersed in the most absurd and gross idolatry. It is certain that he soon began warlike preparations, and exhibited such proofs of spirit, vigour, and intrepidity, as greatly astonished the people, because they had mistaken his character. He made dreadful irruptions into *Poland*, and brought back immense treasures in booty. *Prussia* and *Mazovia* were likewise the scenes of his ravages and conquests. Success begot confidence; *Woisalk*, imagining nothing could resist him, entered *Prussia* at the head of a powerful army fully intending to subdue the whole empire; but he had scarce penetrated beyond the frontiers, when he fell into an ambuscade, and was slain in the monastery of *Wrowsko*, after his army had been defeated by duke *Leo*, who, in commemoration of this victory, built the strong fortrefs of *Leopold*. A. D. 1267.

V I T E N U S, or U C I E N U S.

THE loss of this spirited prince was the more regretted by the *Lithuanians*, as in his person the ducal family was extinct. Great divisions arose about the choice of a successor; but at last the crown was decreed to *Vitenus*, said to be collaterally descended from the *Kitauri*, antiently princes in that country. *Vitenus* had no sooner surmounted opposition than he became exceeding popular, the whole nation chearfully offering to assist him in revenging the late disgrace in *Russia*, and the death of the sovereign. He took advantage of the general resentment expressed against the *Russians*, raised a great army, penetrated into the frontier provinces, and made terrible havock among the cities and villages, which he pillaged and destroyed. It does not appear that the enemy opposed him by a regular army, depending, perhaps, on the necessity he should be under of retiring for want of provision and forage; nor were they disappointed in this expectation. The fury of the *Lithuanians* had almost proved the destruction of the whole army. Neglecting the means of retreat, they desolated the country, and on the approach of winter, were forced to return by the same route, destitute of every necessary, pining under want, pinched with cold and hunger, and oppressed with fatigue and disease. Several thousand men perished in this expedition, which proved every way unfortunate, neither the booty, the glory, nor the injury done the *Russians*, having at all corresponded with the sanguine hope entertained: however, the event did not deter *Vitenus* from prosecuting his ambitious designs, and embarking the next season in an expedition against the knights of *Prussia*, who had made some incursions into the *Lithuanian* territories during his absence. Here the fortune of war proved various; frequent battles were fought, seas of blood were spilt, but scarce any advantage was gained by either party, and at length hostilities ceased, as if by mutual consent, rather from inability to pursue them than from motives of policy, or because their resentment was extinguished. It was during this short intermission that *Vitenus* died, with the reputation of an ambitious, restless, turbulent prince, leaving his ducal crown and dominions to his son

S W I N T H O R U S,

who immediately struck up a peace with the *Teutonic* knights, applied himself diligently to repair the ravages of war, and entered upon a system of policy entirely different from what was pursued by his father. *Swinthorus* had a pacific disposition, and was perfectly acquainted with the true interest of *Lithuania*. He cherished trade, encouraged industry, protected the peasants against the tyranny of the lords, rigorously executed the laws, and was preparing a new and more complete plan of legislation, when he was surprized by death in the midst of all his projects for perpetuating the happiness of *Lithuania*.

G E R M O N T U S.

THIS prince was the only son of *Swinthorus*; and as his disposition extremely resembled his father's, great expectations were entertained from his government, in which unfortunately his subjects were disappointed. He had scarce wielded the sceptre a complete year, when he was seized by a disorder which ended only with his life.

TRABUS

T R A B U S.

THE respect which the *Lithuanians* entertained for the memory of his father and grand-father, determined them unanimously to confer the supreme dignity on *Trabus*, the son of the late excellent monarch. The felicity which they first tasted under the tranquil reigns of *Swinthorus* and *Germontus*, gave them a more favourable opinion of pacific talents; for till now the *Lithuanians* estimated a prince's glory by the quantity of blood he had shed, the extent of his conquests, the strength of his arm, and the cruelty of his ravages. Had those excellent dukes lived to accomplish the salutary schemes they had projected, it is probable the barbarous inhabitants of the great duchy would have been civilized long before their union with *Poland*; whereas now they owe this blessing entirely to the accident by which *Jagello* succeeded to the throne of *Lewis*, by his marriage with *Hedwiga*, heiress to the *Polish* dominions. Had *Trabus* given proper attention to the growing disposition of the people, he might have successfully pursued the maxims of his father and grand-father; but though he was far from being of a turbulent humour, yet he gave way to his ambition, and again involved the duchy in wars with her neighbours. The *Russian* provinces, which he held by conquest, and had continued annexed to the grand duchy and *Samogitia* ever since the reign of *Vitenus*, occasioned a rupture with the czar, which *Trabus* did not take the same care as the two last princes to avoid. Several campaigns were made, and success was so equally ballanced, that the contending parties, finding no benefit was likely to result from the prosecution of the war, agreed upon a treaty, whereby things were established on the same footing as at the commencement of hostilities. Writers speak as if this duke had also waged war with the *Prussian* knights; but we know nothing either of the operations or the issue.

TRABUS now at last devoted himself to the true interest of his people, and began by beautifying the country with several magnificent towns and palaces, one of which remains to this day, and bears his name. He displayed a taste, rather indeed for the elegant than the useful arts; but still this proved of the utmost advantage to the *Lithuanians*, as it employed a great number of idle hands, gave them a taste for labour, and weaned them from those savage notions of preying upon the neighbouring powers: yet he neglected the great object pursued in the late reigns, that of establishing a regular system of civil policy. At his death the *Lithuanians* could only be said to be less addicted to war and plunder; they were not more civilized than on his accession.

N A R I M U N D U S.

NARIMUNDUS was the oldest of five legitimate sons left by *Trabus*; and he succeeded him in the government of *Lithuania* and *Samogitia*, each of the others having certain provinces assigned them, dependent on the ducal crown. *Downant*, the second brother, had for his portion the district of *Cosian*, where, according to some writers, he built the fortress of *Uscian*, which others ascribe to a former prince of the same name. *Holsanus*, the third brother, had a district assigned towards the eastern frontier of the duchy, beyond the river *Wilia*; while the fourth brother, *Giedutus*, fixed the seat of his government at a place which he built and called by his own name, upon a beautiful lake, now well known from an antient family descended from him, that still enjoys great power in *Lithuania* (B). As to *Troidenus*, the fifth brother, we know of no other provision made for him besides the reversion of the dominions of his elder brother.

THE first act of *Narimundus's* government was to translate the ducal residence from *Novogrodec*, where it had for several ages been established, to *Kiernow*. Soon after he entered into an alliance with *Russia*, the duke of *Mazovia*, his brothers, and other princes and states, against the *Polish* republic, the particulars of which we have related in the preceding part of this volume. He likewise carried on wars with the *Teutonic* knights, during which his brother *Downant* took the opportunity of debauching and carrying off the princess his wife, in a manner the most base and insidious, which occasioned a civil war between the brothers. *Narimundus* pursued the dictates of his just resentment with all that fire and impetuosity natural to his constitution, excited by such an unpardonable and irreparable injury to his peace of mind and honour. He defeated his brother in the field with terrible slaughter, drove him for shelter into the castle of *Vezina*, besieged him, reduced the fortress, and recovered his wife; but *Downant* unfortunately escaped by a postern gate, just as the duke's forces had entered the castle by assault. His revenge was

(B) To *Narimundus* the *Prussian* annalists ascribe the *sable*, riding full speed on a horse, *argent*, and flourishing a sword over his head, with a lance couched. This *viz.* in a *field*, *gules*, a warrior armed at all points, last part has since been omitted (1).

(1) *Guagn.* p. 48.

a not satiated with recovering his loss; it was necessary to punish, in the most signal manner, the author of her disgrace: Accordingly the duke stripped his treacherous brother of all his dominions, and banished him for ever from the territories of *Lithuania*; but his address and intrigue procured him not only an asylum, but a friendly establishment in the *Russian* dominions, where he was raised to the dignity of duke of *Polocz*, which country it seems had been restored by some of the former dukes of *Lithuania*. Here he soon extended his dominion, and became one of the most powerful and formidable of the petty princes, who, in those days, governed the northern provinces by the title of dukes (C).

b T R O I D E N U S.

ON the decease of *Narimundus*, the duchy of *Lithuania*, with *Samogitia* and its other dependences, devolved, agreeable to the will of *Trabus*, to the younger brother *Troidenus*. The people unanimously acquiesced in the preference given to this prince, as he joined to great military talents an extreme affability, generosity, and dignity of mind, which rendered him equally popular and respected. *Troidenus* had scarce ascended the throne, when he distinguished himself deserving of the public esteem. He promulgated several useful laws and regulations, put the treasury and army in the best condition, suppressed robberies, established an excellent system of œconomy, through all the different departments of the state; and as soon as an opportunity offered for extending his dominions, he embraced it, raised an army of thirty thousand men, and poured his troops into the duchy of *Mazovia* on the one hand, and the territories of the *Prussian* knights on the other. His measures had been concerted with such prudence and secrecy, and executed with so much rapidity, that he swept all before him, over-run almost all *Prussia* and *Mazovia*, and returned laden with the richest spoils which had ever been brought into *Lithuania*. Notwithstanding he had desolated and laid waste the duchy of *Mazovia*, he owed duty and filial reverence to the old duke, to whose daughter he was married. By this lady he had a son, who professed Christianity, and took upon him the clerical habit, according to the rites of the *Greek* church, living in a monastery, from which it was difficult to recal him upon the vacancy of the throne.

TROIDENUS next year began a second expedition against *Prussia*, and fought several desperate battles with the knights, reputed the most warlike body of men in the northern hemisphere. It is a proof of the capacity and valour of the *Lithuanian* prince, that he was not only in a condition to defend his own dominions against this aspiring fraternity, but to reduce many of their towns, *Burgelaw*, *Lubaw*, and other places: in a word, to over-run the whole district of *Culm*, and retire with an infinity of prisoners, and prodigious droves of cattle, which in those times constituted the richest plunder. The success with which all his enterprizes were crowned invited *Troidenus* to fresh attempts; without any provocation he entered the bishopric of *Cujavia*, and desolated it with all the fury of an enraged enemy, destroying whatever he thought undeserving of the trouble of being removed to *Lithuania*. Even the churches were despoiled of their ornaments, and the crucifixes and images broken in pieces, altho' it is alledged that the prince had actually embraced Christianity, at the persuasion of his duchess. But heaven, say the ecclesiastical writers of that age, would not suffer his sacrilege to pass with impunity. His brother *Downant*, envying his prosperity, and ambitious of recovering the rights of primogeniture, hired three ruffians, who assassinated him before he got back to his own dominions, and then made great preparations for invading *Lithuania*. He had advanced with an army to the frontiers of the duchy, when he was met by *Rimuntus*, the son of *Troidenus*, who had now laid aside the habit, to revenge his father's death, and rescue his country from the impending danger: a battle was fought with great obstinacy, and after dreadful carnage on both sides, victory at length declared for *Rimuntus*, and his father's murderer was slain, though he was entirely unexperienced in the art of war. Thus did Providence, by means the most improbable, protect innocence and justice, and punish the sacrilege and fratricide of two ambitious princes, who measured all equity by strength and power, persuading themselves that the blackest crimes were converted into virtues, if they proved successful. Such at least are the inferences of the superstitious writers of the times, who do not reflect that we are led insensibly into a labyrinth of absurdity, and even impiety, by presuming to judge of the dispensations of heaven. The same rule that directs us to admire the wisdom of the Almighty, in punishing wickedness, seduces us

(C) The vestiges of *Giedutus's* palace may be traced to this day, and the principal seat of the noble family of *Giodlotus* is scarce removed a stone-cast from the ancient situation. It still stands on the lake, about five miles from the capital of *Lithuania*. The revenues of this family are greatly diminished; but the title of duke is still preserved, and it bears great influence, on account of the great number of vassals and dependents.

into the horrible impiety of taxing his justice when we see vice triumphant and virtue a
unfortunate.

R I M U N T U S.

THE young prince was no way elated with his victory, which he piously ascribed to the Supreme Being, whose instrument he regarded himself. The popularity which he acquired, in consequence of his success, and the modesty with which he supported prosperity, did not give him a taste for sovereignty. He sighed after that solitude which he had been forced to abandon, from a pure desire of serving his country; and now that he had established the tranquility of the duchy, he began to look out for a person qualified to manage the reins of authority, to whom he might safely resign them without injury to his people. The states beheld his resolution with silent grief and astonishment: and as they acknowledged the merit of the hero whom he had adopted for his successor, and had the utmost regard for the felicity of a prince who loaded them with so many obligations, they consented to the proposal made by *Rimuntus*, at a diet assembled at *Kiernow*. Here *Vitenus* was nominated great-duke of *Lithuania* and *Samogitia*; upon which *Rimuntus* put the ensigns of authority into his hands, reserved a small annuity to himself, and retired with the utmost satisfaction and composure, to spend the remainder of his days in a monastery, where he could freely indulge his passion for ease and works of charity and devotion.

V I T E N U S

A. D. 1281. Deduced his origin from *Palamon*, the first prince who is reported to have swayed the *Lithuanian* sceptre. He delighted in being thought a descendant of the antient *Roman* patricians; and, during the course of a glorious reign, emulated the virtues of those conquerors of the universe. He had already distinguished his valour in the late battle in which *Downant* was slain; and had besides exhibited many other proofs of capacity, magnificence, and unbounded generosity. It was from a perfect knowledge of his superior merit, that he was raised to the throne by *Rimuntus*, in preference to his cousins the children of *Giedrutus* and *Holfanus*. Being interrogated, why he did not chuse a successor out of the numerous families left by his uncles? *Rimuntus* answered, "That a duke of *Lithuania* ought to equal the idea entertained by *Narimundus*, when he contrived for the arms of the country a warrior armed at all points, rushing on horseback against his enemies; that himself had resigned because he was sensible he did not come up to this idea; and he could not with any propriety adopt children."

A. D. 1282. *VITENUS* was not long seated on the throne before he resolved to approve himself deserving of the honour, tho' he was perhaps mistaken in the means he pursued. His genius was turned to war, and the only battle in which he had ever been engaged, when he acquired so much glory, had only given breath to the sparks of ambition that were intimately wrought with his constitution. The unsettled state of *Poland*, under *Lechus the Black*, opened a large field for military atchievement, and vast prospect of conquest. *Vitenus* accordingly assembled an army, composed of *Lithuanians* and *Prussians*, who acknowledged his sovereignty, and marched into the palatinate of *Lublin*, which he pillaged, burnt, and destroyed, for the space of fifteen days, without meeting any resistance. At last king *Lechus*, encouraged, as is alledged, by a vision, ventured to give him battle, in which he proved victorious, after an exceeding bloody conflict. This action was fought between the rivers *Narew* and *Niemen*, and is commemorated by a church which *Lechus* built at *Lublin*, and dedicated to *St. Michael*, as a testimony of the assistance which he acknowledged to have received from the archangel.

VITENUS was not discouraged by the unfortunate issue of a battle, in which he displayed every quality of a soldier and general. On the contrary, he resolved immediately to wipe off the disgrace by some signal stroke of vengeance. Near the space of four years were employed in preparations, and forming such powerful alliances as threatened the intire destruction of the *Polish* republic, then too divided into factions, and weakened by civil commotions. An accident, however, saved *Poland*, and blasted all the hopes of *Vitenus*, who was forced to relinquish his design. He was deserted by *Pelusa*, one of his generals, who had conceived some disgust, and resolved to revenge himself by encouraging the *Prussian* knights to invade *Lithuania*. Quitting the camp with the utmost privacy, he repaired to *Königsberg*, where he persuaded *Albert de Missen*, the *Teutonic* commendator as he was called, to assist him with twenty officers and a body of soldiers, with which he promised to surprise *Vitenus* and his army. He explained his scheme with such plausibility, and enforced it by such irresistible arguments, that the commendator was brought over to his opinion, and the more easily, that he was fully convinced that *Prussia* would soon become the object of the *Lithuanian* operations, and of the ambition of *Vitenus*. For this reason he complied with

a the request made by the fugitive *Lithuanian*, who set out at the head of his party, and advanced by forced marches in the night towards the *Lithuanian* camp, which he attacked before break of day, while the whole army was wrapt in profound sleep, with such vigour, that seventy of the principal officers and nobility were slain upon the spot, before they could recover from their surprize, or stand on the defensive; a great number of soldiers were put to the sword, and crowds of men and women were dragged into slavery; but the main design of the expedition failed. *Vitenus* had fortunately left the camp the preceding day, by which means he escaped falling into the hands of his own perfidious general; and the *Prussian* party was too slender to execute all that had been promised by *Pelusa*; namely, the entire destruction of the *Lithuanian* army.

b *VITENUS* was greatly incensed at this unprovoked attack; but he determined to suppress his resentment, in order to prosecute his designs against *Poland*, engage the assistance of the knights in that enterprize, and then seize the first opportunity of revenging the injury which his interest and honour sustained. This project he executed with the greatest address, entering into a negotiation with the *Teutonic* body, as if he owed them no grudge, and was assiduous equally to promote their interest and his own at the expence of *Poland*. They fell into the snare, and engaged by treaty to join him with a certain number of forces, to execute the plan concerted for making an incursion into the territory of *Dobrzina*. *Vitenus* assembled his army, and then dividing it into several corps, which he ordered to advance by different routes, fell upon the capital at a time appointed, and

c after having reduced the city, and massacred the garrison and burghers, retired with immense plunder, carrying off a prodigious number of women and children into slavery.

In this predatory manner did the greatest heroes of that barbarous age wage war. All their valour consisted in acts of cruelty; and their policy was marked by the most savage perfidy and mean treachery. *Vitenus* having now gained his point, turned his thoughts to the means of revenging himself on the *Prussian* knights; and effecting the ruin of that very fraternity with which he was engaged in the strictest alliance. Without giving any previous intimation of his design, or even demanding satisfaction for the late injury, he fell with eight thousand men into the territory of *Sambia* in *Prussia*, destroyed, burnt, and pillaged cities and towns, massacred all the male inhabitants fit to bear arms, and returned

d with great booty, and an infinity of female prisoners and children; whom he condemned to perpetual servitude (D). This act of hostility produced an open rupture between the crown of *Lithuania* and the fraternity. The knights expostulated with *Vitenus* upon this extraordinary infraction of the late treaty; and the duke vindicated it by referring them back to the injury which had given birth to the enterprize, and roused his just indignation. They found means, however, to draw him into a negotiation, under pretence of making concessions; and as soon as they had completed their levies, and made the necessary preparations, they suddenly invaded the grand duchy, where they committed terrible ravages, put all to fire and sword, and, by the good conduct of the commendator of *Konigsberg*, assisted by the counsels of the traitorous *Pelusa*, gained possession of the strong and important

e fortress of *Merabde*, or *Mederabbe*. They returned loaded with booty; and before the rigorous season came in, the grand-master made another expedition, at the head of a numerous army, penetrated into the bowels of the duchy, and reduced the districts of *Pastnow* and *Garfow* to a heap of rubbish. Neither the *Polish* nor *Lithuanian* historians mention an alliance between the republic and the *Prussian* knights against *Vitenus*; yet it is highly probable that a treaty subsisted, whereby he thought himself aggrieved, and *Poland* guilty of a breach of neutrality; for, instead of carrying his arms into *Prussia*, he invaded the palatinate of *Cujaiva*, burnt and destroyed great part of the country, especially the city and district of *Brescia*, or *Breze*. When he was returning home laden with spoils,

f harass his army, draw him to an engagement, in difficult situations, and cut off all sources of provision. The genius and intrepidity of *Vitenus* triumphed over all obstructions, and brought his troops safe back into *Lithuania*, in the face of an enemy greatly superior in point of numbers.

A. D. 1289.

For two years after this expedition, peace and tranquility reigned through every part of the duchy; and the *Lithuanians* began to hope that their prince, now tired of the fatigue consequent on an ardent pursuit after glory, would devote himself to the arts of repose, and try to establish the happiness of his subjects with the same assiduity that he had hitherto studied the honour of his crown; but these hopes were disappointed, less

(D) It was the barbarous custom of the *Lithuanians* terrible storms, or any other natural phenomenon, to immolate their prisoners at the shrines of their false gods, whenever any extraordinary event happened, which they ascribed to the wrath of their heathen divinities (1).
such as an eclipse of the sun, violent claps of thunder,

(1) *Vide History of Poland.*

through

through the ambition of *Vitenus* than the restlessness of the *Teutonic* knights, who had not yet satiated their revenge, and carefully watched every opportunity to molest their inveterate enemies the *Lithuanians*. Early in the spring of 1293, *Conrade de Stange*, commendator of *Ragneta*, entered the frontiers of the duchy with a considerable body of men, and fell upon the castle of *Mendog*, which, being entirely unprovided, made but a slight defence. *Vitenus* soon retaliated, by entering *Prussia* at the head of an army so formidable, that the enemy durst not appear in the open field, and pillaging, ravaging, and desolating the country for the space of two months. The damage he committed was incredible, and the severest blow which the knights had for many years sustained. Not contented with this revenge, he set out the ensuing year at the head of eighteen hundred horse, through almost impenetrable forests and bye-paths, and surprised a vast concourse of people assembled at the collegiate church of *Lanschat*, upon some devotional occasion, killing, maiming, and carrying great numbers into captivity. The church was plundered, and crowds, who fled for refuge into the woods, perished in the general conflagration of the *Prussian* forests. It is reported, that *Vitenus* burnt a space covered with woods of upwards of twenty *Polish* miles, and that he reduced above threescore ecclesiastics to a state of irredeemable slavery, out of animosity to the Christians, whom he detested in general on account of the grudge he bore to the *Prussian* military order, and the *Poles*. While he was committing these and other acts of barbarous hostility, he was attacked by *Casimir* palatine of the district, with great fury. That nobleman saw with horror and indignation the dreadful cruelties that laid his country desolate; he assembled all the inhabitants able or willing to bear arms, gave battle to *Vitenus*, and was, after a sharp conflict, overpowered by numbers, and slain in the action. This battle was fought near *Zobaczow*; the enemy consisted chiefly of *Poles*, and the victory was so complete, that above twenty captives fell to the share of every inferior officer.

THE whole life of *Vitenus* was a scene of war and bloodshed: he was perpetually engaged either in defending his frontiers against the incursions of the *Poles* and *Prussians*, or in making expeditions into the enemy's country. Every season produced a fresh invasion of the dominions of one of the parties, which seemed to have no other object than a trial of cruelty and barbarity. In the year 1295, the grand-master of the *Teutonic* order entered *Lithuania*, and renewed the devastations in the districts of *Garfow* and *Postanow*, before they had well recovered the late severe misfortune. This again provoked *Vitenus*, and drew him into the field with a more numerous army than he had assembled upon any former occasion. He penetrated into the district of *Culm*, and after desolating the whole country, bent his course towards *Livonia*, where he attacked the knights with such irresistible fury, that they were forced to sue for peace on such conditions as he thought proper to prescribe. Next year he ravaged the surrounding country, and pillaged the town of *Straßburg*; but was near being defeated on his return by the enemy, who retook the greater part of the plunder. In 1299, *Vitenus* dispatched a flying corps of six hundred horse, who carried fire and sword into *Prussia*, destroyed all the houses, drove away the cattle, and carried off three hundred knights out of the town and country, after having slain a much greater number. In this manner was *Vitenus* employed when *Gediminius*, his master of horse, an aspiring, ambitious impetuous nobleman, entered into a conspiracy with the grand duchess against the life of her husband and sovereign; which he effected by a piece of treachery that will transmit his memory with infamy to the latest posterity, notwithstanding all his endeavours to wipe off the memory of one base action, by a series of gallant and intrepid conduct.

G E D I M I N U S.

A. D. 1300. THE removal of *Vitenus* was not alone sufficient to raise *Gediminius* to the ducal throne. He had no natural right; but he acquired pretensions by marrying the insidious unnatural widow of the deceased. Every possible art was tried to varnish over an act of the blackest parricide; and their endeavours succeeded, because the people chose rather to wink at the crime, than run the hazard of a civil war, by excluding the right which *Gediminius* acquired by his marriage with the dowager. They were besides well acquainted with his capacity; they knew the necessity of committing the administration to a prince of ability, at the present critical juncture; and they were in hopes that his ambition, being now fully gratified, he could have no farther temptation to commit the worst of all crimes, treason and assassination united.

THE new sovereign, determined to impress his subjects with a favourable opinion of his spirit, laid immediate claim to several *Russian* provinces, which he alledged had been annexed to the grand duchy, either by right of conquest, or by treaties; and he enforced his demands by such formidable preparations, as terrified the *Russians* into compliance. He likewise recovered some provinces from the *Poles*, which had long been disputed; but while

- a while he was thus engaged in asserting the dignity of his crown, *Samogitia* was suddenly invaded by the united forces of the *Prussian* and *Livonian* knights, who poured in a vast army, and threatened destruction to the whole *Lithuanian* dominions. Before *Gediminus* could recover from the surprise occasioned by this unprovoked and unexpected attack, the knights had over-run all *Samogitia*, burnt and destroyed the country, and reduced *Kunossow* by a regular siege, where they took the grand-mareschal of *Lithuania* prisoner. It was impossible to put a stop to their conquests and ravages; *Gediminus* was engaged with the bulk of the army on the frontiers of *Poland*, the remaining forces were insufficient to oppose so powerful an army; and before the duke could return, the enemy were in full possession of the whole territory of *Samogitia*, and were preparing to penetrate into *Lithuania*, which he b happily prevented by his arrival. This obliged the knights to retire, after they had put garrisons in all the fortresses in their new conquests.

- DURING the cessation of hostilities, occasioned by the severity of the winter, *Gediminus* was making preparations for recovering *Samogitia*, and revenging the injury done him by the *Teutonic* knights. He entered into an alliance with the *Russians* and *Tartars*, and gained their friendship by certain concessions, which he resolved to retract as soon as he had served his purpose by their assistance. Early in the spring he advanced against the enemy, and came up with them on the banks of the river *Okmelnia*, when a furious engagement began, that raged with violence for the space of six hours before victory seemed to incline to either side. At last the *Samogitians* deserted the knights, which c immediately turned the scale, and introduced confusion and dismay among their ranks, which fell in disorder, and gave *Gediminus* every advantage he could desire. He improved the favourable juncture; ordered the *Samogitians* to charge in the flanks, while, at the head of the *Lithuanians*, he bent his chief strength against the centre of the enemy, and broke and defeated them with prodigious carnage. It is reported that above five thousand knights perished in the field, and that more than half that number were taken prisoners, and carried into slavery by the conqueror. This was too severe a blow to the knights to be easily recovered, and *Gediminus* pursued it to the best advantage. He seized the opening which it made into *Prussia*, penetrated to the very heart of that country, and finding that nothing was able to oppose him, he desolated the whole kingdom, reduced d and destroyed the cities *Ragneta* and *Cilza*; then turned his arms towards the recovery of *Samogitia*, drove the *Teutonic* garrisons out of the fortresses, filled them with his own troops, and after fully accomplishing his schemes, returned triumphant and laden with spoils into *Lithuania*.

- THE success of this enterprize depended in a great measure on the assistance afforded by the *Russians* and *Tartars*; but *Gediminus* was one of those princes who never suffered gratitude to stand in the way of his interest, and indeed who could forget obligations as soon as the remembrance proved inconvenient. He now made no scruple to retract the concessions he had made to the *Russians* as the price of their assistance, and even made preparations for the reduction of provinces to which he never had any claim. His first e attack was on *Volkinia*; which he over-ran, after having defeated and slain duke *Valodomirus* in a pitched battle, in which above ten thousand *Russians* perished. In consequence of this victory, *Ulodomira*, the capital of the duchy, fell into the hands of the conqueror, and the whole province acknowledged his sovereignty, and took the usual oaths of allegiance. His ambition was now spurred by this success to undertake new conquests. *Gediminus* accordingly marched against *Leo* duke of *Luceoria*, and having defeated him in a bloody battle, seized upon his capital, and thereby gained the absolute dominion of the two most considerable frontier provinces of the *Russian* empire. This was the work of one campaign only: next year he resolved to extend his conquests, and indeed seemed to meditate the destruction of all the neighbouring petty princes and states. *Stanislaus*, duke of *Kiovia*, f was the next who felt the effects of the ambition of *Gediminus*. He attacked him without the least provocation, defeated him in the open field with great slaughter, and involved in his ruin a great number of the adjacent princes, who had come to his assistance to oppose the common enemy. Flushed with this victory, he advanced farther into *Russia*, took and destroyed an infinity of cities, towns, and villages, returning laden with plunder and prisoners to *Lithuania*, where he was received as the greatest conqueror who had hitherto graced the annals of the duchy. We are told, that he crowned this last expedition with obliging the *Russians* to renounce their pretended sovereignty over *Lithuania* by a formal instrument: for this reason *Gediminus* is reckoned, with *Mendog*, one of the princes who restored *Lithuania* to a state of liberty and independence; from whence we may infer, that g the tribute had been paid by some of the successors of the last named duke.

GEDIMINUS was at length tired of war, and satiated with conquest: he gave his mind up to repose, and amused himself with the pleasures of hunting, while he adorned the country with magnificent buildings and fine cities. Every little accident furnished

him with an opportunity of indulging his taste for architecture. Frequently the spot where a stag was killed became the foundation of a large town; and this was particularly the case with *Troki*, which he built for his residence, translating it thither from *Kiernow*; though some writers give greater antiquity to this city. A similar accident is reported to have given birth to *Wilna*, now the capital of *Lithuania*, which all agree was built by *Gediminus*, though they differ with respect to the occasion. The story related by *Guagnini* favours strongly of the credulity and ignorance of that age. According to him, *Gediminus* tired with the chase, and benighted, sat down to refresh himself on the mountain formerly called *Krzywnagora*, now *Turzagoria*, or *Lissa*, where falling asleep, he dreamed that he saw a monstrous wolf, whose body was of iron; that he heard him roar hideously; and that he contained in his bowels an hundred smaller wolves of the same metal. The terror with which he was seized awakened him, and he communicated the dream to the surrounding courtiers, each of whom interpreted it after his own manner, but no way satisfactory to *Gediminus*. He therefore desired the opinion of a certain priest in company, who had gained great reputation as an interpreter of visions, and by his astonishing knowledge in futurity. He was one of the persons who presided over the sacred fire: some say he was the *ziutz*, or high priest, and was in the greatest esteem on account of his wisdom and function. "Be not terrified, said he to the prince. This dream bodes you no evil; but it will prove, in the issue, highly advantageous to your country. The iron wolf, whose monstrous size and hideous roaring appeared so frightful in your dream, denotes a city, the foundation of which you are to lay; and the smaller wolves inclosed in his bowels, mean nothing more than a multitude of inhabitants contained within impregnable walls. Do you build a city, in compliance with this warning from some divinity, fortify it with strong ramparts and towers, and I will forfeit my life if the intention of the dream be not accomplished." This interpretation was perfectly agreeable to the humour of *Gediminus*: he followed the advice, built two castles, one on the spot where he saw the vision, and another on the plain; he joined them by a city, and gave the whole the name *Vilna*, from the river *Wilna*, upon which this capital is situated. Thither he removed his residence from *Troki*, and the place hath ever since continued the metropolis of the duchy (E).

WHILE *Gediminus* was busied in building his capital, the factions and divisions in *Poland* once more roused his ambition, and inspired him with hopes of profiting by the wretched situation of the republic. With this view he began an expedition against that country; and penetrating through woods and forests, entered *Lower Poland*, plundered and burnt *Kalisz*, and after ravaging the whole country, returned with a great number of captives and exceeding rich booty. The *Polish* writers are intirely silent about this expedition, which, according to *Guagnini*, happened the year succeeding the restoration of *Uladislaus Locticus*. It is probable, therefore, that *Uladislaus* did not attempt to revenge this attack, as he was then deeply involved in a war with the *Teutonic* knights, and exerting his utmost endeavours to draw the *Lithuanians* into an alliance against these common disturbers of the northern kingdoms. It was not, indeed, difficult for the *Polish* monarch to succeed in this project; for the knights had, at this very time, imprudently given umbrage to *Gediminus*; the grand-master, *Henry de Pleczko*, a *Saxon*, having penetrated into *Samogitia*, where he took the fortress of *Gartin* by storm, and massacred all the *Lithuanian* garrison in cold blood, after they had thrown down their arms, and begged quarter. Several regiments of *German* auxiliaries served under the grand-master upon this occasion: to their cruelty are ascribed the dreadful ravages committed in *Karsonin*, and the prodigious numbers of cattle and prisoners carried into *Prussia*. *Gediminus* had his revenge: he sent a body of forces to join the *Poles* under *Uladislaus*; they penetrated into the heart of the country, and easily reduced the knights to the most abject supplications, with which the *Polish* monarch's resentment was disarmed, at a time when he might have exterminated the order, and cleared *Prussia* of those disturbers of the public tranquillity.

NOTWITHSTANDING *Poland* and *Lithuania* would seem to be combined against the *Teutonic* knights, they had not yet laid aside their own private animosities; for we are told by the writers of the latter, that a body of *Lithuanian* forces penetrated this year into the palatinates of *Kalisz* and *Siradia*, which at this time acknowledged the sovereignty of *Uladislaus*, and were regarded as a part of the republic. The damage sustained by the inhabitants was prodigious: houses, villages, corn-fields, and folds of cattle were destroyed, and great numbers of the people carried off into bondage.

(E) *Guagnini* likewise alledges, that the *Radziwil* family deduce their origin from the priest who advised the building of *Vilna*, whence he was called *Radziwil*, which in the language of the country, signifies the counsellor to build *Vilna* (1).

a By this time *Olgerdus*, the son of *Gediminus*, by a former marriage, was arrived at a sufficient age to take the command of an army destined to invade *Prussia*, and give the knights one more severe blow before they could recover their late losses. To display his spirit, and impress the minds of the enemy with terror, this young prince destroyed all before him with fire and sword, robbing churches, sacking towns; massacring the old men, violating matrons, deflowering virgins, and carrying off children and young men into slavery, in imitation of his father's practice. The *Prussians* endeavoured to return the compliment, by carrying desolation into the *Lithuanian* territories; but they were met by the prince, and obliged to retire with precipitation, to avoid coming to battle with an army greatly superior in numbers. *Olgerdus* pursued, and a second time entered the *Prussian* dominions, desolating with more fury than before, surprising the territory and city of *Dobrina*, which he burnt to the ground; and returning with barbarous triumph, loaded with spoils and glory. Some years after he made an incursion into *Livonia*, and, after defeating the knights in the field, reduced their fortresses, and despoiled their country.

A. D. 1319.

For the space of five years *Lithuania* drew breath, after the fatigue of perpetual war; but this repose was broke by an incursion which *Henry*, grand-mareschal of *Prussia*, made in the year 1320, into the duchy; where having committed terrible ravages, he was returning by a narrow pass, which he found blocked up with large trunks of trees, and other works, thrown up by the *Lithuanians*. In this situation he was surrounded and attacked: the *Lithuanians*, pouring in crowds from the hills, made dreadful havock; and nothing but the seasonable intervention of the night could have saved the knights from a total defeat, and probably the necessity of surrendering at discretion. This advantage was preceded by another, less important, but still of some consequence, obtained by the starost of *Gartin*, who, in the midst of winter, made an irruption into the *Prussian* dominions, and brought off some very rich booty and several hundred prisoners. The same year the *Lithuanians* took the fortress of *Memel* by surprise, penetrated into the heart of *Prussia*, and defeated the commendator of *Capian* in a regular battle, in which that general perished. *Guagnini* speaks as if this victory had been gained by the same starost of *Gartin*, who is highly extolled for his courage, activity, and heroism, and reported to have carried fire and sword soon after into the duchy of *Mazovia*.

d ABOUT the beginning of the year 1323, the *Lithuanians* fell once more upon the unfortunate territory of *Dobrina*, rather with a malicious design of preventing its recovering the late misfortunes, than from any expectation of booty, burnt the capital, desolated the country, and carried nine thousand *Poles* into servitude, few of whom ever recovered their liberty, except some persons of distinction, who paid a high ransom. Next year the intrepid starost of *Gartin*, who was distinguished over all the northern countries by the appellation of the conquering *David*, was sent by *Gediminus* to lay waste the duchy of *Mazovia*. He executed his orders punctually, and burnt or destroyed to the number of one hundred and thirty villages, thirty towns and cities, carrying off four thousand prisoners; many of whom were persons of the first rank and quality. Notwithstanding this was one of the most memorable expeditions, and indeed fatal accidents, which had befallen *Poland* for a series of years, yet we find it intirely omitted by the best writers of that country; and explicitly related by *Guagnini* alone; *Cromer*, *Hartnoch*, and *Stella* contenting themselves with observing, in general terms, that the *Lithuanians* had this year made an incursion into one of the provinces of the republic. It is indeed equally unentertaining and uninstruative to enter upon a minute detail of the particulars of these predatory wars; carried on between states scarce emerged from barbarism; yet in these cruel incursions consist the whole history of those nations, who, being totally destitute of civil policy, can scarcely afford the proper materials for an historian; who would describe variety of incidents, manners, and characters. All that we meet with in the ancient annals of the northern countries, is one tissue of slaughter, desolation, and robbery.

f IN the year 1325, a treaty of marriage, which was concluded between *Annie*, daughter of *Gediminus*, and *Casimir*, son to *Uladislaus* king of *Poland*, brought about a solid peace with the republic, after the nations had been in one continual state of animosity and hostilities for several past ages. By this treaty all the provinces conquered by *Gediminus* were restored to the republic; and the two princes entered into a perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive, against the enemies of either: an alliance which, though prudent, and mutually beneficial, proved fatal to *Gediminus*. In consequence of *Uladislaus's* quarrel with the *Teutonic* knights, they became the enemies of his ally, who marched against them in person, drove them out of the field, laid siege to *Friburg*, a town which the knights still held in *Samogitia*, and there received a mortal wound by a fired arrow, which, piercing his breast, passed through the body. Thus fell the greatest prince, the most renowned warrior, and profound statesman, who had ever governed *Lithuania*; a prince who ascended the throne polluted with the blood of his sovereign, and deeply stained with the crimes of

of parricide and treachery ; yet whose talents were so conspicuous, whose services to his country were so extraordinary, and whose valour, prudence, and public spirit were so universally acknowledged, that he died equally esteemed, beloved, respected, and admired ; his dominions being more extensive, and his subjects more free, wealthy, warlike, and happy than at any preceding period.

J A N U N U T U S.

GEDIMINUS left seven sons by his two wives ; but we are not informed how many of these were of the last marriage with the duchess dowager. It is likewise a difficult point to determine to whom the *Lithuanian* dominions belonged, by right of primogeniture. We find that, upon every division, the grand duchy was always left to the elder son : yet now we find it bestowed on *Janunutus*, called the sixth son by *Guagnini*, who likewise makes *Olgerdus* the third son of the second marriage ; though, by his own confession, *Gediminus* married the dowager in 1300, and *Olgerdus* commanded an army and distinguished his valour in 1313, that is, at ten years of age, admitting that the duchess had a child every year. To remove this absurdity, we have supposed, and we think with good reason, that *Olgerdus* (F) was of a prior marriage, though partiality to *Janunutus* made him be set aside for the children of a princess, by whom *Gediminus* acquired any right. Be this as it may, certain it is, that the dominions of *Gediminus* were divided, and that *Janunutus* had *Lithuania* for his portion. *Montividas*, who is called the eldest son, had *Kiernow* and *Stonim* for his share. The conquests and acquisitions in *Russia* fell to the lot of *Narimundus* ; to *Olgerdus* were given *Krewo*, and a large tract of country extending to *Berisna* ; *Keijustutus* was made sovereign of *Samogitia*, *Troki*, and *Witesbo* ; *Koriatus* had the city of *Novogrodec*, with its territories ; while scarce any provision was made for *Lubartus*, the youngest son, because he obtained the succession of the *Russian* dominions by his marriage with the duke's only child and heiress. The good fortune of *Janunutus* excited the envy of *Olgerdus* and *Keijustutus*. The former had been accustomed to govern : his father had intrusted him with the command of armies, and even consulted with him upon all affairs of importance, by which he was taught to regard himself as the successor to his dominions. He could not, therefore, brook dependence on a younger brother, whose understanding he held in contempt, and therefore conspired with *Keijustutus* to dethrone *Janunutus*. At the time appointed for executing the design, either of murdering or deposing their brother, *Olgerdus* was necessarily absent upon account of some important business that required his presence. The conspirators had bound each other by oaths to the most inviolable secrecy and fidelity. *Keijustutus* therefore determined to seize the opportunity, even without his brother's assistance ; and in consequence, as soon as matters were ripe for execution, he marched with a body of men, with great privacy and celerity, to *Vilna*, surprized the city, reduced the castles, and forced *Janunutus* to seek shelter in a neighbouring wood, where he was taken by his pursuers, brought before his brother, and after the most ignominious treatment clapped in chains and thrown in a dungeon. It was some time before he recovered his liberty, upon accepting the palatinate of *Breslaw* in *Russia*, in exchange for the great duchy of *Lithuania*.

O L G E R D U S and K E I J U S T U T U S.

ALTHOUGH ambition had spurred these princes to an act of injustice to the younger brother, they nevertheless persevered in the most rigid equity with respect to each other. *Keijustutus* it certainly was, that executed the plan they had concerted ; and he might have established himself singly in the sovereignty of the great duchy, had he been disposed to lay aside the pretensions of *Olgerdus* ; but he shewed the utmost reverence for his brother's birth-right, and the engagements he had contracted. As soon as *Olgerdus* returned, he made him an offer of the crown, which he said was due to his seniority ; but which the other refused, answering, with equal moderation, " that he would never accept, on account of his age, what was neither due to his fortune nor his merit." However, a partition was at length agreed upon : *Vilna*, with the supreme authority of *Lithuania*, fell to the share of *Olgerdus* ; while *Keijustutus* was fully compensated by a large proportion of all the other dominions belonging to the ducal crown. To preserve this division inviolate, and prevent civil commotions, they very prudently took a solemn oath never to attempt an infraction of the treaty, nor encroach upon each other's dominions.

(F) It is scarce worth while to bestow labour upon a point of so little consequence to history as the succession of barbarous princes, else it might be proved from the contradictions in *Guagnini's* account, that *Olgerdus* was actually the elder son of the first marriage, and

Janunutus of the second, by which means he succeeded to the duchy of *Lithuania*, as the legitimate heir of his mother, who was regarded as the sovereign upon the death of *Vitenus*, her husband.

OLGERDUS

a

O L G E R D U S alone.

WHEN *Olgerdus* had gained the possession of the ducal authority, by the means we have related, he began to think of extending his dominions, and pursuing the antient national animosity against the knights of the *Teutonic* order. With this design he levied an army of *Russians* and *Lithuanians*, with which he invaded *Prussia* and *Livonia* at the same time, took several fortresses, ravaged the open country, obliged the knights to skulk in their fastnesses, and returned laden with spoils and glory, without sustaining one loss or repulse. He now blighted, by one act of barbarous superstition and filial piety, all the laurels he had gathered during the campaign: on his return to his capital, he sacrificed the captives

b to the manes of his father, killed by the knights at the siege of *Friburg*.

HAVING performed these savage rites, he led his forces suddenly into the *New Marche* of *Brandenburg*, which he desolated quite up to *Frankfort* along both sides of the *Oder*; returning, in the usual manner, fraught with spoils of cattle and captives, which always constituted the most valuable part of the plunder.

THE next enterprize attempted by *Olgerdus* was against the *Tartars*, whom he drove out of *Podolia*, after defeating the three brothers, their leaders, with incredible slaughter. This victory incurred the resentment of *Ianowitz*, czar of *Muscovy*, who regarded the *Tartars* as his vassals and dependents, as they paid him tribute. The czar was proud, insolent, and vain of his power and the vast extent of his dominions. The insulting message

c which he sent to *Olgerdus*, then confined by a fever at *Witesbo*, sufficiently demonstrates the haughtiness of his disposition: "Tell the *Lithuanian* chieftain, said he, that unless he

"makes proper concessions, before the expiration of a month, for the injuries done to

"my people, I will pay him such a visit as shall convert his fever into an ague." To

which *Olgerdus* replied, with great spirit and moderation, "Let your master know, that

"I will save him the trouble of a long journey, and wait upon him in person at *Moscow*."

Upon this he leaped out of bed, in despite of the remonstrances of his courtiers, put himself at the head of his army, entered *Muscovy*, laid siege to the capital, reduced it, took the czar prisoner, and obliged him to purchase his release at the price of an inglorious

d peace and great part of his dominions. This expedition was truly glorious, and advantageous to *Lithuania*: the czar's insolence had occasioned it; that prince was sufficiently

punished, and *Olgerdus* more than indemnified for the expences of the war by the cession of all those provinces which had ever been claimed as dependences on the ducal crown.

It is besides alledged, that he forced the czar not only to relinquish all pretensions of superiority over *Lithuania*, but to pay an annual tribute, whereby he acknowledged himself his vassal; but this was a triumph of no long duration. It could not be supposed that so vast an empire as *Russia* would long submit to the indignity of becoming dependent on a duchy, comparatively so insignificant as *Lithuania*: this mark of subjection, therefore, continued no longer than the reign of *Olgerdus*, which ended soon after with his life.

e THE reign of this prince was fortunate to *Lithuania*, and glorious to himself. If he acquired possession of the throne by an unjustifiable act of ambition, he soon wiped out the memory of that crime by his spirited and politic conduct. No sovereign better understood or more closely pursued the true interest of his country, and the honour of his

crown. *Olgerdus*, indeed was engaged in constant wars; but they were so managed, that he rather enriched than impoverished his people. The scene was always laid in the

enemy's territories, whence he returned with the richest plunder; this species of military

trade he practised with more success than any former prince, as he declined coming to

decisive actions, except where circumstances rendered the issue certain, and the victory

f easy. In a word, *Olgerdus* was a brave, polite, generous, and magnificent barbarian. In

a more civilized age and country, he would have completely filled the idea we entertain

f of an hero.

J A G E L L O.

THIS prince was the eldest of twelve sons left by *Olgerdus*: he therefore ascended the vacant throne, by his father's appointment, with the full approbation of the people, and even at the request of his uncle *Keijustutus*, who had an indisputable right to succeed his brother, had he chose to enforce his pretensions. He entered upon his government with the most flattering expectations, as he found the revenue large, the treasury well replenished, the army in the best condition, and all the frontier towns well garrisoned and provided. It likewise increased the public hope, that he expressed an inclination to pursue

g the measures which had proved so fortunate during the last administration. *Jagello* did not disappoint his people: he carried terror and desolation into the *Russian* provinces, and the dominions of the *Prussian* and *Livonian* knights, in order to stamp a deep impression of the strength of his arm and the vigour of his genius. In all these expeditions

victory was his inseparable companion ; and he might have emulated the glory of his sire, had he not become the dupe of an artful minion, to whom he resigned the intire direction of his understanding. To this courtier may be ascribed all the misfortunes which befel *Lithuania* in the beginning of *Jagello's* reign. *Voidilus*, a person of obscure parentage, was raised from the employment of baker to the court to the rank of secretary and prime minister. How he first insinuated himself into the prince's favour is not well ascertained : it is supposed that they had contracted an intimacy in their childhood ; and it is certain he grew so fast in *Jagello's* esteem, that he no sooner ascended the throne than he bestowed his sister in marriage upon his favourite. The whole nation exclaimed against the honours poured upon so undeserving an object ; and the duke's uncle *Keijustutus*, in particular, remonstrated warmly against the disgrace offered to the ducal blood, in contaminating it by a mixture with the dregs of the people. This was an injury which *Voidilus* resented, and determined to revenge. Besides, he imagined that it was necessary to his preservation to effect an irreconcilable breach between the uncle and nephew, lest the influence of the former might one day lose him the favour of his sovereign. With this view he found means to persuade the credulous *Jagello*, that his uncle aspired at the crown, and was now laying the foundation of a general rebellion. Improbable as the accusation appeared, the prince entertained no doubt of the truth of intelligence which came from so good authority, and was asserted by the man whom he regarded as his most faithful counsellor : he therefore struck up a peace with the *Teutonic* order and the *Russians*, and entered on the most vigorous preparations for punishing and preventing the consequences of his uncle's supposed treachery. *Keijustutus* was alarmed : he knew his own innocence ; but, sensible of the malice of the favourite, and the influence he had over his master, he thought it necessary to arm in his own defence ; and was accordingly taking the proper measures, when his suspicions were quieted by his son *Vitoldus* (G), who gave him the strongest assurances that nothing was meditated against him by *Jagello*. The young prince had no intention to deceive his father : but, thoroughly persuaded that the sovereign's preparations were intended against some foreign power, he feared lest the suspicions entertained by *Keijustutus* might kindle a civil war. He was soon undeceived : *Jagello* invaded *Polocz*, which country belonged to *Keijustutus*, and then *Vitoldus* was convinced that his father's conjecture was well-founded. Still, however, he laboured to bring about a reconciliation ; though he could not prevent his father from penetrating into *Lithuania*, reducing *Vilna*, and retaliating the injuries sustained by his subjects of *Polocz*. He was proceeding in the conquest of the whole duchy, when the intreaties of his son at length prevailed, and he concluded a treaty with *Jagello*, which proved his ruin. *Keijustutus* no sooner thought himself reconciled to his nephew, than relying upon the faith of treaties, he evacuated *Lithuania*, leaving only a slender garrison at *Vilna*, and employed his arms in punishing *Korcbuth*, a nobleman whose fidelity he had cause to suspect. His nephew seized this occasion of again attacking him : he drove his garrison out of *Vilna*, and not only recovered all he had lost in *Lithuania*, but invested *Troki*, and had it betrayed into his hands. *Keijustutus* flew to the relief of *Troki*, and marching with his son *Vitoldus* to give battle to the enemy, was treacherously delivered into their power by his brother *Skirgello*, who pretended he would compromise the differences, and bring about an amicable interview. *Jagello*, stimulated by the base *Voidilus*, forgot all the obligations which he owed to his uncle, and even the dictates of nature. He threw the unfortunate *Keijustutus* into prison, and not long after had him privately strangled. The same fate was designed for *Vitoldus*, his cousin, who was removed to *Kreva*, the prison in which his father had suffered ; from whence he escaped by a stratagem, just as orders had been issued to put him to death. His wife had always been allowed free access to him, and to her invention he owed his safety. When she found matters drawing to a crisis, she changed habits with one of the servants, and ordered *Vitoldus* to disguise himself in hers ; by which means he passed the guards without examination, and reached the court of *Mazovia* before his flight was suspected : but not believing he could remain there in safety, he went into *Prussia*, demanded protection of the knights, and was at first coolly received, because he only sought their friendship in adversity. The politic order, however, soon altered their behaviour, upon finding that he could be serviceable to them, and promised their utmost assistance to restore him to his estate and honours. Accordingly they assembled in a great body, and, in conjunction with the *Samogitians*, made an inroad into *Lithuania*, which was every where marked with desolation. *Troki* was reduced after a short resistance ; but the knights were forced to evacuate their conquest, and retire, on the approach of *Jagello* with a powerful army.

(G) Several of the *Polish* writers call this prince *Vitoldus*, and speak of him as the distant relation of *Jagello*. We do not recollect that he is once called the

son of *Keijustutus* by any antient writer, besides *Guagnini*.

Vitoldus countenanced, but did not take any share in this expedition; for he never could be persuaded to unsheathe his sword against his country: however, *Jagello* perceiving that his residence in *Prussia* would always furnish the knights with a handle for attacking his dominions, set on foot a secret negotiation to recal and restore him to his birthright. Several messages passed with the utmost privacy, and at last a reconciliation was effected: *Vitoldus* quitted *Prussia*; and, upon a promise of fidelity to his cousin, was reinstated in all the dominions of his father; to which were added *Volkinia*, *Podolia*, and divers other valuable territories.

It was soon after this event that *Jagello* was called to the throne of *Poland*, in consequence of his marriage with *Hedwiga*; the circumstances of which the reader hath already seen in the preceeding history of that kingdom. It would therefore be necessary to confine ourselves, in this place, to what immediately relates to *Lithuania* (H). *Jagello's* absence, and the removal of the whole court to *Cracow*, furnished *Conrade Zolner*, great-master of *Prussia* and *Livonia*, with a fair occasion of attacking *Lithuania*; and, indeed, the prospect of being able to reduce the duchy, while the sovereign was employed in scenes of mirth and festivity in his new acquired dominions. He had maintained for some time a clandestine correspondence with *Andrew*, the duke's brother; and it was adjusted between them, that this prince should be raised to the throne of *Lithuania*, which he was to hold in dependence on the knights. The duchy was invaded, and considerable progress was made in the conquest; but *Jagello* having sent his brother *Skirgello* and cousin *Vitoldus* against the knights, they were defeated, and forced to retire with precipitation. The traitorous *Andrew* was taken prisoner, and thrown into a dungeon, where he became a most wretched monument of blasted ambition, until he was at length released at the intercession of the humane *Vitoldus*. A. D. 1388.

It was after this event that *Jagello* returned to *Lithuania*, to attempt the conversion of the people to Christianity; a circumstance which the *Teutonic* knights turned to their own advantage, taking this occasion of exciting the inhabitants to revolt against their lawful sovereign, who, they said, took this method of subjecting the duchy to the republic of *Poland*. The *Lithuanians* had, indeed, followed the example of their prince: they suffered their temples and false gods to be destroyed, and seemed convinced of the absurdity of their religion, because their deities did not resent the gross injuries offered by *Jagello*; but they soon gave way to the insinuations of the knights, and were the more convinced that *Jagello* had deserted their interest, that he fixed his residence in *Poland*, and committed the government of the duchy to his tyrannical and vicious brother *Skirgello*.

Another circumstance likewise favoured the designs of the *Teutonic* Order. The insolence of *Skirgello* had obliged *Vitoldus*, whom *Jagello* had sent as a check upon his brother, to make his complaints to the king; and finding him deaf to his remonstrances, he was obliged to seek refuge a second time in *Prussia*, where he was joyfully received by the knights. After many abortive attempts to terminate in an amicable manner his differences with *Skirgello*, he at length entered into the designs of the fraternity, and assisted them in the invasion of his native country. We have related the particulars of this affair elsewhere: it is sufficient to mention in this place, that *Jagello*, at length convinced of his brother's cruelty, of his cousin's innocence, and of the importance it was to the peace of *Lithuania* to be upon good terms with a prince so well beloved as *Vitoldus*, took him again into favour: and, as a testimony of the sincerity of his reconciliation, made him great- duke of *Lithuania*, in the room of *Skirgello*.

V I T O L D U S.

It must be observed, that though the great duchy was united to *Poland*, and the sovereignty of both countries was vested in *Jagello*; yet the governors of *Lithuania* bore the title of dukes, and were regarded by the bulk of the people as the real sovereigns. Hence it is, that *Vitoldus* is always distinguished by the name of duke in the antient histories: a dignity which excited the envy of *Skirgello* and *Swidrigello*, the king's brothers, who could not without indignation behold the superior regard paid to their cousin. They began to foment divisions, and set on foot conspiracies against him: but being discovered, they fled to *Prussia*, the sure refuge of all discontented *Lithuanians*, and assisted the knights in ravaging their country. In this they met with considerable success, *Vitoldus* being at that time employed in an expedition against the *Tartars*. Several towns surrendered, after a feeble resistance; and they were making rapid progress in their conquests when *Vitoldus*

(H) It deserves notice that *Guagnini*, *Stella*, and some other antient writers, date *Jagello's* accession to the crown of *Poland* in 1386; affirming that he was baptized that year, in consequence of his engagements to the *Poles* and *Hedwiga* (1).

(1) *Guagn.* p. 52. *Stella*, apud *Pist.*

returned,

returned, defeated, and turned them out of the country. *Jagello*, thinking it would greatly weaken his enemies to detach his brothers from their interest, effectually executed that purpose, by giving *Skirgello* certain *Russian* provinces; which he governed in so despotic a manner, that, unable longer to endure the scourge, the people revolted, and he was poisoned by a monk.

No prince ever swayed the *Lithuanian* sceptre with more ability and dignity than *Vitoldus*. He defeated the *Tartars* in numberless engagements; and though he was once worsted by the lieutenant of *Tamerlane the Great*, the resistance he made against such superiority of numbers was truly glorious. He likewise conquered the duke of *Podolia*, and obliged him to make the most abject concessions. His frequent victories over the *Teutonic* knights, were alone sufficient to raise his military reputation to an extraordinary pitch; but he added to these still more extraordinary victories, obtained over the duke of *Russia*, who was desirous of revenging the disgrace of his predecessor, and abolishing all memory of the tribute exacted by *Olgerdus*. With this design the czar had penetrated into the *Russian* provinces dependent on *Lithuania*, which obliged *Vitoldus* to take the field in his own defence. He came up with the czar, gave him battle with inferior forces, defeated him, and having driven the *Russians* out of his territories, pursued them into their own, which he ravaged and desolated without opposition, returning home laden with the richest plunder of the country. Next year he assembled a greater army, and again penetrated into *Russia*, with such impetuosity as threatened the entire subversion of that vast empire. The pretence was, to afford assistance to his cousin *Swidrigello*, and revenge the death of *Skirgello*, the former having succeeded the latter in the government of the *Russian* provinces. He was sweeping all before him like a torrent, when the *Teutonic* knights, ever restless and aspiring, took advantage of his absence to commit divers infractions of the treaty. However, they found themselves disappointed in their expectation that *Lithuania* was left defenceless. *Sigismund Coribut*, brother to *Vitoldus*, levied a body of men with great expedition, marched against the knights, forced them to retire to avoid hazarding a battle, pursued them into *Prussia*; and, after plundering, sacking, and desolating the country, returned loaded with spoils. This hostility was soon revenged; for the knights, collecting a body of the most desperate partizans, set out for *Lithuania* through bye and unfrequented paths, fell upon the great duchy just as *Sigismund* had disbanded his army, attacked *Wolkowisko* before the garrison had any suspicion of an enemy, reduced, plundered, and burnt the city. *Vitoldus* was returned in the mean time; but having dismissed his troops on the frontiers, he was forced to retire with his family into a thick forest, and defer his vengeance until the enemy were retired. As soon as he perceived himself at liberty to appear in public, he convoked the states, and represented, in the strongest terms, the expediency of giving a mortal blow to the *Teutonic* order, the disturbers of all *Europe*, and the inveterate enemies of *Lithuania*. The states concurred with his opinion, and offered him all manner of assistance to execute any project which he imagined might curb the insolence of those troublesome neighbours. Great preparations were made for giving some decisive stroke; but they all terminated in making an inroad into *Prussia*, and committing the usual barbarities; for the knights skulked in strong retreats, because they were in no condition to face so potent an enemy.

A. D. 1415. *VITOLDUS* was chagrined at his disappointment; he expected nothing less than the entire extirpation of the *Teutonic* order: however, that he might in some measure answer the great expectations of the people, he undertook an expedition against the *Russians*, advanced to the very heart of the country, took several cities and towns, and returned with a greater quantity of gold and silver than had ever before been seen in *Lithuania*. Afterwards he attacked the provinces of *Novogrodec* and *Pzkovia*, and obliged the people to ransom their country at an exorbitant expence. In a word, the affairs of *Lithuania* were in a most prosperous situation, when the intrigues of the emperor *Sigismund*, and the *Teutonic* knights, had almost involved the duchy in civil commotions. *Sigismund* knew that the ambition of *Vitoldus* aspired at the regal dignity, and at least the holding the ducal crown independent on his cousin *Jagello*, now called *Uladislaus*, the fifth of that name. He was likewise sensible that the king of *Poland* could never suffer the duchy to be dismembered from his crown, both on account of his hereditary right, and his engagements with the republic. He therefore set on foot a secret negotiation with *Vitoldus*; emissaries passed on both sides, and the project of claiming independency was in great forwardness, when it was accidentally discovered by *Jagello*, who seized upon *Baptista Cigula* and *Sigismund de Rota*, the imperial envoys; and, by the papers which were found upon them, got the most convincing proofs of the treason that was preparing, and the alliance forming against *Poland*, between *Vitoldus*, the *Teutonic* order, the emperor *Sigismund*, and the different states of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and the empire. It was likewise found that *Sigismund* had resolved to send a crown to *Vitoldus*, and that the ambassadors were ready to begin their journey: however,

- a however, the seizure of the envoys, and the vigorous measures taken by *Jagello*, broke the whole scheme; and *Vitoldus* was so affected with the disappointment, that he died of chagrin, leaving the reputation of a prince whose sole crime was ambition, which sometimes obscured his reason, and led him into measures very contrary to his judgment, and the general system of politics which he pursued. He had completed his eightieth year when he died; yet did he enjoy the perfect use of all his faculties of mind and body, and the fire and vigour of youth. His genius was active, his temper amiable, his life abstemious, and his character, except in the last instance, unblemished. Courage, generosity, and magnificence were his most shining qualities. Every thing about his court was princely; yet he lived himself upon the plainest diet, drinking nothing but water, and dressed rather meanly. To conclude his character, his virtues were those of a hero; and his vices such as are almost inseparable from an elevation of mind. A. D. 1430.

S W I D R I G E L L O.

- We have already observed, that notwithstanding the union between *Poland* and *Lithuania*, the latter duchy was intirely independent. The same sovereign presided over both; yet each was governed by peculiar laws, enjoyed distinct privileges; and the latter, during the reign of *Jagello*, had its own court and prince, with all the appearances of sovereign power, though in fact he held his dignity of the king of *Poland*, as great-duke of *Lithuania*. During the government of *Vitoldus*, the king scarce ever meddled with the affairs of the duchy; and that prince might rather be regarded as the ally than the subject of *Jagello*. In all deeds and public instruments he was honoured with the title of grand-duke; and this dignity was likewise continued to his successor *Swidrigello*, brother to the king of *Poland*, though extremely undeserving. *Jagello* knew that the *Lithuanians* expected a court would be kept up at *Vilna*, that they might enjoy all the badges of independency: he knew likewise that his brother, unless gratified with this dignity, would be perpetually fomenting divisions, and stirring up factions against his government. These were the motives, and not any mistaken notions of his merit, which induced him to appoint *Swidrigello* to the supreme administration of the great duchy; a measure of which he soon found cause to repent. This prince was violent, passionate, and addicted to drinking, which led him into the most ridiculous and dangerous excesses. He no sooner ascended the throne, than he forgot his obligations to his brother, and the duty he owed to his sovereign, though it must be confessed he had some provocation. The *Poles*, at the death of *Vitoldus*, had seized upon certain towns, which had long been the subject of dispute between them and the *Lithuanians*. It was this infraction of the union that enraged *Swidrigello*, and made him break out into the most abusive and scurrilous language against his brother, who was then paying the last duties to the memory of his cousin *Vitoldus*. He threatened the king's life, and obliged the *Polish* court and guard to keep perpetual watch round *Jagello's* person; at last he forced his brother to promise he would make restitution of all the places that had been violently extorted from the duchy: for which purpose he sent orders to the governors to surrender their several charges into the hands of a commissary appointed by *Swidrigello*. Had this prince prosecuted the interest of his country with less violence, his conduct would have been applauded, and the whole world would have joined in praising his public spirit and courage; but the outrages which he committed against decency, entirely destroyed the merit of the measures he pursued. These now involved him in a war with his brother, and filled *Lithuania* with all the horrors consequent on civil divisions. Great numbers of the nobility resented the indignity with which he treated the king, and made this a pretence for breaking out into open rebellion, to which their dislike to *Swidrigello* rendered them before well-disposed; yet still the multitude took part with him, and he was regarded as a patriot, because he had dared to defend the rights of his country. The origin of this war requires to be clearly explained, as we find it variously related by different writers, and scarce at all understood by the *Polish* historians.

It was to oblige the *Polish* nation that *Jagello* had winked at the infractions of the union, and the seizure of towns which the *Lithuanians* claimed as dependences on the grand duchy. Fear now constrained him to sign an order for restoring them; for as he was then in the capital of *Lithuania*, surrounded only by a few *Polish* guards and noblemen, he apprehended some violence might be offered to his person by *Swidrigello* and the *Lithuanians*. Two *Polish* noblemen, entrusted with the order, saw clearly into the king's reasons for making this concession, and contrived a stratagem to obviate the consequences, and retain the possession of the towns to the republic. They wrote to *Michael Baczatio*, governor of the new acquisitions, acquainting him that the king had been forced, by a concurrence of circumstances, to sign the order of restitution now in their hands, and desiring, that, instead of complying, he would seize upon the *Lithuanian* commissary, as before the time the letter could reach him, the king would be safe in his *Polish* dominions.

Baczatio executed all that was required; the commissaries were seized, the *Polish* envoys kept themselves out of the reach of danger, and the towns were preserved without breach of the royal promise. *Swidrigello* was incensed at the trick put upon his understanding; and indeed the *Lithuanians* in general shared in his resentment. Preparations were made for subduing them by force, and every thing threatened the intire dissolution of the union between the republic and grand duchy, when the nobility, who professed themselves enemies to *Swidrigello*, raised forces, joined the *Poles*, and obliged their prince to make all the concessions required by *Jagello* and the republic. Some blood however was spilt before *Swidrigello*, who was then with an army in *Podolia*, could be brought to reason; after which he purchased the king's pardon with a sum of money. He did not long enjoy the fruits of this bargain; for growing every day more vicious, he was deposed by the *Lithuanians*, who requested *Jagello* to give them another governor. a

S I G I S M U N D.

A. D. 1432. *JAGELLO* was sensible that the resentment of the *Lithuanians* was well founded; he did not therefore attempt to intercede for his brother, but, in compliance with their request, sent his cousin *Sigismund*, son of *Keijustutus*, and brother of *Vitoldus*, to take upon him the government of the duchy, vesting him with all the badges of supreme authority, and the prerogatives enjoyed by the two last dukes. This prince was scarce established in his new dignity, when he was treacherously slain by the czar of *Muscovy*, in open violation of the faith of treaties, and the laws subsisting among the most barbarous nations; upon which *Casimir*, the second son of *Jagello*, was appointed his successor. *Casimir* held the reins of authority but a short time, when he was called to the throne of *Poland*, on the death of his brother *Uladislaus VI.* by which means *Lithuania* devolved to *Alexander*, the younger son of *Casimir*. His government too was but of short duration, when he was elected king of *Poland*, on the death of his brother *John Albert*. c

FROM this time, a more strict union subsisting between *Poland* and *Lithuania*, it was deemed unnecessary to continue a representative of the grand-duke, and a court in *Lithuania*. The supreme management was therefore committed to the senate, grand-general, great-treasurer, grand-mareschal, and other great officers, under direction of the king of *Poland*, as grand-duke of *Lithuania*, and the diet which met occasionally at *Grodno*. d

END of the HISTORY of LITHUANIA.

The HISTORY of PRUSSIA.

Containing an Account of the present State, and antient Religion and Government of this Country, as far as can be collected from the imperfect Materials which have escaped the Ravages of Time. Together with a Succession of the Great Masters of the Teutonic Order of Prussia.

^a **N**OTWITHSTANDING the large district called *Prussia* hath, for a series of years, been divided into the *German* and *Polish* departments, they were certainly once united under the same princes, subject to the same government, and inhabited by the same people, descended most probably from the *Sclavonians*, the general stem of all the northern nations in the neighbourhood of *Poland*. *Stella* conjectures that the country derives its name from the *Borussi*, a particular clan of the *Sarmati*, who, migrating from the foot of the *Riphaean* mountains, were tempted by its beauty and fertility to fix their habitation here; whence, by an easy corruption, is derived the appellation of *Prussia*. It would be vain to search antiquity for the etymology of a word which will admit of a thousand various conjectures; we think *Stella's* opinion the most plausible, though he neither
^b pretends to ascertain the æra of this migration, nor to relate any of the particulars (A).

PRUSSIA, including the present kingdom of that name and the *Polish* province, is of great extent, being washed on the North by the *Baltic*; bordered on the South by *Poland* and the palatinate of *Mazovia*; on the West by *Pomerania*; and on the East by *Lithuania* and *Samogitia*. It is, besides, watered by a variety of fine rivers, as the *Vistula*, *Niemen*, *Pregel*, &c. which, with its maritime situation, renders it extremely commodious for commerce; and accordingly we find, that a considerable trade hath long been carried on by *Dantzick*, *Marienburg*, *Pillau*, *Königsberg*, and other cities and towns, situated either upon the sea, or the borders of navigable rivers. The soil in general is fertile; the climate not extremely severe, and the people more industrious than their neighbours of *Poland* and *Lithuania*; nevertheless, great part of the country lies uncultivated, and almost unpeopled.
^c It has been affirmed, that the jurisdiction of the antient kings of *Prussia* was confined entirely to *Regal Prussia*, now subject to the *Polish* republic, and never extended to *Ducal Prussia*, or the division belonging to the house of *Brandenburg*; but we think it much more probable that *Venedut* and his twelve sons were sovereigns over the whole tract of land called by the common appellation of *Prussia*; and we are certain, that the *Teutonic* order not only possessed this whole country at one period, but likewise great part of *Pomerania*, and divers *Polish* provinces.

PRUSSIA affords great abundance of corn, culinary vegetables, fruit, and pasturage; it is also well stocked with horned cattle, horses, and game of every kind; but its chief
^d commodities are wool, honey, wax, flax, pitch, coals, hemp, hops, buck-wheat, and amber. A considerable trade hath been driven in oak; but that timber is now greatly diminished in *Prussia*. As to amber, it is found in great quantities on the coasts of the *Baltic*, especially in *Samland*, upon great trees, which are buried under ground in a vitriolic earth, containing an oily substance: whence some naturalists are of opinion that amber is a concretion formed from the coagulation of the oil by the vitriolic acid; and that it is washed off the trees, and driven on shore by the strong westerly, or north-west winds. The profits arising from amber are said to bring into the royal treasury of *Prussia* above twenty-six thousand ducats yearly. To these particulars we may add, that all the rivers, bays, lakes, and canals, with which the country is watered, abound with fish; salmon, sturgeon, sole, turbot, lampreys, and other kinds the most delicious and highly rated^b.

^a STELL. apud Pistor. tom. i. p. 9.

^b BUSCHING, tom. i. p. 528.

(A) It is allowed by the best authorities, that the name of *Prussen*, or *Prussia*, was first known about the beginning of the tenth century. It was differently written by almost all the old historians: by some it was called *Pruzi*, *Prüci*, or *Pruti*; by others, *Bru-*

chia, *Borussia*, *Perrussia*, which last etymology is by some moderns esteemed the most probable. *Po*, in the language of the country, signifies *near*; and *Perrussia*, *near Russia*, whence comes *Prussia* (1).

(1) *Æn. Sylv. apud Pistor. lib. i.*

THE kingdom of *Prussia*, from which the present elector of *Brandenburg* deduces his regal title, exclusive of the *Polish* division, is reported to contain about six hundred and forty thousand persons capable of bearing arms, according to an estimate made seven years since by his *Prussian* majesty. Since the year 1719, it is computed that no less than thirty-four thousand *Calvinists* have removed from *France*, *Switzerland*, and *Germany*, into this kingdom, to whose industry it owes great part of its opulence, felicity, and beauty, they having built four hundred villages, eleven towns, eighty-six fine private country-seats, fifty new churches, besides founding a thousand village schools. Before these migrations the inhabitants were composed of native *Prussians*, who appear by their language and manners to be the genuine descendants of the *Slavi*; of *Lithuanians*, whose ancestors were the *Nadravians*; and of *Poles*, intermixed with great numbers of *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*. a b

DUCAL, or the present kingdom of *Prussia*, was at the first introduction of Christianity into the country, divided into four dioceses; *Culm*, *Ermeland*, *Samlan*, and *Pomesan*, all under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of *Riga*. When *Prussia Ducal* was secularized by the margrave *Albert*, he committed the supreme direction of ecclesiastical affairs to the bishop of *Pomesan*. Some years after both this bishopric and that of *Samlan* were suppressed, two consistories being erected in their stead, whereof one was held at *Königsberg*, and the other at *Saalfeld*. To them belong the right of issuing all commissions, examining all accompts, and giving proper vouchers with regard to the ecclesiastical revenues; nor can there be any appeal from their authority, except on extraordinary emergencies, to the supreme court of judicature in the kingdom. c

It will furnish a different idea from what is generally entertained of the kingdom of *Prussia*, if we consider it in a commercial view. Before the flames of the present unhappy war broke out, and involved this as well as the neighbouring countries in confusion and devastation, trade was assiduously cultivated, under the immediate eye, and cherished by the munificent patronage of the sovereign. The manufactures of every kind were daily improving and multiplying; and most of those luxuries of life, which in the last reign were imported from other countries, were now the produce of the art and ingenuity of the inhabitants. Glass and iron works were erected and brought to considerable perfection, powder, paper, brass, and copper mills; manufactures of linen, cloth, thin stuffs, silk, and cotton were set up, with all the appearance of success. In a word, every kind of domestic industry was eagerly pushed, and a commercial, busy, thriving spirit seemed to be universally roused, when war, the bane of all the civil arts, nipped the promising bud, and employed the whole attention of the people on the means of safety. However, as only general relations of the present posture of affairs in that country have come to our hands, we shall proceed to describe what it was as late as the year 1755. d

In the present reign a college of commerce and navigation was erected, for the more easily adjusting all disputes, and promoting all schemes which might be deemed advantageous to the traffic of the kingdom of *Prussia*. This board will appear the more necessary if we take a view of the extent of the *Prussian* exports. In grain no less than thirteen thousand lasts are annually vended to foreign merchants, and exported by shipping: besides twelve thousand stone of wax and honey, a prodigious quantity of grass-manna, linseed-oil, flax, hemp, lin-seed and hemp-seed. The export of the two last articles singly amount to five thousand lasts. To these we may add, pine trees for masts, deal boards, oak planks, tar, wood-ashes, pot-ashes, leather, elks skins, furs, amber, mead, dried fish, sturgeon, butter, tallow, stags horns, hogs bristles, elks hoofs, and other articles, either the immediate produce of the country, or brought by the industry of the *Prussians* from the great duchy of *Lithuania*. To carry on the whole commerce of *Prussia*, no less than five hundred and fifty vessels are continually employed, which import wine, salt, spice, fine linen and cloth, herrings, tin, lead, tobacco, sugar, rice, coffee, tea, raisins, almonds, indigo, and other commodities of the different kingdoms of *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, taking in exchange the native articles above mentioned. The present king, like a true politician, used his utmost endeavours to become a maritime power; yet, notwithstanding his vast abilities, all attempts to that purpose have hitherto proved unsuccessful. e f

THE *Prussian* system of laws have long been celebrated over *Germany* for their precision and brevity, though they were defective in one particular, that they were not founded upon general principles, deduced from the laws of nature. Besides, a variety of abuses had crept into the practice of the law, which furnished the present monarch with the noblest idea which ever entered into the breast of any legislator. The *Frederician* Code, now received as the standard of law over the whole *Prussian* dominions, is the finest institution extant, and will remain an eternal monument of the penetration and sagacity of this all- g

^c *Frederician* Code, tom. i.

- a accomplished prince. Here the law is made clear and express, and the subject eased of all apprehension of tedious and expensive litigation; the expence and duration of every cause being limited, and none admitted into the profession of advocates but such as have passed strict examination, and can give surety for their integrity. However, the *Frederician* Code is modelled to the purposes of an arbitrary government, which will appear to many persons an insuperable objection to the excellency of the *Prussian* laws; yet, while the sceptre is held by a virtuous able sovereign, they are the best calculated of any others to produce felicity. The *Keniglish Regierung*, or Royal Court of Regency, is the supreme tribunal, to which the last appeal is made in all cases political, civil, or ecclesiastical; and the same power is there vested in the sovereign alone, that is in this country divided
- b between the prince and the representatives of the people. Every member of the supreme college is likewise a privy counsellor, or minister of state and war, each having his particular department, their number being five, and two secretaries. There are also two chambers of war and the revenue at *Konigsberg* and *Gumbinnen*, which direct every thing relative to the excise, revenue, trade, manufactures, magazines, forage, and the affairs of the colonies; though most of these particulars are referred intirely to the college of trade and navigation. Subordinate to the members of this chamber, who are stiled counsellors of war and the demesnes, are the counsellors of the taxes, the provincial receivers of the taxes, the commissaries of war, the officers of excise and licences, the farmers of the crown lands, and the officers of the revenue in the different cities.
- c As to the *Prussian* revenue, it arises from the customs, excise, and services; stamp paper, news papers, almanacks, &c. the crown-farms and districts, the corn and other mills, timber out of the royal lands; duties on venison, and the skins of stags, elks, and other beasts; pine-trees for masts out of the king's forests; the public granaries, manufactures, post-houses, salt and iron works; feofees, and knights military service, which is still maintained in *Prussia*; the chests of forfeiture and recruit, in which is deposited the purchase money of all public employments; the sale of amber, and duties on sturgeon, &c. In a word, the public revenue is considerable, and the taxes oppressive; except when an active commerce is pursued; nor need we be surpris'd at the loads imposed on the subject, when we consider that the *Prussian* is now a kind of military government;
- d and that, before the commencement of this bloody war, the king had the finest standing army in the universe. If we mistake not, his majesty, perceiving that furnishing the army with recruits was the greatest obstruction to industry, issued an order some years since, signifying, that the regiments should not henceforward be recruited out of the young men of the district where they were quartered, but by volunteers and foreigners. What alterations the necessity of war may have produced, we know not: certain it is, that at present great part of the *Prussian* army is composed of *Saxons*, and other foreigners, incorporated in the different regiments.

- WITH respect to *Prussia Royal*, or the division annexed to the *Polish* crown, it differs Regal Prussia: but in few particulars from what we have related of *Ducal Prussia*. This district is computed about thirteen *German* miles in length, and twelve in its greatest breadth. The commodities yielded by the country are similar to those we have mentioned; nor doth it differ considerably in fertility or soil, except to the south side, which is more barren, and unfit for pasture. *Prussia Regal*, or *Polish Prussia*, is a distinct political body, independent, and enjoying nothing in common with the *Polish* republic, except being governed by the same monarch: like the great duchy of *Lithuania*, it is connected with the crown of *Poland* by a perpetual indissoluble alliance. When *Regal Prussia* put itself under the protection of *Casimir IV.* it was expressly stipulated, that it should own no dependence on the republic; but that the sovereign should personally order and determine all matters relative to *Prussia*, and frequently visit their country, to summon and preside at general diets. Hence, though
- e annexed to the crown, *Prussia* hath nothing to do with the republic; but is, in fact, a free state, possessing the same right as *Poland* and *Lithuania* to vote at the election of a sovereign; to whom the *Prussians* never pay homage until he hath sworn, in the most solemn manner, to preserve them in all their rights and privileges. Nor can the king determine, in regard to any affair of public concern, without the concurrence of the states, who are divided into spiritual and temporal members, the former being composed of the mitred prelates, and the latter of the nobility and burghers.
- f

- g FORMERLY the diets of this country were, like those of *Poland*, ordinary, or in course; and extraordinary, or upon critical and important occasions. For the last century, the ordinary diets have been discontinued, because the usual rotation of affairs did not require that the nobility and burghers should be put to a certain periodical expence, when there was perhaps nothing which demanded their attendance, besides the observance of the constitutional form. Still the extraordinary diet is convoked; but the king has the choice of time and place; though, as to the latter, *Marienbourg* and *Graudentz* are fixed upon alter-

nately. Previous to the general *Prussian* diets, the lesser diets are held by the king's appointment, as in *Poland*, and their intention is directly similar, namely, to nominate deputies to the general assembly of the states. The instructions to the deputies are in the *Polish* language; their expences are defrayed in part by the public, and the assembly hath for its head the king in person; or his commissioner. All decrees are translated into the *Latin* tongue by the secretaries of *Thorn*, according to the sense of the states; and at the close of the diet are publicly read, and sealed with the arms of *Prussia Regal*. Further, the *Prussian* diets are divided into *conventus ante comitiales*, and *conventus post comitiales*; in the former of which the king directs the matters to be deliberated, that must be afterwards determined in the general diet of the *Polish* republic, and the representatives are chosen to attend the *Polish* diet. In the *conventus post comitiales* new taxes are imposed; old ones abolished; former accounts are revised, passed, and confirmed; and whatever hath been transacted in the general diet of *Poland*, which is thought to be detrimental to the particular interest of *Prussia*, is verbally censured, and then protested against in writing. It may be deemed oppressive to the *Prussians*, that, besides attending their own diets, they are under the necessity of sending deputies to the diet of *Poland*; yet, though this augments their public expence, it is essential to the preservation of liberty, and is ballanced by the disuse of the ordinary diets. They besides pay no toll or custom; and, when they are in *Poland*, no more is demanded of them than the duties of the frontier, which are of long standing.

MANY, indeed, are the privileges enjoyed by the *Prussian* subjects of his *Polish* majesty. They are not, for instance, obliged to serve in any military expedition beyond the limits of the province. However, this privilege is denied to the citizens of *Thorn*, who, in consideration of the liberty of purchasing and holding estates like the nobility, oblige themselves to send thirty horsemen into the field, completely mounted. Formerly *Prussia* had its own coin: now the money is reduced to the standard of *Poland*, for the greater conveniency of the whole republic. The three principal cities, indeed, of the province enjoy the permission of coinage in gold or silver; but whether this privilege be an article in the alliance with *Poland*, is what we cannot determine upon any authority.

WE must observe, that causes are tried within the district called *Regal* or *Polish Prussia*, by the noble laws of the country, and the system of laws composed in *Culm*, generally distinguished by the appellation of the *Culmean Code*. In *Elbing*, and some other towns, the *Lubec* laws are practised; but the nobility in every palatinate make use of the provincial and castle law. From this variety of law proceed infinite inconveniences: litigations and appeals are multiplied, without rendering the distribution of justice more certain: hence it is probable, that the *Frederician Code*, now universally received in *Prussia Ducal*, may one day take place in *Prussia Royal*, under such restrictions and modifications as are required by the differences of two constitutions. We must not omit a kind of association that was formed among the small towns, during the government of the *Teutonic* order, and which still subsists. By this union they are to support each other in vindication of their common privileges; to consult their interest as a community in their particular assemblies; and to recommend their common concerns, in the general diets of the province, to the representatives of the great cities, as those of *Thorn*, *Elbing*, and *Dantzick*.

To conclude this general account of *Ducal* and *Regal Prussia*, and proceed to a short description of the great cities, we shall take notice, that *Regal Prussia* is properly divided into two dioceses, those of *Ermland* and *Culm*. The former claims vast prerogatives: the bishop is president and chief among the nobility: he acknowledges no subordination to the primate archbishop of *Gnesna*; but holds immediately of the pontiff: his diocese is of great extent, within which he is supreme in all causes, civil and ecclesiastical: his revenues amount to sixty-four thousand dollars yearly, and he is elected out of their own body by the chapter, the king first nominating the person most agreeable to him: he styles himself prince of the holy *Roman* empire, in all public and private writings, by virtue of the dignity conferred on one of the bishops by the emperor *Charles IV.* he likewise claims the title of highness; but he is never addressed so by the state officers, or royal chancery. As to the bishop of *Culm*, neither his diocese nor privileges are so extensive: his revenues are nevertheless very considerable; and he enjoys one very particular prerogative, namely, that he is qualified, in consequence of his sacred function and preferment, to be chancellor of *Prussia*; an employment equally honourable and lucrative. To the title of bishop of *Culm* he adds that of bishop of *Pomesan*, just as the other prelate styles himself bishop of *Ermland* and *Samland*.

WE now proceed to describe a few of the principal cities in *Ducal* and *Royal Prussia*, beginning with the former. The first city in opulence and power, and indeed the capital of *Ducal Prussia* is *Konigsberg*, called in *Polish*, *Krowlewies*, and in *Latin*, *Regimontum*, or *Mons*

- a *Mons regius*, situated on the river *Pregel*, over which the inhabitants have built seven bridges, to render convenient the communication between the different quarters of the city. *Konigsberg* was founded in the year 1255, when the first *Premislaus*, king of *Bohemia*, came to the assistance of the *Teutonic* knights against the *Prussian* idolaters. It was by the direction of this prince that a castle was first built on the spot where the city stands, to which, in progress of time, a town was added. The city is of great extent, and the rampart with which it was surrounded in 1626, measures about seven miles in circumference, having thirty-two ravelins and eight gates. Enclosed in this wall are several gardens, the large castle ditch, meadows, and fields; whence we may conceive that the place is not impregnable, as it would require a numerous army for its defence. Notwithstanding these extraordinary dimensions, the number of houses doth not exceed three thousand eight hundred, and the inhabitants are computed at sixty thousand. Here is an university of some reputation among the northern nations called *Academia Regiamontana*, *Albertina*, or *Pregelana*, from the name of the city, the founder, or the river *Pregel*. In 1544, it was founded by the margrave *Albert*, and endowed with extraordinary immunities. Appointments were made for thirty eight professors, exclusive of the tutors; and a refectory provided of eight tables, at each of which sat twelve students upon the foundation; besides which there are twenty-eight considerable exhibitions to be given according to merit, after public examination. It would be too minute to enter upon a description of all the public edifices with which *Konigsberg* is adorned: we shall therefore only observe, that the exchange for merchants is a magnificent edifice, embellished with great variety of curious paintings. The palace with its suburbs, is truly royal. It is built in the form of a parallelogram, the enclosed area containing one hundred and thirty-six paces in length and seventy-five in breadth. The foundation of this building appears to have been laid at an early period of the *Teutonic* order; and it is affirmed, that the wall on the north side is the same that was first erected many centuries since, and now exhibiting no symptoms of decay. In a word, the city of *Konigsberg* hath always made a considerable figure in trade and navigation. Formerly it was engaged in the association of hanse-towns, and its commerce is still in a flourishing condition. Here the *Pregel* is navigable for the largest shipping; and as late as the year 1752, there were not fewer than five hundred ships at *Konigsberg* in the space of twelve months.

- d THE next city that deserves notice is *Pillau*, in the province of *Samland*. This is an exceeding strong place, with a fine harbour, and hath always been reputed the key and bulwark of *Prussia* towards the sea. *Pillau* stands on a point of land projecting into the sea; it is well fortified, much frequented by foreigners, rich, and populous. The fort is nearly a regular pentagon, well planted with cannon: the bastions make a fine appearance, and all the buildings belonging to the fortifications are strong, beautiful, and regular. In the same province, but in a different government, stands the antient, regular, and well built town of *Velau*, at the conflux of the rivers *Alle* and *Pregel*. This town carries on a considerable trade, though it has hardly recovered the damages sustained by a great fire in the year 1736.

- e IN the province of *Oberland*, and government of *Marienwerder*, stands the town of that name, called by *Latin* writers *Insula Mariana*, situated on the frontiers of *Pomerania*, at an inconsiderable distance from the *Vistula*. This town is well built, regular, and fortified with a strong castle. Formerly it was the residence of the grand-masters of the *Teutonic* order, and was founded as early as the year 1233. It is but indifferently situated for foreign commerce: however, as the inhabitants are industrious, they have set on foot several manufactures, and among the rest salt-works, by means of which they carry on a tolerably brisk trade with *Pomerania* and the neighbouring countries.

- f LITTLE *Lithuania* is always reckoned among the provinces of *Ducal Prussia*, and acknowledges the sovereignty of the same monarch. Here stands *Memel*, a trading town, fortrefs, and sea-port, built in the year 1279, fortified in 1312, and given in 1328 to the grand-master of the *Teutonic* order in *Prussia* by the governor of *Livonia*. The port is good, the town populous, the trade flourishing, and the place fortified with three whole and two half bastions, besides strong outworks and a regular citadel.

- g NEXT to *Konigsberg*, the largest and most opulent town in *Prussia Ducal*, is *Tilsit*, honoured in the year 1552 with the privileges of a city. It stands on the *Memel*, is fortified by an old castle, and drives a vast trade with the capital in corn, linseed, butter, and other commodities. Besides these, there are great variety of smaller trading towns in the different governments, upon which the reader may consult modern topographical writers, and among the rest M. *Busching*^a, the most accurate and recent in this particular.

^a Vide Vol. i.

POLISH or *Regal Prussia* is more remarkable for strong, opulent, considerable, and commercial cities than the *German* department which we have now described. Here stands *Dantzick*, one of the most considerable cities in the North, of which we have already spoken in the history of *Poland*. a

Culm. In the palatinate of *Culm* stands the capital of the same name, called *Chelmo* by the *Polish* writers. This city was founded on the banks of the *Vistula*, as early as 1239, and bequeathed by one of the dukes of *Mazovia* to the knights of the *Teutonic* order, in consideration of certain services performed by the fraternity. The *Polish* writers, as we have seen, give a different account of the first introduction of the knights into *Prussia*. Here the high tribunal of all *Prussia* was held, while the *Teutonic* knights possessed the sovereignty of *Culm*; whence the *Culmean* law acquired such reputation. Formerly it was a hanse-town, reckoned among the great cities subject to the crown of *Poland*, and consequently endowed with the privilege of sending representatives to the senate, *Prussian* council, and states. b

Thorn. *THORN* is situated in the same palatinate, and is more antient and considerable than the former, though not the capital of the province. It stands on the *Vistula*, was founded in 1231, is the repository of the records of *Prussia*, and its magistrates are honoured with the precedence of those of the other cities. Some antiquaries conjecture, that it was called *Tborn*, because the *Teutonic* knights, by means of this opened to themselves a *thor* or door, into *Prussia*; which is indeed corroborated by the city arms, representing a door thrown open. *Tborn* enjoys many privileges in common with *Elbing* and *Dantzick*; but it hath others of some consequence peculiar to itself. The recorder of this city is to write down the decrees of the diet of *Prussia*, in the name of the whole country, as we have mentioned a little before: he is to read them publicly, and then deposit them among the archives in the chamber of records in *Tborn*. Of this honour the city and recorder are extremely jealous and tenacious. Two members of the council of *Tborn* assist at the sessions of the *Culmean* judicature, which is annually held here by the nobility. “As *Tborn*, for centuries past, says *Busching*, hath been the staple city, it is confirmed in the inviolable possession of that advantageous privilege; and as the *Vistula* waters its territory, the islands and fisheries on that river were made the property of the city.” But the immunity that is esteemed superior to all others, is the privilege which the burghers of *Tborn* enjoy of purchasing fiefs and estates, which none besides, except the nobility, possess in this country. c

THORN consisted formerly of the *old* and *new* town, each having its respective council, magistracy, and police: for the three last centuries they have been incorporated, though they are still separated by a wall and moat. The fortifications are considerable, and the garrison intirely composed of burghers, the quartering regular troops here being inconsistent with the privileges of the city. For a great number of years the commerce of *Tborn* flourished; and it was formerly considered as one of the principal of the hanse-towns. Independent of the other cities of the association, *Tborn* carried on a prodigious trade in the *Baltic*; but a variety of accidents, by which the channel of the river became choaked up, destroyed that commerce, by preventing large ships from entering. From this cause; and the misfortunes consequent on war, *Tborn* sustained divers rude shocks, which greatly diminished its former grandeur: in 1655 it surrendered to *Charles Gustavus*, king of *Sweden*. Three years after it was vigorously besieged, and in the end reduced by the *Poles* and *Brandenburgers*. *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*, in 1703, bombarded, took, and loaded it with the most oppressive contributions, and even destroyed the fortifications, contrary to the express tenor of the capitulation. Six years after *Tborn* was almost depopulated by a dreadful plague; and the subsequent years were almost fatal to the revenues of the city, by the confederacies in *Poland*, and the disputes about the crown of that kingdom. In the year 1718, a commission to determine certain disputes between the magistrates and burghers, put the city to immense charge, which was greatly encreased by the disputes in 1724, which we have explicitly related towards the close of the *Polish* history. To crown the misfortunes of this city, a dreadful fire broke out in 1734, which consumed a great number of ships, warehouses, private dwellings, public buildings, and ruined a variety of merchants, burghers, and gentlemen. d

It may be thought extraordinary that two languages are here spoken by all degrees of men, in the utmost purity. It is difficult to determine whether the *German* or the *Polish* be the vernacular tongue of a native of *Tborn*; both are spoken with such purity and elegance, that great numbers of the *Polish* and *German* gentry send their children to this city to complete their education, and acquire a perfect knowledge of their own languages. e

^a THE *Lutheran* is the established religion of *Tbern*. It was introduced at the reformation in 1520, and so successfully propagated, that in 1557, considerable privileges in spiritual affairs were granted to the city by king *Sigismund Augustus*, which have been confirmed by succeeding monarchs. These, however, had almost been revoked in the grand dispute between the burghers and college of Jesuits in 1724, before-mentioned.

^b IN the prefecture of *Marienburg* stands the capital of that name, formerly the residence of the great masters of the *Teutonic* order. It is situated upon the *Nogal*, one of the branches of the *Vistula*; was built in 1304, though the castle is said to have been erected near a century before. For several years this city was mean and contemptible; but it was gradually beautified, adorned, and enlarged by the grand-masters, tho' it dwindled by degrees after the extinction of the order. At present it is chiefly remarkable on account of a wooden bridge, laid over the *Nogal*, reported to be five hundred and ninety-five feet in length, and maintained at a prodigious expence to the inhabitants. Marienburg.

^c THE last city we shall describe is *Elbing*, in the prefecture of *Marienburg*, and seated on the river *Elbing*, whence it takes its name. This city dates its foundation in 1239, and its privilege of coining from the year 1246, which it still maintains. *Elbing* is composed of the old and new towns, divided by the river: united, they form a large handsome, and opulent city; but the fortifications are constructed after the old manner, and scarce capable of making any resistance against the method of attack now universally practised. *Elbing* is a hanse town; and as it was originally inhabited by a colony from *Lubeck*, it is still governed by the laws of that city: however, the burghers possess certain important and peculiar privileges. The commerce carried on by this city is very considerable; and it hath for ages past been reputed, next to *Dantzick*, the most wealthy in *Prussia Regal*. In ecclesiastical matters, it acknowledges the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Ermland*, as far as is consistent with the difference of religion, the Evangelic Faith being chiefly professed by the inhabitants. We have had occasion, in the course of the preceding history, to relate the various revolutions which *Elbing* underwent; it would be therefore unnecessary to recapitulate them in this place: sufficient it is, that it may be reckoned among the most valuable cities subject to the crown of *Poland*. Elbing.

^d WITH respect to the antient state of *Prussia*, the form of government, manners, and religion of the inhabitants, we have but a very scanty and imperfect knowledge. *Stella* is the only writer who hath treated of the antiquities of this country, and the greater part of his account is justly rejected as fabulous. We shall therefore venture only to relate a few of those particulars, upon which the best authorities agree.

^e THE antient *Prussians* were a set of barbarians and robbers, who lived upon raw flesh, drank the blood of horses at their feasts (B), sacrificed the prisoners taken in war, and were the perpetual foes and disturbers of all the neighbouring nations. For a great number of years they had no form of government: property was in common, and every man seized upon whatever best suited his ambition and inclinations. Strength was the only standard of right: and nothing but confusion and anarchy reigned; until experience taught the necessity of vesting some individual of their own number with supreme authority. So extremely savage was this people, that they were even unacquainted with the method of constructing huts, taking up their dwelling in caves, and cavities of rocks and trees, in which they protected their children from the inclemency of the weather, and the cruelty of enemies. Polygamy was, in consequence of their anarchy, permitted; and no other rule was observed, with regard to the number of wives, than the possibility of maintaining them. Fathers and mothers possessed an absolute power over the wills and lives of the children; for as there were no magistrates in public, every master enjoyed despotic authority in his own family; and it is probable, that ^f the husband's power was as unlimited over his wife as over his children. Before the *Borussians*, or *Prussians*, a name at that time confined to the inhabitants of the interior parts of the kingdom, had borrowed any of the customs of the *Sudini*, the inhabitants of *Samland* and the sea-coast, adulterers were burnt: afterwards they relaxed in the severity of the punishment annexed to this crime. But the most barbarous practice of which they were guilty, was the putting to death all the sick of whose recovery they despaired; a custom still prevalent among some of the negro nations on the coast of *Africa*. From the *Sudini*, or *Sudavicans*, they borrowed a superficial knowledge in agriculture, fishing; and making wine; for the use of which they exchanged the animal juices, which they formerly regarded as the most delicious potion. The arms of the *Prussians* were extremely ^g simple, consisting chiefly in sharp stakes hardened in the fire, which they made use of in the stead of lances and javelins. All booty that was made was immediately divided into

*Customs of the
antient Prus-
sians.*

(B) *Stella* alledges; that they used to drink horses any particular method used of communicating this in- blood even to intoxication; but he does not mention ebriating quality to the blood of animals (1).

(1) *Apud Piss. tom. i. p. 4.*

three parts : the first was appropriated to the gods, the second to the priests, and the third to the captors. Before the *Prussians* were incorporated with the *Sudini*, they differed little from the wild beasts of the forests; and it is confidently affirmed, that before this period they were totally destitute of religious worship.

Religion.

By this people they were taught their veneration for snakes, which they maintained in their caves as tutelary beings. From them also they learnt to revere the oak, as the king of the forest, and the noblest and most durable of trees. - Afterwards, when their religion became somewhat better modified, though not less absurd, public worship and private orgies were performed under the shade of a thick oak, or groves of this wood, consecrated to the purposes of religion. There were, in particular, four large oak trees, which were looked upon as the chief temples, and peculiarly sacred : under these worship was paid to the three chief divinities, whom they called *Percunos*, *Picoltos*, and *Potrimpos*, equivalent to the *Jupiter*, *Pluto*, and *Cupid* of the more civilized antients. The gods next to these in dignity were *Curcha*, *Warschaito*, and *Ischwambrato*; and the inferior order were chosen from the reptile or inanimate creation; for, besides snakes and other insects, it is said the *Prussians* paid worship to trees, stones, and mountains, as is now customary in the little kingdom of *Whidab* on the Negro coast. They moreover paid adoration to the sun, moon, stars, eclipses, thunder, storms, and other natural phenomena, many of which they regarded as signs of the Divine wrath; to appease which they sacrificed their prisoners, after the manner of the *Lithuanians*.

Manners of the Sudini.

STELLA gives us a tolerable distinct account of the religion, government, and manners of the *Sudini*, who, in progress of time, became one people with the *Prussians*. They were tolerably skilled in agriculture, and divers arts of industry and commerce; and it is probable, from their situation, that they were not ignorant of trade and navigation; by which conjecture alone we are able to account for their being more civilized than their neighbours^f. The men, we are told, wore woollen stuffs; while the women were clothed with linen, and their necks adorned with rings of brass, and other metals. Their ears too were pierced, and set off with ear-rings of curious fashion; a vain custom, says *Stella*, which continues among them to this day. The *Sudini* had the appearance of regular polity: they built houses, villages, and towns, but without any fortifications: they carefully avoided civil commotions, and united constantly to oppose all external attacks, under the direction of certain chiefs. Whether these were chosen occasionally, or were vested with perpetual authority, is not determined; but all writers agree that the *Sudini* were divided into twelve small republics, independent on each other, and differing almost in every point of civil government: the religion, indeed, of all the cantons was similar; and they were bound, by certain obligations, to consider the enemies of either as the enemies of the whole body. The priests bore great share in the government of affairs; and, next to the sacred function, the surest method of obtaining credit and influence was by the sword, and acts of valour performed against the common enemy.

The union of the Sudini with the Prussians.

THE mixture of such a people as we have now described with the barbarous *Prussians*, could not fail of producing extraordinary advantages to the latter; but we are not informed by what means, or on what occasion, this incorporation took effect. The story related by *Stella* of *Veneduutus*, or *Vidutus*, an *Alan*, and the first king of *Prussia*, hath all the appearance of a fable. Besides that, according to this writer, *Veneduutus* had but four sons; whereas all the other northern writers speak of twelve sons, among whom the father divided his dominions, which laid the foundation of twelve different republics. From this circumstance it is probable, that, if ever such a prince as *Veneduutus* existed, he was sovereign only of that part of *Prussia* called *Samland*, antiently inhabited by the *Sudini*. When the nations were united, the same form of government took place; in which situation things continued, until the *Germans* and *Poles* conquered part of the country: but finding themselves unable to establish Christianity, and drive the obstinate inhabitants from their idolatrous religion, the *Teutonic* knights were called in, who, in progress of time, and after many bloody battles, subjected the whole country; and, as some writers believe, exterminated almost the whole antient race of *Prussians* (C).

Origin of the Teutonic Order, and their first establishment in Prussia.

PREVIOUS to our account of the establishment of this military order in *Prussia*, where they reigned for many ages with despotic power, it will be necessary we should make the reader acquainted with the origin of the institution. When the emperor *Frederick Barbarossa* engaged in a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land out of the hands of the sultan *Saladin* of *Egypt*, he was followed by a great number of *German* volunteers, who enlisted in crowds under the imperial banners. Some were impelled by devotion, others excited by the love of glory. At the death of *Barbarossa*, the *Germans* who had signalized themselves before *Acon*, or *Ptolemais*, then besieged by the Christian forces, finding themselves deprived of a chief, emulation and discord succeeding, and all things tending to anarchy

^f ERASM. STELL. apud Pistor. tom. i. p. 11.

(C) This is all that is known of the *Prussians*, from and their settlement at *Culm*, in the beginning of the their origin until the first arrival of the *Teutonic* knights, thirteenth century.

a and confusion, resolved to nominate a leader, and fixed their choice upon *Frederick* duke of *Suabia*, second son to the emperor, and *Henry* duke of *Brabant*. Under these generals they displayed such acts of gallantry, valour, and intrepidity, during the siege of *Ptolemais* and other cities, that *Henry* king of *Jerusalem*, the patriarch, and several other princes, determined to reward their courage by instituting an order of knighthood in their favour. At first they had the title of *Knights of St. George*; but it was afterwards found more convenient to put them under the tutelage of the *Virgin Mary*, to whom there was already an hospital dedicated on mount *Sion*, for the relief of *German* pilgrims. From this time they were called *Knights of St. Mary*, *Equites Mariani*. Laws, regulations, and statutes were drawn up for them by the Christian kings in *Syria* and the patriarch; and, among
b other obligations, it was required, that every person admitted to the privileges of the order should be of noble parentage; that the order should defend the Christian religion and the Holy Land; that they should exercise hospitality towards Christians in general, but particularly those of their own country; and that they should, with all their power, endeavour to propagate and extend the Christian faith and the name of *Jesus*. They soon became rich by the donations of mistaken piety, and of superstition. In the year 1190 they elected their first grand-master, *Henry Walpot*, a *German*, who had distinguished himself by his zeal and valour, and their choice was confirmed by the emperor. The following year pope *Celestine III.* confirmed the privileges granted to the order, by the name of the *Teutonic Knights of the Hospital of St. Mary the Virgin*. By the conditions of this bull they
c vowed perpetual continence, obedience, and poverty; obligations that were forgot as soon as the temptation offered.

UPON the expulsion of the Christians from the Holy Land by *Saladin*, a settlement was given the *Teutonic* knights in *Prussia* by *Conrade* duke of *Mazovia*, the competitor of *Boleslaus V.* for the crown of *Poland*. Most writers date this event in the year 1210; yet it is certain that the dispute between *Conrade* and the *Prussians* happened twenty years later. All agree, however, about the fact; and nothing remains doubtful besides the chronology, which it would at this distance of time be difficult to ascertain, amidst the great variety of discordant opinions. *Culm* was their first residence in *Prussia*: they were confined, by the conditions of the donation, to this district, except their conquests over their pagan neighbours, all of which *Conrade* bestowed on them in perpetuity: we mean, that the Order was restricted from drawing the sword against Christian powers, and their possessions intirely limited to what they should gain from the infidels. The duke of *Mazovia's* gift was ratified by the emperor, and further confirmed by a pontifical bull, which immediately set this ambitious fraternity upon enlarging their dominions, and extending their influence. *Herman de Salza*, the fourth great-master, was now at the head of the order (D). He entered upon his design of conquering all *Prussia* by slight skirmishes, as trials of the skill and courage of the natives: then he proceeded to more general actions, and at length obtained several important victories. It could not be expected that the *Prussians*, ignorant of the art of war, and assisted only by their natural valour, could long withstand those veterans, whose
d numbers exceeded twenty thousand men: in fact, they soon yielded the province of *Culm-igeria* and prefecture of *Marienburg*; in which last the knights built the city of that name, where *Salza*, their grand-master, lies interred.

THE second grand-master of *Prussia*, and fifth of the order, was *Conrade* marquis of *Thuringia*, who was admitted with two thousand of his followers into the fraternity under the preceding master. This prince was equally brave and politic, by which means he greatly extended the influence and conquests of the *Teutonic* order, conquered the *Samlanders*, and erected *Konigsberg*, in honour of *Premislaus* king of *Bohemia*, who had come with an army to assist him in the reduction of the pagan natives.

THE succeeding and third grand-master of the *Prussian Teutonic* order was *Poppon de Osterman*, who also proved a glorious conqueror, defeating the *Prussians*, *Pomeranians*, and *Livonians* in divers bloody engagements, and rescuing *Poland* from the ravages of the *Tartars*. We have already seen, that this hero was defeated, and slain in battle by the hands of those barbarous people, who then over-run the whole republic of *Poland*. According to some of the *Polish* writers, it was now that the knights first had footing in *Prussia*.

IN the room of *Poppon*, *John Sangerhause* was elected in the year 1263; and he began his administration with the wiping off the disgrace sustained from the *Tartars*, assisting the *Poles* in driving them out of the territories of the republic, and extending the conquests of the order in *Prussia*; in all which he succeeded, leaving the knights strictly allied with *Poland*, and infinitely more powerful than at his accession.

g THE fifth grand-master since the arrival of the order in *Prussia*, was *Hartmannus*, count of *Heidelberg*, an artful, cunning, and politic prince, who, by dint of treaty and negotiation, augmented the dominions of the *Teutonic* order more than any of his predecessors had done

(D) The three first grand-masters were *Henry Walpot*, *Otho de Kerpen*, and *Herman Barth*, all *Germans*: the latter died in the year 1210.

by the most decisive battles. He died in 1282, with the reputation of the greatest statesman of his age.

BUCHARDUS a Swenden was the sixth provincial master, and among the greatest warriors who had ever presided over the fraternity. He not only subdued the *Prussians*, but made considerable conquests in *Livonia*, which were farther improved by his successor.

CONRADE de Feuchwanden trod in the steps of his predecessor, fought several battles against the pagan *Prussians*, reduced *Riga*, and established the *Teutonic* government in that country.

CONRADE resigned his office to his brother, who was master of that branch of the *Teutonic* order settled at *Marpurg*. As soon as *Sigisfrid* was made grand-master of *Prussia* he removed his residence to *Marienburg*, where he governed for the space of two years with great applause (E).

CHARLES BIFFART succeeded, and waged perpetual war with the *Lithuanians*, in which he displayed all the qualities of a hero, though they produced scarce any advantage to the order; who began now to be regarded by *Poland* and the neighbouring states, as an ambitious restless fraternity, that aspired at the conquest of all the northern countries. Some complaints had been preferred to the pope against this master: he went to *Rome* to answer the charge, and died, on his return, at *Vienna*.

He was succeeded by *Vernerus Urselensis*, who, after a short and prudent administration, was murdered by one of his own order.

At the death of *Vernerus*, *Lewis* duke of *Brunswick* was elected to the dignity of great-master, which he enjoyed for the space of four years only. His administration was prudent, pacific, and happy for himself and the order.

At the age of eighty, the count of *Algenberg* was chosen grand-master, on account of his wisdom, eloquence, and valour. He governed for ten years with great justice and reputation, being succeeded by *Rodolph* duke of *Saxony*.

This prince was magnanimous, but unfortunate. While he was engaged in other foreign wars, *Prussia* was invaded, over-run, and desolated by the *Lithuanians*; which so affected *Rodolph*, that his intellects were disturbed, and in consequence he was deposed, to make way for one more capable of governing the fraternity.

The next person elected great-master was *Henry de Desmer*, whose abilities were universally acknowledged. It was under his government that the war raged with fury against the *Russians* and *Lithuanians*, whom he defeated with dreadful slaughter in a pitched battle.

HENRY de Knippenrode succeeded, and renewed the war with the *Lithuanians*. It is remarkable that *Guagnini* should observe profound silence upon this particular in his history of *Lithuania*; and that he should even fall into contradiction, by alledging, in the history of the *Teutonic* knights, that *Knippenrode* defeated the *Lithuanians*, and took their duke *Keijustutus* prisoner: whereas *Keijustutus* never was duke, having, upon the murder of his brother *Janunutus*, resigned all right to the ducal crown to *Olgerdus* the elder brother. This period was remarkable, chiefly on account of the progress which literature made in *Prussia*, under the patronage of a grand-master, who had a fine taste for science and the arts.

The war with *Lithuania* was transmitted to the succeeding master, *Conrade Zolner*, which he prosecuted with great vigour, but indifferent success, during the space of eight years, when he died.

CONRADE de Valenraden was next chosen, on account of his confessed talents, though he had certain peculiarities of temper that rendered him disagreeable. During his government the knights and *Lithuanians* harrassed each other by mutual incursions. *Conrade* in one of his expeditions penetrated up the *Niemen* by boats, as far as the castle of *Cowno*, where he erected magazines, by which means he was enabled to desolate the enemy's country without hazard to his own troops of perishing by the scarcity which their devastations occasioned. On his death-bed he forbid that the ecclesiastics of his own order should be admitted to administer extreme unction, and seemed to be shocked at the pretensions of the clergy to afford comfort in this awful moment by their feigned absolutions.

CONRADE de Jungingen, who succeeded, was of a disposition the least suited to gratify the ambition, and answer the aspiring views of the fraternity. He was mild, pacific, and therefore little beloved by a restless turbulent people, though he governed with reputation and ability for the space of twelve years.

His brother *Ulric*, of a very different disposition, succeeded, and waged perpetual war with the *Lithuanians*, until he was defeated and killed in battle, with the slaughter of five thousand knights.

(E) *Guagnini* places *Godfrey* count of *Hobenloe* between the brothers; and relates that he retook *Riga* from the *Russians*, and demolished the fortifications.

- a HENRY count of *Plawen*, chosen his successor, was preparing to revenge the late disgrace, when he was deposed for some misconduct, imprisoned, and punished with such rigour, that he died in chains seven years after his first confinement.
- THE choice of the fraternity fell next upon *Michael de Sterbergen*, who, mortified with a variety of defeats sustained from the *Lithuanians*, resigned and retired to *Dantzick*, where he died. A. D. 1323.
- PAUL RUDERSEIN was next chosen, and his administration was still more unfortunate than that of his predecessor. Many of the *Prussian* provinces threw off the *Teutonic* yoke, and put themselves under the protection of *Casimir IV.* son of *Jagello*, or *Uladislaus V.* king of *Poland* and great-duke of *Lithuania*. The insolence of the order rendered their government intolerable: all the great cities sent deputies to *Poland*; they were received generously, and all the necessary assistance for revenging themselves was furnished in the manner we have related in the history of *Poland*.
- b THE succeeding master *Conrade ab Herlinghausen*, struck up an inglorious peace with *Casimir*, which, however, he scrupulously observed during his whole administration.
- HE was succeeded by his brother *Lewis*, still more unfortunate than any of his predecessors. The restless spirit of this master excited a fresh revolt, and renewed the war with *Poland*. Several other towns and provinces revolted, and the garrison sold *Marienburg* to the *Polish* monarch for a sum of money. In a word, not only the greater part of *Prussia* was lost, but likewise *Pomerania*, which had, for the space of one hundred and fifty years been the subject of continual dissention between the knights and the republic.
- c FROM this time we may date the decline of the *Teutonic* order in *Prussia*. Henry count of *Plawen*, who was now elevated to the dignity of master, was a person of extraordinary ability; but he enjoyed his new employment only for the space of eleven weeks. A. D. 1467.
- HENRY of *Richenburg* was next appointed, and he soon convinced the order, that the loss of their former master was irreparable. Henry was proud, insolent and cruel; his turbulent disposition involved him in quarrels with all his neighbours, while the tyranny of his government rendered him odious to his own people. Upon some distaste he threw a *Prussian* bishop into chains, and suffered him to perish with hunger in a dungeon; which action sufficiently marks his character. He governed for twelve years, and then died universally detested and despised.
- d MARTIN Truschke (F) was appointed to succeed him; and he began his administration with paying homage to the crown and republic of *Poland*, which secured the future tranquility of his life. A. D. 1480.
- THE succeeding master, *John de Tiefen*, swore allegiance to the king of *Poland*, on his first accession; and next year he joined him against the *Walachians*, by whom he was defeated and slain in battle, after a vigorous resistance. A. D. 1489.
- THE next person who was nominated to the dignity of grand-master, was *Frederic* duke of *Saxony*. He refused acknowledging the sovereignty of the *Polish* republic, and for that reason saw his territories exposed to the most cruel desolation. A. D. 1498.
- e THE last grand-master of the *Teutonic* order in *Prussia* was *Albert*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, nephew to *Sigismund I.* king of *Poland*. He was elected by the chapter, from the expectation entertained that his relation to the king might be able to procure restitution of the places lost during the late unsuccessful war; but in this the fraternity were disappointed. *Albert* was so far from consenting to pay homage to his uncle, that he begun with making preparations for throwing off his dependency, and recovering all *Prussia* and *Pomerania* by force of arms. We have related the event of these measures in the history of *Poland*; and it will be sufficient to repeat in this place, that after being foiled in every attempt, *Albert* was forced to resign the dignity of master; in recompence of which his uncle bestowed upon him that part of *Prussia*, now distinguished by the appellation of *Ducal*, in quality of a secular duke. It was now the interest of the house of *Brandenburg* to assist in the expulsion of the fraternity; accordingly being driven out of *Prussia* and *Pomerania*, they transferred their chapter to *Mariendal* in *Franconia*. Such was the end of the *Teutonic* government in *Prussia*, where they dictated, with unlimited sway, for the space of more than three centuries. Every person, the least acquainted with modern history, knows that at present little more than the name of the order subsists in *Alsace*, *Burgundy*, *Franconia*, *Lorraine*, and other provinces of the empire, in which separate branches of the fraternity had settled. A. D. 1531.
- f
- (F) *Ashmole* calls him *Tuchmer*; and we find him mentioned by *Moreri* by the name of *Dusseer*. According to this writer he resigned. *Vide Art. Teutonique.*

END of the TWELFTH VOLUME.